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PERSIAN POETS OF KASHMĪR

OF

MOGHAL PERIOD

I DEDICATE THIS THESIS TO ALL THE WELLWISHERS OF PĀKISTĀN.

PERSIAN POETS OF KASHMĪR
OF
MOGHAL PERIOD

(A.H. 994-1164 / A.D. 1586-1751/1752)

A THESIS

BY

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P R E F A C E

For a long time I have carried in my heart that a scholar or a group of scholars should write a literary **history** of the Persian language and literature in India and Pākistān, on the lines of Dr. Browne or Maulānā Shiblī Naʿmānī, because a number of erudite philosophers, poets and scholars were born and bred up in India who devoted their lives to the study of Persian language and literature, and their toils resulted in the out-come of many useful books in prose and poetry. But my hopes remained mere hopes and their fulfilment seemed to me impossible not because of the paucity of literary and artistic talent in our country but owing to the fact that the intellectual and moral climate of our country up till now has not been very conducive to the grouth and well being of literary activity. There is a general sense of frustration, disappointment and helplessness which holds every body in its iron grip. Besides this psychological malady, literary pursuits, like any other activity, need patronage. Leaving aside men of genius whose creative urges will not let them rest, and who are a rare phenomenon, anyway, the tedious work of research flourishes only in an atmosphere of appreciation and material recognition.

In Pākistān, the landlord class has never been inclined this way. The business community and the newly emerged monied people look upon research work as some thing not worth supporting. In their schemes of life this is a mere waste of time, energy and wealth.

This is the general tone of those elements of our society who have the means to support and help literary activities. The result is stagnation. The present intellectual apathy of our intelligentsia is due to this fact and this indifference is reflected in a marked deterioration in our literary taste, which in its turn may be attributed to a general lowering of our educational standards and lack of a climate suitable for academic and intellectual striving in our educational institutions.

There can be no denying the fact that the scope of the subject (Literary history of Persian language and literature in India and Pākistān) is extensive and research work in this field is not child's play. Therefore, no one dares to take the risk of even starting it. To achieve this objective, not only a new attitude of enthusiasm and zest for the work is required but also an active liaison with literary associations, organization of discussions and seminars and a whole gamut of activities calculated to stimulate an interest in research work is needed.

The prevailing conditions in our country are contrary to it. In fact we ourselves are not the patrons of Persian language and have got but very little taste for its literature. If we take the trouble of pondering over the existing state of stagnation and degeneration and the process of retrogression, we will find that after the fall of the Moghal dynasty, literary horizons, especially that of Persian, have been clouded. An appraisal of its history will indicate the factors that led Persian so near to a fatal pitfall.

It is an unhappy fact, but one, which no honest chronicler can deny or overlook, that the hostile acts of our nearest

neighbours and those of the foreign power have thrown dark shadows athwart its path. But this fog of foreign origin could, however, have been scattered now, if to the prevading gloom had not been added the poisonous pall of smoke spread by our own educationists.

Moreover, it is the natural fate of those who toil at the lower avocations of life to be rather driven by fear of evil than attracted by the prospect of good, to be exposed to censure without hope of praise, to be disgraced by miscarriage, or punish-ed for neglect, while success have been for them remained without applause and diligence without reward. While others may aspire to praise, a researcher can only hope to escape reproach; and even this negative recompense has been yet granted to very few.

This is the general trend of policy consciously pursued or unconsciously adopted. These drawbacks of a general nature are sufficient to cripple the capabilities and initiative of any body howsoever talented he may be. There are, no doubt, men of letters in our country, but under the trying conditions of the present they cannot accomplish much. But it would be certainly an irony of fate, if the literary history of India and Pākistān, like those of Arabia and Persia (Irān) at least comes to be written by an English

It is now high time that we drop[illegible] the placidity of routinism, which is the result of our depending upon others, and resolve[illegible] not to keep moving in the old ruts and beaten tracks. Being the members of a free nation, it is necessary for us to show due interest in this respect and explore new paths to exhibit the hidden treasures of our cultural heritage. Otherwise our laziness will surely [illegible] condemn[illegible] them to eternal concealment. We should now take [illegible] to this gigantic task of vital importance and keep in mind the saying of an illustious poet of Irān:

نام نیک رفتگان ضائع مکن : تا بماند نام نیکت برقرار

In a humble way I have now taken an initiative. When I made up my mind to take the M.A. Examination, I took thesis in lieu of sixth paper, which deals with essay writing and translation, mainly because I wanted to know the pros and cons of research work..... to know the general rules compliance with which is necessary. I suggested a subject for my thesis and it was approved by the Board of Studies of the Panjāb University: "Ghanī Kashmīrī" a favourite poet of ʿAllāmā Iqbāl. I collected the available material and wrote a thesis. During the course of writing it, my guide Maulānā ʿIlm-ud-Dīn Sālik M.A. directed me to write in brief the literary history of Kashmīr, which may serve as back ground for the thesis. But residing in a backward district it was next to impossible for me to do the needful. The topic was vast, the time too short, and library facilities were not available. I, therefore, did not, rather could not comply with the wishes of my guide, but resolved to write a thesis if and when I got chances to use the University Library, the biggest in the whole of Pākistān and a match for the best in India. I was fortunate enough to get a scholarship after M.A. In December, 1953 I was appointed as a Research Scholar in the Panjāb University. Now the university Library was at my disposal, and I had to work under the supervision of professor Dr. Muhammad Bāqir M.A., Ph.D.(London) Head of the Department of Persian in the said University who is not only a scholar but has also great aptitude for research. His taste in literature both classical and modern is remarkable. Under his supervision and guidance I started my research on 'The Kashmīrī poets of Persian'.

In order to mobalize my efforts I applied to the University that the subject of my research may be approved as the subject of my thesis for the Ph.D. Degree. The members of the Board of studies approved. After a year's hard labour I gathered material and wrote discourses on a number of poets. Later on the vicissitude of life and unfavourable circumstances compelled me to resign the job, with the result that I could not pay due attention to it. Non availability of books and such like other hinderances considerably slowed down the work. Furthermore, I have to face a lot of difficulties in getting microfilms of those manuscripts which were not preserved in the Panjāb University Library. Much time and energy were wasted and delay on the part of authorities perturbed my peace of mind, hence the outcome of my toils was far below the normal. Virtually I had been marking time making little real advance towards the goal. Haunted by the fear that my strenuous endeavours will fail, I would have lost heart and have given up the task, but luckily I came accross a letter of Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl in reply to one Ẕahūr-ud-Dīn Mahjūr's letter, who, as is evident from the letter, requested the most eminent scholar and erudite philosopher poet of the East for help in writing a "Tazkirah" of Kashmīrī poets. ʿAllāmā's reply was:-

مجھے یہ معلوم کرکے کمال مسرت ہوئی کہ آپ تذکرۂ شعرائے کشمیر لکھنے والے ہیں میں
کئی سالوں سے اسکے لکھنے کی تحریک کر رہا ہوں مگر افسوس کسی نے توجہ نہ کی۔ آپ کے
ارادوں میں اللہ تعالیٰ برکت دے۔ افسوس ہے کہ کشمیر کا لٹریچر تباہ ہو گیا۔ اس
تباہی کا باعث زیادہ تر سکھوں کی حکومت اور موجودہ حکومت کی

لاپرواہی اور نیز مسلمانوں کی غفلت ہے - کیا یہ ممکن نہیں کہ وادی کشمیر کے تعلیم یافتہ
مسلمان اب بھی موجودہ لٹریچر کی حفاظت کیلئے ایک سوسائٹی بنائیں ؟ آپ
تذکرۂ کشمیر لکھتے وقت مولانا شبلی کی شعرالعجم آپ کے پیش نظر رہنی چاہیے محض
حروف تہجی کی ترتیب سے شعرا کا حال لکھ دینا کافی نہ ہوگا کام کی یہ چیز ہے کہ
آپ کشمیر میں فارسی شعر کی تاریخ لکھیں ۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ ایسی تصنیف نہایت
بار آور ثابت ہوگی ۔ اگر کبھی خود کشمیر میں یونیورسٹی بن گئی تو فارسی زبان کے
نصاب میں اس کورس کا ہونا یقینی ہے ۔ میرا عقیدہ ہے کہ کشمیر کی قسمت
عنقریب پلٹا کھانے والی ہے ۔ امید کہ جناب کا مزاج بخیر ہوگا ۔ میرے پاس
کوئی رسالہ تذکرۂ شعرا کیلئے نہیں ہے ورنہ آپ کی خدمت میں ارسال کرتا ۔

والسلام

" It has given me great pleasure to know that you are going to write a Tazkirah of the poets of Kashmīr. For many years, I have been trying to persuade various friends to undertake this work but I am sorry none paied heed to it. May God bless your enterprises.

" It is a matter for regret that the literature of Kashmīr has been destroyed. The main reason for this destruction is the Sikh rule, carelessness on the part of the present government (The English government) and the negligence of the Musalmāns. Is it not possible, that the educated Muslims of the Kashmīr valley form a society for the preservation of the surviving literature? In writing the Tazkirah of Kashmīr, the Shi'r-ul-'Ajam of Shiblī should remain before you. It would not be sufficient to write biographies of the poets, arranging them alphabetically. It is of vital importance that you should write the history of Persian

poetry in Kashmīr. I am sure, such a literary composition will prove beneficial. If ever Kashmīr has her own University there is every possibility of its inclusion in the course of Persian language. I am of the belief that the fate of Kashmīr is about to turn. I hope you would be enjoying good health. I have got no material for 'Tazkirah-i-Shuʿarā,' otherwise I would have certainly sent it to you. Wassalām."

Nothing definite can be said as to whether the compilation of the Tazkirah was completed or not. The compiler of Iqbāl's letters, Shaikh ʿAtā Ullah M.A., Principal of Islāmia College, Chiniot district Jhang could not tell me the whereabouts of Mr. Mahjūr.

This letter of ʿAllāma Iqbāl persuaded me to continue this work. I wholeheartedly devoted myself to the task taking into view the vital importance of the work.I made up my mind once again with the hope that God helps those who help themselves, and was sustained by the idea that if it could inspire a humble and unknown person like myself to complete the work, it would redound all the more to the greatness and glory of ʿAllāma's dream.

As the subject suggests, I had to write biographies of the poets and criticism on their works. For the construction of biographical sketches and accounts of the literary achievements of these poets we have two sources------the external and the internal. The external are numerous Persian "Tazkirahs" published and unpublished references to them (the poets) in contemporary records, and the books, literary or historical, written in the past or in the present. And the internal, obviously, consist of the autobiographical touches in the compositions themselves. ....ie. references to

the life and time of the poets in some of the poems and other literary undertakings.

I must here emphasize the tregedy of Eastern literature that even the erudite philosophers, poets, men of letters who earned great renown in their age..... by devoting whole lives to literary pursuits and won a place of high esteem in the hearts of men of literary taste, are unknown to us in their true colours; and during these days when our interest is roused we find, it is impossible for us to even dimly discern the features and stature of any except one or two here and there. A student of the literary history finds darkness around them --------pitch darkness which debars him from visulizing the features of even those who were eminent and great in the real sense of word. He has to face many difficulties before he can get hold of good data for life sketches. His efforts in most cases prove futile, and his researches fail to help him in revealing aspects of their lives on the basis of reliable ground. Very often his endeavours end in dismay. He feels terribly handicapped in seeing the things in their real perspective

A scholar has to confront a number of hardships in cases of those men of letters who were born and bread up in sequestered vales where only occasional visitors, brought a breath of the outer world and there was little to disturb the noiseless tenor of life ------ for the native themselves hardly had occasion to move. Moreover, when the immense majority of the land is illiterate it is true to say that the literature of the country remains absolutely unknown to them. A country where men, and often women, besides attending to their demesne fields, have to work and work with hand to make both ends meet, it is idle to hope that the literature of a foreign language would command their attention or

admiration. In the light of these facts a scholar meets with a number of difficulties while reconstructi-ng the true history of an erudite man's life, which has the case with me. At the time of writing the biographies of the poets of Kashmīr, I found that the true history of their lives presented puzzling and almost insoluable problems.

In many cases, from the nature of the material available, I was helpless to reconstruct the narrative of their early career with any degree of certainty. It was impossible to come to any definite conclusion on questions such as: When was a certain poet born ? who were his ancesters? Where did they come from? Under whom did he studied? When did he enter the service of a king, prince or a governor ? How long did he serve and in what capacity ? These, and such like other questions rise in the mind of the scholar. Here the widest differences of opinion are possible. Even broad out - lines are not clear, or, in some cases, acceptable. Under these circumstances conclusions have often to be formed only by balancing a set of probabilities against one another to be adopted as 'Working hypotheses.' گیرم که مرا طرز نوشتن نشد از یاد ؛ پیداست که زین سروسامان چه نویسیم

To clear my meaning, I would point out that the 'Tazkirahs' which are the main sources for a scholar, cause great inconvenience to him. In some cases only the name or 'Takhallas' of the poet, with one or two couplets have been considered sufficient by the 'Tazkirah' writers, which in no way help the reader. Further more, about certain poets one or two Tazkirah writers shed some light, but so dim, that even his person cannot be recognised. One is greatly disappointed by this state of affairs. The mode of all the 'Tazkirah' writers in writing these Tazkirahs is one and the same ie.

they write two or three lines about the life of a poet, in some cases they review his poetry and quote their selection from his 'Dīvān! This mode of writing being the most common. The main reason is that these 'Tazkirah' writers, who were men of literary taste, had inview the mere selection of verses of various poets. Their idea was only to satisfy themselves. Hence it is unfair to look for any thing perfect according to modern literary and critical standards. In most cases, if not in all, they had to depend upon heresay. They had but very little aptitude for research. They wrote what they heard, which explains why the compilers of Tazkirahs advance the most conflicting and contradictory statements, relying on the weakest evidence and doubtful dates.

Although these 'Tazkirahs' do not throw sufficient light on the basic and fundamental things, as has already been stated, yet we are obliged to rely upon these jejune works, because it is only through them that we can peep into the personality and life of the poets ------may be not complete in all respects. Nothwithstanding their defects, it is hard to say that they are of no use, not essential ingredients for research, or of no importance.

The other aspect of these Tazkirahs is criticism. The views expressed by the compilers on the poetry of the poets are according to their own taste and rather conventional. They are in most cases uncritical, but where they express their views they use rythmic phrases and expose their vocabulary. That criticism is the criticism of one individual and the expression of personal views about the poetry of a certain poet whom the writer has given room in his work. Moreover a study of these 'Tazkirahs' yields the impression that they have acted upon the maxim, "Say of the dead nothing

but good," or as Nazīrī says:-

نه در هر سخن بحث کردن رواست ؛ خطا بر بزرگان گرفتن خطاست

In the words of Imdād Imām Aṣar, "that art which is known as 'Criticism' in English, is not prevalent in Persian and Urdū. It is that art which argues on the quality of the poet's poetry. eg., if any one wants to know the poetical elevation of Pope an English poet, one can get an impartial review on his poetry in English literature; but the 'Tazkirahs' written in Urdū or Persian are devoid of this. In these Asiatic 'Tazkirahs', if one desires to know the poetical value of ten poets, one will find their praise with much exaggeration and will not make out as to who was Jāmī and who was Nizāmī."

Mr. Imdād Imām is right in his verdict, but we should not forget that Eastern literature is after all Eastern. It has its own temperament, its own qualities, so we should judge it according to the lines adopted by the Eastern critics.

It is of course no use to out line all the difficulties which confronted me from time to time and gravely retarted the development of my work. Trusting in God the Almighty, and taking into view the value of the work, I grappled with all the problems. It was by the grace of God the Almighty that my endeavours proved productive, the out come taking the form of this thesis.

I have divided it into seven chapters. The first two chapters are introductory, the first being," Introduction of Persian language into Kashmir and its progress till Akbar's invasion," while the second embraces a " Brief survey of the political history of the

period under review (A.H. 994-1164 A.D.-1586-1751-52)." The rest deal with poets in the days of Akber, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, Aurengzib, and the later Moghals.

I have thought it advisable to add two indices, one about the names of persons and the other about the geographical names.

I have tried to examine the lives of the poets and their works as far as the available material has allowed and have discussed such points in regard to these poets as seemed to me of interest and value.

While on this study I have remained consistently alret and open to information from every possible source, I have not refrain-ed from consulting anyone who seemed competent in any respect. On no occasion I have overlooked that percept of Sa'dī, the illustrious poet of Persia(Irān) which reads:-

بپرس هر چه ندانی که ذلّ پرسیدن ؛ دلیل راه تو باشد بعزّ دانائی

Frankly speaking, I have studied English only as a language of culture and not as my mother tongue, so no one should expect from me that I understand all the finer nuances and can use them with the correctness of an English writer. The aim of this thesis is to bring to light the contributions of Kashmīrī poets towards Persian poetry. More attention has been paid to clarity of facts and criticism on the works of the poets, rather than to academic display of grammatical correctness. It is, therefore, hoped that this piece of writing will be judged by the aim with which it is written and the reader will not lo-se sight of the genuine difficulties of writing this thesis in English. I, therefore, plead for the most sympathetic consideration on the part of the

readers for all the omissions and errors etc., that may be discovered in this work, since humanum est errare, and errors can be rectified only when judgements given by the readers are not imbued with a cavilling spirit.

غلام همت آن یار زنان با کرمم ؛ که یک صواب ببیند و صد خطا پوشد

I agrre with Dr. Browne when he says that "It is no less true that he who would write a flawless book writes nothing."

In the end I wish to extend my thanks and express my gratitude to Professor Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir, Ph.D. (London) M.A., Head of the Department of Pesrian, University of the Panjāb, my learned guide and supervisor whose philanthropic attitude, unfailing courtsy, great encouragement and unwearying readiness to help and guide me always proved conducive to the achievement of my goal. My grateful acknowledgements are due to all my friends and wellwishers who lent me books and the manuscripts. I am also grateful to one of my students Mr. Muḥammad Y-ūnis Pasrīcha of Chiniot and my friend Mr. S.A. Aḥmad of Jhang for helping me in getting micro-films of manuscripts from Calcutta and London.

I, however, in the words of Dr. Browne admit, that I felt myself unprepared for so great a task, but I should have felt equally unprepared ten or twenty years hence, the subject ever widening before our eyes rapidly than the knowledge of it grows in our minds. Even the most imperfect book, if it breaks fresh grounds may, though itself doomed to oblivion, prepare the way for a better one But, as this work has been finished under the supervision and guid--ance of a learned scholar, euride critic, I am confident, that this task will stand the test of tâme and remain, at least for some years to come, a standard work of reference. Inshā Allāh.

MUHAMMAD ZAFAR KHAN

System of transliteration

A	ا	SH	ش
B	ب	Ṣ	ص
P	پ	Ẓ	ض
T	ت	Ṭ	ط
Ṣ	ث	Ẓ	ظ
J	ج	ʻ	ع
CH	چ	GH	غ
Ḥ	ح	F	ف
KH	خ	Q	ق
D	د	K	ک
Ẓ	ذ	G	گ
R	ر	L	ل
Z	ز	M	م
S	س	N	ن

8922

V & W	و	Ī	ی
H	ہ	Ū	و
ر	ء		
Y	ی		
AI	ے		
BH	بھ		
PH	پھ		
TH	تھ		
JH	جھ		
GH	گھ		
Ā	آ		
I	کسرہ		
U	ضمہ		
A	فتح		

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE IN KASHMĪR AND ITS DEVELOPMENT TILL AKBAR'S INVASION.

The political history of every nation brings dejection, frustration, sorrows, pities while literary history brings consolation, happiness and pleasure in its lap. It is a matter of fact that political history always talks about wars , bloodsheds, plunders and devastations, but, on the contrary, literary history tells about wisdom, art, intellectual activity of ingenuous and talented people. It is the literary history of a country or a nation that enlivens the soul of love, peace and reconciliation. This book is a history, not of different dynasties which have ruled Kashmīr, but of the Kashmīrī people. It is, however, the history of the people written from a particular point of view-----the literary. Here is an attempt to portray the intellectual and aesthetic characteristics of the Kashmīrīs as manifested in their own writings. It is not, however, precisely a history of Persian literature in Kashmīr, since on the one hand it will exclude from consideration the writing of those who while using the Persian language as the vehicle of their thought, were not Kashmīrīs, and on the other hand of those who expressed their views in prose, and further more, we will be very brief in dealing with the poets and their works who flourished before Kashmir was subjugated by

Akbar's army. But later on, the life as well as the works of those poets will be discussed in detail, who flourished when Kashmīr was under the suzerainty of Moghal governors. In this chapter, as its title impiés, we shall go on stating the development of Persian language in Kashmīr before the Moghal regime.

I

It is an historical fact that the Persians, long before the birth of christ, had close relations with Inida and her monarchs, particularly with those of Indus valley and other parts of West Pakistan. The similarity of their vocabulary and its grammar (which has been fully discussed by Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzad in his book 'Sakhundān-i-Pāris') clearly indicates that the inhabitants of both Indo-Pākistān sub-continent and Irān are the descen-dents of one and the same race. The similarity of their habits, culture, fables and legends support it. M. Mashā'ikh Farīdunī, an eminent scholar of Persian, says that not only the subjects of Vedās and Avesta hold similarity with each other but are also close to each other with regard to vocabulary and rules of grammar.[1] The inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings, who ruled

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1. Hilal (quarterly) vol. I. No: II. p 4.

شاید کهن ترین رشتهٔ ارتباط بین دو قوم یا دو کشور از ممالک جهان همان باشد که از هزاران سال پیش ایران
باشبه قارهٔ هند و پاکستان پیوند میداده است، هر دو قوم از یک ریشهٔ نژادی هستند و هر دو دارای اساطیر و حماسه ها و داستانهای
ملی و عادات و آداب مشترک باشند. وداو اوستا با یکدیگر شباهت کامل دارند و نه تنها از لحاظ بعض مواد و موضوعات بلکه از لحاظ
لغات و قواعد زبان کاملاً بهم نزدیکند.

Persia from 550 B.C. until the last Darius who was over-thrown by Alexander the Great, in 330 B.C., and the history of the Sāsānian dynasty is an evidence of the Political relations between Irān and Indo-Pākistān. As far as literary relations between these two countries are concerned, the book named Kalīla and Dimna, ' which was brought from India in the time of Naushirwān 'the Just', together with the game of chess, and translated for him into Pahlwi[1] ' is the biggest and oldest monument. We now proceed with our researches in the light of relevent historical facts.

The North Western part of India (the present West Pākistān) was divided in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. into a number of petty principalities, and there was no great power to curb their mutual strifes and jealousies. Naturally it provided a strong tempting ground to the imperialism of the Achaemenien monarchy which had risen in Persia about this time under the leadership of Kurush or Cyrus (558-30 B.C.). He extended the bounds of his empire as far west as the Mediterranean, and in the East he conquered Bactria and Gandara (Gandhāra), but it is unlikely that he advanced beyond the frontiers of India. His immediate successors Kambujiya I (Cambyses I), Kurush II (Cyrus II) Kambujiya II (Cambyses II) 530-22 B.C. were too busy with affairs in the west to think of the East, but Dārayavāush or Darius I (522-486 B.C.) appears to have annexed a portion of the Indus region, as evidenced by the inscriptions at Persepolis and on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam, mentioning the Hindus or the people of Sindu (Indus) among Persian subjects This conquest was made probably some-times after 518 B.C. the assumed date of the

1. Edward G. Browne, A Literary hitory of Persia Vol. I.p 110

Behstun record, which omits the Hindus (Indians) from the list of subject peoples, and long before 486 B.C. when Darius I died.

In the reign of Khshayarsha or Xerxes (486-65 B.C.) the successor of Darius I, Indian Mercenaries, "clad in cotton" and bearing "cane bows and arrows tipped with iron," formed a part of his expeditionary force against Hellas, and so it is certain that he maintained Persian authority intact in the North-Western part of India (ie. the old frontier provice). Presumeably it continued when the connections between Irān and India finally snapped. There is, at any rate, some evidence to show that Indian auxilaries figured in the army of Darius III in his fight with Alexander.

Alexander crossed the Indus in 326 B.C. and went up to Jhelum where he found Poros on the other side of the river at the head of a vast army eager for the fray. Poros was, however, easily routed by Alexander.

Alexander remained in India, east of the Indus for a brief period of about nineteen months only from the spring of 326 B.C. to September 325 B.C. But the steps he took clearly indicate that he intended to annex the Indian provinces permanently to his empire but he prematurely died in 323 B.C.

About the middle of the third century B.C. there occured in Central Asia two events, which were destined to have far reaching effects on the course of Indian history. These were the defections of Parthia and Bactria from the Seleucid empire. The revolt of the former province, comprising the inhospitable regions of Khurā-san and the South-East Caspian coast, which had never adopted the Greek culture, was a sort of a popular uprising headed by an enterprising chief named Arsakes. The dynasty he founded about

248 B.C. lasted nearly five centuries. The rebellion of Bactria on the other hand, was largely due to the ambitions of its own

DIODTUS governor Diodotus, who about the same time formed designs of breaking away from the seleucids. We do not know how

DIODOTUS II far he was successful in his efforts but his son Diodotus II appears to have achieved full independence.[1] He ruled from 245-230 B.C. He met a violent death at the hands of Euthydemos

EUTHYDEMOS who seized the throne for himself. He was, however, attacked by Antiochos III (223-185 B.C.) about 212 B.C. but after

ANTIOCHOS III a long siege of Balkh the contending parties concluded peace. Antiochos III crossed the Hindū Kush in 207 or 206 B.C. and received the submission of king Sophagasenos (Sobhagasena) who, soon after Ashoka's death established his sway over Gandhārā.

The kingdom of Bactria rapidly grew in power under Euthyde-

DEMETRIOS mos who appears to have subjugated a large part of Afghānistān. When he died about 190 B.C., his son Demetrios undertook foreign expeditions of greater magnitude. Crossing the Hindū-Kush about 183 B.C. he conquered a considerable portion of the Panjāb.[2] While he was busy with his Indian adventure, a certain

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1. Arthus Christensein L Iran Sous les Sassanides. (Translated by Dr. Muhammad Iqbāl, p 25

سکندر اعظم اور اسکے جانشینوں نے مشرقی ایران میں جو نئی بستیاں بسائیں وہ صدیوں تک ان دور دراز علاقوں میں تہذیب یونانی کا ملجا و ماوا بنی رہیں۔ تیسری صدی قبل مسیح کے وسط میں ڈیوڈوٹس نے ایک آزاد سلطنت کی بنیاد ڈالی جس میں باختر (بلخ) سغد اور مرو کے صوبے شامل تھے۔

2. Ibid, p 25.

دوسری صدی قبل مسیح کے نصف اول میں ڈیمٹریوس نے جو کہ غاصب یوتھیڈیموس کا بیٹا تھا پنجاب کو فتح کیا اور افغانی و ہندوستانی علاقوں پر قابض ہو گیا۔

Eukratides sucessfuly raised the standard of revolt in Bactria with EUKRATIDES the help of the disgruntled Greek settlers, and seated himself on the throne (175 B.C.) Dementrios could not dislodge his rival from his position, and it seems, therefore, his authority remained confined to the Greek conquests in the Panjāb and Sindh. Demetrios was the first Greek ruler to issue bilingual coins, having legends in Greek along with the Indian language.[1]

Among the descendents or successors of Euthydemos mention may be made of Menandre who had a very vast territory under him which is confirmed by the wide distribution of his coins, which have been found from Kābul to Mathurā. Milandā or Menander was a Budhist.[2] He died about 150-145 B.C.

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1. Muhammad Iqbāl , Dr. Tārikh-i-Irān ba 'Ahd-i Sāsāniān, p 25

اسی اثنا میں باختر اور اس کے متصل صوبے ایک شخص مسمی یوکراتیڈس کے ہاتھ لگ گئے
یہ دونوں بادشاہ (جو آپس میں نہایت سختی سے لڑتے رہتے) نئی یونانی بستیاں بسانے میں بہت
کوشاں تھے۔ این ہمہ ملک کے اصلی تمدن نے از سر نو اپنا اثر دکھانا شروع کیا چنانچہ
ڈیمیٹریوس کے "یونانی باختری" سکوں پر پشت کی جانب ہندوستانی خطوط ثبت
ہیں جن کی ابجد کہا جاتا ہے کہ آریائی ہے اور اس کی اصل آرامی

2. Ibid, p 26.

دریائے کابل کی وادی میں اور پشاور کے آس پاس کئی چھوٹی چھوٹی یونانی ریاستیں پیدا ہو
گئی تھیں لیکن تھوڑے ہی عرصے کے بعد کابل اور ہندوستان کی تمام یونانی ریاستیں مل کر دوبارہ
ایک بڑی سلطنت پیدا ہو گئی۔ دوسری صدی قبل مسیح کے آخر اور پہلی صدی کے شروع میں
مشہور بادشاہ مینانڈر حکومت کرتا تھا جس کو ہندوستانی ملندا لکھتے ہیں اور جس نے
ہندوستان کے چند نئے علاقے فتح کرنے کے بعد بدھ مذہب اختیار کر لیا تھا۔

YUEH CHĪ MOVEMENTS:

About the fourth decade of the second century B.C. the year commonly accepted being 165 the Hiung-nu, a tribe of Turkey nomads, won a decided victory over the Yueh-ghī and forced them to quit their pasture grounds. In the course of their movement they defeated Wū-sūn tribe. Here the Yueh-ghī were split into two sections. The main body marched onwards until they came into conflict with the sākās who were dispossessed by their lands north of Jaxartes. But the Yuah-ghī did not long remain in the usurped territory for they were expelled by the wū-sūn about 140 B.C. The Yueh-ghī then made their way into the Oxus valley. They gradually occupied Bactria and Sogdiana by defeating the Sākās, to whom the Bactrian monarchy fell an easy prey.[1] Then the Sākās pressed towards the south-west and in the struggle which followed with Pārthia, they laid the foundation of a new kingdom, but, however, they Pārthians reasserted the Pārthian power, which naturally diverted the sakas eastwards. As there expansion was impeded in the Kābul Valley, where the Greek kingdom lay like wedge, they spread themselves in the territory, afterwards called Seistān or Sākistān.[2]

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1. Muhammad Iqbāl, Dr. Tārikh-i-Irān ba Ahd-i-Sāsāniān , pp 26-27

اسی زمانے میں اقوام وسط ایشیا کی بڑی بڑی مہاجرتیں شروع ہو گئی تھیں۔ قبائل ہون جو ترکی الاصل تھے اور جن کی رگوں میں
مغول اور چینی خون مخلوط تھا دوسری صدی قبل مسیح کے نصف اول میں چین کے صوبہ کانسو پر حملہ آور ہوئے جن کی وجہ سے سب سے پہلے
اُن اقوام کو اپنے وطن سے حرکت کرنا پڑی جن کو اہل چین یوئے۔چی اور ووسون کہتے ہیں لیکن بعد میں اور قبائل بھی اس حرکت میں شامل
ہو گئے۔ چند سال بعد قبیلہ یوئے۔چی کا ایک بڑا گروہ جو "یوئے۔چی بزرگ" کے نام سے موسوم ہے دریائے جیحون کے شمال میں آکر آباد ہو گیا
قوم ساکا کے بعض قبائل جن کو اس نقل مکانی نے فرغانہ سے دھکیل کر آگے نکال دیا تھا صوبجات باختر (بلخ) اور اراخوزیا اور درنگیانا میں آ

2. Ibid. p 27

ان صوبوں (باختر۔ اراخوزیہ۔ درنگیانا) کا نام اسی زمانے سے سکستان یا ساکستان پڑ گیا اور جو موجودہ سیستان کہلاتا ہے وہ اسی علاقے کا ایک حصہ ہے ان
قبائل ساکا نے [illegible] تاریخ میں چند سال تک جب ایک مملکت کی بنیاد ڈالی جو شہنشاہ بزرگ مہرداد (۱۲۳ - ۸۸ قبل مسیح) کے زمانے میں اشکانی سلطنت پارتھیا کے
ماتحت تسلیم کرتی تھی

Some time later they moved through Qandhār and Baluchistān into the lower Inudus country. From this base the Sākā established their settlements in several parts of India.

The earliest Sākā ruler of India appears to have been Maues.

MAUES: But he does not appear to have carried his arms far into the Panjāb.[1] Thus his kingdom lay between the upper Kābul valley and in Eastern Panjāb. He ruled in the first century B.C.

Mauses was followed by Azes, who maintained his predcessors

HIS SUCCESSORS: conquest in-tact and extended the Sākā rule over eastern Panjāb. He was succeeded by Azes II after whom the

AZES II Sākā territories passed under the sway of Gandopharnes who was the greatest Indo-Parthian monarch. He came to the throne in 20 A.D. and remained king at least till 45 A.D. His coins types indicate that he became master of the Sākā-Pahlava dominions both in Eastern Irān and North Western India. In Christian traditions he is called "King of India", and is connected with St. Thomas who visited his court.[2] After his death, his kingdom broke up and was appropriated by various princes. The family was overthrown by the advance of Kushāns.

The historical facts quoted above are sufficient to prove that Persian, long before the birth of christ had close relations with the

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1. Muhammad Iqbal, Dr, Tārikh-i-Irān ba 'Ahd-i-Sāsāniān, p 27

اس مملکت کے بادشاہ ماویس نے جو پہلی صدی قبل مسیح میں حکمران تھا
اور اس کے بیٹے آزلیس نے اپنی حدود سلطنت کو پھیلا کر اس میں شامل کر لیا

2. Ibid. p 27.

پہلی صدی قبل مسیح کے دوران میں مملکت سکستان کے ساکا خاندان نے ایک پارتھی خاندان کے لئے جگہ خالی کر دی جس کا ایک بادشاہ گندوفاریس
یا گندوفار (جس کا عہد حکومت تقریباً ۲۰ء سے شروع ہوتا ہے) نہایت طاقتور تھا اور ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اسنے اپنے باپ کو اشکانیوں کی اطاعت سے آزاد
کر دیا تھا اس بادشاہ کے سکے سیستان ہرات - قندھار حتی کہ پنجاب میں بھی پائے گئے ہیں بلکہ سینٹ ٹامس کے وقائع سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ اسنے شاہ گندوفاریس
کے عہد میں سفر کیا

West Pākistān.

Now turning towards the Yueh-chī we would like to say that by the biginning of the first century B.C. they gave up their nomadic habits of life. They became divided into five principalities. Nearly a century after this division the Kushān defeated the other four, and thus all were united in one kingdom under one who has been identified with kujūlā Kādphises of coins, which afford testi-mony to the gradual extinction of the greek power in the Kābul valley. Kujūlā Kādphises attacked Parthia, conquered Gandhara and southern Afghānistān. He must have shieved these victories late in his reign after the death of Gondophernes, who rule Peshāwar in 45 A.D. He deid about the middle of the third quarter of the first century A.D. His son Vima Kādphises was probably a devotee of the Hindū god Sivā. Vima Kadphises was succeeded by Kanishka whose accession to the throne lies near about 125 A.D.[1] There is also the possibility of a brief gap between the two sovereigns.

DECLINE OF THE KUSHĀN EMPIRE:

The down fall of the Kushāns begain during the reign of Vasu Deva, and in course of time the empire reared by the genius of Kanishka, broke up into petty principalities. According to Dr. Vincent Smith, the "Persianising of the Kushān coinage of Northern India in the early third century of A.D. indicates that the decay of the Kushān power must

1. Muhammad Iqbāl, Dr. Tārīkh-i-Irān ba Ahd-i-Sasānian, p 29

شاہ گندو فارنیس کی وفات کے کچھ عرصہ بعد گندھار (قندھار) اور پنجاب پر قبیلہ یوئے چی (یعنی تخاری ساکا)
کے ایک خاندان کا قبضہ ہو گیا جو کوشان کے نام سے مشہور ہے اس خاندان کے بادشاہ کجولا کاڈفیسس اور
اسکے جانشین ویما کاڈفیسس نے ممالک یوئے۔چی اور اسکے ساتھ قبائلی ساکا کے مقبوضات کا ایک بڑا حصہ
اپنی حکومت میں ملا لیا بالآخر ۱۲۵ء کے بعد یہ سلطنت اسی خاندان کے بادشاہ کنشکا نامی کے قبضہ میں آ گئی۔

have been hastend by Persian invasions like one recorded by Farishta[1] as having been under taken by the first Sāsānian king.

DARK INTERVALS: After the dismemberment of the Kushān empire the history of India is mostly enveloped in darkness, which hides from our view the course of events, until we emerge into the light of the Gupta epoch. In Gupta period we find that Chandragupta II himself advanced against Sākā ruler of Western India and defeated him some time between 395 and 400 A.D.

HUNA INVASIONS: Close upon the heels of the engagement with the Pushiyāmitrās followed a greater menace to the safty of the empire. This was the on rush of the nomadic Huns,[2] who at this time

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1. Vincent Smith, Dr. Early History of India, 4th edition pp 288-89 and p 289, n. 3.

Ardashīr Babgān (225-241 A.D.) is represented as having advanced up to Sirhind from where he retired after exacting a huge tribute. (Elliot History of India, Introduction to Firishta's History pp. 557- 58

اردشیر نے ابرشہر۔ مرگیانا (مرو) خوارزم اور باختر کو زیرنگین کرکے اپنی سلطنت کی توسیع کی۔ طبری کی
ایک روایت کی رو سے جسکی صحت کی تصدیق ہرسفلڈ نے کی ہے شاہ کوشان نے جسکے قبضہ میں اسوقت وادی کابل۔ پنجاب۔ طوران
مکران (یعنی علاقہ قصدار) جسکو کوئٹہ کے جنوب میں سمجھنا چاہیئے) اور مکران (یعنی خلیج عمان اور بحر ہند کے ساحل کا علاقہ) وغیرہ تھے
اردشیر کے پاس سفیر بھیجے اور اسکی حکومت کو تسلیم کیا اب اسکی سلطنت کی وسعت اتنی تھی کہ اسمیں ایران۔ افغانستان۔ بلوچستان
صحرای مرو علاقہ خیوہ تا جیحون در سمت شمال اور جنوب میں بابل اور عراق شامل تھے۔ شاہی خاندان کے شہزادے جو خراسان
کی حکومت پر مامور کئے جاتے تھے کوشان شاہ کے لقب سے ملقب کئے جاتے تھے۔

2. The Hunas first come into view about 165 B.C. when they defeated the Yueh-chī and compelled them to quit their lands in North-Western China. In course of time the Hunas also moved westwards in search of 'fresh fields and pastures new'. One branch proceeded towards the oxus valley and from there they turned towards the south about the second decade of the fifth century A.D. and crossing Afghānistān and the north-western passes, eventually entered India.

began to pour down the North-western passes like an irresistable torrent. Skandagupta defeated them about 457-58 A.D. The Gupta dynasty, no doubt, continued its existance after the death of Skanda Gupta, but its greatness appears to have departed. The

TORAMANA leader of these renewed incursions was perhaps Toramana who wrested large slices of the western territories of the Guptas and established his authority as far as central India about 484-85 A.D.

Toramana was succeeded by his son Mihira kūlā who attacked king Bālādityā of Magadha, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and subsequently released. He then sought safety in Kashmīr and received a very generous tratment at the hands of its ruler. The refugee, however, misused the kindness shown to him, and by his machinations soon seized the throne of the benefactor. Mihira Kūlā could not long enjoy the fruits of his usurpation, and within a year his death took place, heralded by portents. He died about 547 A.D., and after him no great leader arose among the Hunas to re-assert their hegemony. For many centuries afterwards they remained a potent factors in the political situation of Northern India until they were gradually absorbed into the Hindu social polity.

Our knowledge of the early History of Sindh is extremely scanty almost limited to what the Arab historians have written about it. We learn that at the times of the Arab invasions Sindh was under the dynasty founded by the Brahman Chach. It was preceeded by the Rai family comprising five kings, who are said to have held power for 137 years with Alor (Rohri) as their capital. During Chach's long reign of forty years the kingdom grew in extent and authority and is described to have abutted upon the confines of Kashmīr.

II

Before we proceed with the Arab conquest of Sindh it seems essential to quote a few Muslim historians with regard to the cultural relations between West Pākistān, Kashmīr and Irān. Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣrī, a history written by Abu ʿUmar bin Muḥammad-ul-Minhāj-ul-Sirāj, in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn tells us that ZUHĀK Ẕuḥāk held the dominion of Hind and Sindh where one Bisṭām had been governor who fled away when Ẕuḥāk was made captive by Afrīdūn. He writes:

این بسطام از دست ضحاک مملکت هندوستان داشت ..... چون ضحاک گرفتار
شد و افریدون بجهت هندوستان لشکر فرستاد و بسطام را طاقت مقاومت لشکر
فریدون نبود بجانب جبال شقنان و بامیان رفته آن جا ساکن شد[1]

" This Bisṭām had obtained the dominion of Hindustān at the hand of Ẕuḥāk. When Ẕuḥāk was made captive, Afrīdūn despatched an army to take possession of Hindustān (India) and Bisṭām who did not possess the power to oppose the forces of Afrīdūn, retired towards the mountain tracts of Shaqnān and Bāmiān, and took up residence there."

But the first great instance of direct historical connection of Irān with Kashmīr, which sowed the seed of Persian culture in the soil of Kashmīr came into existance during the time when Behrām BEHRĀM V Gur or Behrām V (420-438 A.D.) was the undisputed king of Irān. He was a man of courage and fortitude. He came to India

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1. Mihāj Sirāj, Abū ʿUmar bin Muḥammad, Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣrī, Ms. foll. 233b-234a.

and impressed Shangal by his manliness and valour and got the hand of his daughter in marriage and left for Irān. Later on Behrām sent for Shangal who came with seven other kings. Firdausī gives the detail as follows:

فرستاده چون نزد شنگل رسید ÷ سپهدار قنوج خلعتش بدید
ز هندوستان ساز رفتن گرفت ÷ ز خویشان چینی نهفتن گرفت
برفتند در خدمتش هفت شاه ÷ که آیند بارای شنگل براه
یکی شاه کابل دگر شاه هند ÷ دگر با سپه نزد او شاه سند
دگر شاه سندل که بد نامدار ÷ همه شاه جندل که بد کامگار
دگر شاه کشمیر با دستگاه ÷ دگر مولتان شاه با فر و جاه
همه نامجو و همه تاجدار ÷ همه پاک با طوق و با گوشوار
همه پاک با لشکر و ساز راه ÷ همه نامداران با عز و جاه[1]

From this it is obvious that seven kings accompanied him, and one of them was the king of Kashmīr. All those went there with their armies and with great pomp and show. Firdausī further tells us that they stayed there for two months.

بایران همی بود شنگل دو ماه ÷ فرستاد پس مهتری نزد شاه
بدستوری بازگشتن بجای ÷ خود و نامداران فرخنده رای
بدان شد شهنشاه هندوستان
که او باز گردد بهندوستان[2]

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1. Firdausī, Abul Qāsim, Shāhnāmah, Vol: III. pp 1579-1580.

2. Ibid. p 1582.

This Behrām was not only a robust and vigorous youth and used to persuade every body to enjoy the life, but was also a poet of Arabic and could talk in a number of languages. He was a lover of music and according to a well known story it comes to light that he used to pass his time in luxurious enjoyment. He summoned luries from India so that the people should know music.[1]

From this earlier connection which existed in the pre-Islamic era, we can infer that the Persian language and culture would have had some effect upon the Kashmīrīs through those military men who got opportunity to visit Irān.

Our researches do not help us to know what progress Persian made in Kashmīr till the rise of Islām. However, after the advent of Islām Arabs attacks on Sindh began as early as A.H. 15 (636-37A.D.)

DĀHIR

during the 'Khilāfat' of Hazrat ʿUmar. Dāhir, the ruler of Sindh had to face serious Arab invasion because he did not chastize the people of Dabul for having seized a vessal carrying rich presents from the king of ceylon to Hajjāj, Governor of Irān. Muhammad bin Qāsim led the expedition, he stormed Dabul in 93 A.H. (712 A.D.) captured Behmnābād and reduced Multān in 104 A.H(723A.D)

Later on the great incident by which a closer bond of union was established between the people of the two countries is the

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1. Muhammad Iqbal, Dr. Tārikh-i-Irān ba ʿAhd-i-Sāsāniān, pp 363-64

بہرام ایک تنومند اور شہ زور آدمی تھا اور ہر شخص کو زندگی کا لطف اٹھانے کی ترغیب
دیتا تھا۔ وہ عربی میں شعر کہتا تھا اور بہت سی زبانوں میں گفتگو کر سکتا تھا وہ موسیقی کا بڑا
شوقین تھا...... ایک مشہور افسانے کی رو سے اس نے ہندوستان سے لوریوں کو
ایران بلوایا تاکہ عام لوگ بھی موسیقی کی لذت سے بے بہرہ نہ ہوں۔

attack of Hishām bin ʿUmar al Taghlibī, the governor of Sindh, who conquered Kashmīr. Balazurī writes in Fatuh-ul-Buldān.

وولى امير المومنين المنصور رحمه هشام بن عمرو التغلبي
السند ففتح ما استغلق ووجه عمرو بن جمل في بوارج
الى نارند ووجه الى ناحية الهند فافتتح قشميرا واصاب
سبايا ورقيقا كثيرا وفتح الملتان وكان بقندابيل متغلبة
من العرب فاجلاهم عنها واتى القندهار في السفن
وهدم البد وبنى موضعه مسجدا [1]

"Al-Manṣūr, the commander of the Believers appointed Hishām ibn ʿAmar al Taghalibī governor of as-Sindh. He conquered what was left unsubdued and sent ʿAmar ibn-Jamāl with a fleet to Nārind. He also went to the regions of al-Hind and conquered Kashmīr obtaining many prisoners and slaves. He conquered al-Multān and cleared out a faction of Arabs which was in Kandābīl. He went to al-Kandhār with the fleet and conquered it, throwing down the Budd and building a mosque in its place."[2]

This important incident took place in the second century of Hijra during the reign of Manṣur 136-158 A.H.(754-775 A.D.)

Dr. A.Ḥamīd ʿUrfānī a well known scholar of Persian in an article which published in the quarterly Hilal Vol.III.No. 3 under the caption :

1. Balāzarī, Imām, ʿAbi-al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad bin Yahyā bin Jābir, Fatuḥ-ul-Buldān, pp 444-445-

2. Murgotten, Francis Clark, Translation of Fatuḥ-ul-Buldān, Vol. pp 230-231.

writes:

باید متذکر شد که قبل از حمله محمد بن قاسم به هند عده ای از اعراب در قشون راجه داهر
(که بر خاک وسیعی از سند و مکران تا سرحد کشمیر حکومت داشت) مشغول خدمت بودند
بعد از شکست خوردن و کشته شدن راجه بدست محمد بن قاسم پسر داهر باتفاق یک نفر
عرب بنام حمیم بن سامه که اصلاً از شام بود بکشمیر وارد شد. تاریخ ورود او در حدود
۷۱۵ میلادی می باشد[1]

" It is essential to point out that a number of Arabs were in the military service of Rājā Dāhir (who had soverignity over a large area of Sindh, Makrān up to the boundry of Kashmīr, before Muḥammad bin Qāsim attacked India. After the defeat and death of Rājā by the hands of Muḥammad bin Qāsim, the son of Dāhir, accompanying an Arab known as Ḥamīm bin Sāma, who origanlly belonged to Syria entered Kashmīr. His year of entrance is about 715 A.D.

Here it must be borne in mind that the Arab army was not unacquainted with Persian language. Residing in Sindh they would have come in contact with the descendants of the Persian s who were expelled by Afrāsiyāb. This information has been conveyed by Niẓām-ud-Dīn in Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī under the caption Ibrāhīm bin Sulṭān Maḥmūd:

رو بهندوستان آورده بسیاری از قلاع و بقاع را مفتوح ساخته از جمله شهری بود در نهایت
آبادانی متوطنان آن از نسل خراسانیان بودند که افراسیاب ایشان را از خراسان اخراج کرده بود[2]

1. Hilāl, Vol. III. No.III. p 35.
2. Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p 16.

"He diverted his attention to India, captured many forts among them a very populous city. Its inhabitants were from the descendents of the people of Khurāsān whom Afrāsiyāb had expelled from Khurāsān."

This fact has been supported by Badāyunī in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh[1].

These facts lead to the conjecture that the seed of Persian culture which was sown in Kashmīr during the reign of Behrām Gor (420-438 A.D.) did receive water, and flourished, though, in fact it had little chance of attracting the Kashmīrī people yet.

It was under Maḥmud's (d. 421 A.H. 1029 A.D.) banner that the MAHMŪD OF GHAZNA Persian language made its serious and undisputed appearance in India and for the first time during this period we see Persian influencing the surroundings of Kashmīr.

Gardaizī tells us that Maḥmūd diverted his attention towards Kashmīr though he could not subjugate it. For the first time in 404 A.H. (1012 A.D.) he attacked Kashmīr when he pursued Jaipāl. Gardaizī writes:

واندر سنه اربع و اربعمایة قصد قلعه نندنه کرد با لشکر و چون برو جیپال
شاه هندوستان خبر یافت مردان کاری بر آن قلعه بگماشت تا آن قلعه را
نگاه دارند و خود را سوی درهٔ کشمیر کشید و برفت و چون امیر محمود

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1. Badāyūnī, ʿAbdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol.I. p 35

هندوستان رفته بسیاری از قلاع و بقاع را بگشاد و از یک شهری که اهل آن از
نسل خراسانیان بود و افراسیاب ایشان را اخراج کرده در هند آبادان
شده بودند صد هزار کس را اسیر ساخته بغزنین برد

رحمة الله نندنه بگرفتند ...... و چون اهل حصار آن چنان حرب بدیدند
زینهار خواستند و حصار بدادند و امیر محمود با تنی چند از خاصگان اندر
حصار رفتند و مال و سلاحی که بود برداشتند و امیر محمود سارغ را کوتوالی آن
قلعه بگماشت و از آنجا روی سوی درهٔ کشمیر نهاد که جیپال آنجا بود و چون برد
جیپال خبر یافت از آنجا نیز بگریخت و امیر محمود فرمان داد تا آن قلعها که
اندر آن درهٔ کشمیر بود همه بگرفتند و غارت کردند و لشکر از آن قلعها بسیار
غنایم و برده یافت و بسیار کافران باسلام آمدند و اندرین سال فرموده
هر جای که گشاده بود از دیار کفار مسجدهای جامع ساختند و استادان را فرمود
تا بهر جای بفرستادند تا مر هندوان را شرائط اسلام بیاموختند و خود بالظفر
و فیروزی سوی غزنین آمد این فتح نندنه اندر سنه خمس و اربعمایة بود [1]

" In the year 404 A.H.(1012 A.D.), he with his army diverted his attention towards the fort of Nandana and when Jaipāl the king of India knew it he appointed courageous men on that fort so that they might protect that fort and he moved towards the valley of Kashmīr . And when Amīr Maḥmūd (May blessing of God be upon him) reached Nandana, ...and the people in the fort saw the fight they sought protection and handed over the fort. Amīr Maḥmūd with a few among his favourites went into the fort and took into possess-ion what wealth and armours were there. Amīr Maḥmūd appointed

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1. Gardaizī, Abū Sa'īd, 'Abdul Hayy bin Ẓuḥāk bin Maḥmūd, Zain-ul-Akhbār , pp 71-72.

Sarigh as 'Kotwāl' of that fort, and from there he went towards the valley of Kashmīr, where Jaipāl was. And when Jaipāl heard the news about him, he fled away from that place too. Under Amīr Maḥmūd's order those forts which were in that valley were captured and looted and the army received much booty and many slaves therefrom, and many infidles enbraced Islām. In this year he ordered that what ever place had been subjugated from among the cities of the pagans, there a congregation mosque should be constructed and that the teachers should be sent to every place, so that they might teach the laws of Islām to the Hindūs, while he himself went to Ghazna full of success. The conquest of Nandana took place in 405 A.H.

In the year 406 A.H.(1014 A.D.) Maḥmūd again attacked Kashmīr but his attack was repelled. Gardaizī writes:

چون سنه ست واربعمائة اندر آمد قصد کشمیر کرد و از غزنین روی بر آن جانب
نهاد چون بدرهٔ کشمیر رسید هوا سرد شد و زمستان اندر آمد و اندر درهٔ کشمیر
حصاری بود بس حصین و محکم و اندرو آب و مردم انبوه و آن حصار را لوهکوت
خوانند یعنی حصار آهنین، پیش آن حصار لشکر را فرود آورد و جنگ را بپیوست
و چندگاه اندر آن بود و چون وجه گرفت که آن حصار فتح شود سرمای سخت
اندر آمد و برف آمدن گرفت و جهان یخ بند شد چنانکه هیچ دست از سرما
کار نکرد و از راه کوهسار کشمیر مر آن اهل حصار را مدد رسید از لشکر و قوت
یافتند چون امیر محمود رحمة الله حال بر آن بدید اندیشه کرد که باید که

بر سپاه وی حیلتی نرود وازان پایان قلعه بازگشت ۱

" When the year 406 A.H. (1014 A.D.) began he turned his attention to Kashmīr, and from Ghazī he proceeded in that direction. When he reached near the valley of Kashmīr, the air was cold and the winter season set in, and there was a fort in the valley of Kashmīr which was very stong and inaccessible and in it there were men and water in abundance and it was known as Loh Kot (The fort of Iron) He made the army come down before that fort and fighting began. He spent some time in this way, but when the fort was at the point of surrender, severe winter season set in and snow began to fall. The intensity of cold prevailed in the whole valley, and owing to cold the hands were unable to work. Besides, reinforcement reached the garrison from the mountains of Kash-mīr, so when Amīr Maḥmūd (May he be blessed) noticed all this, he thought that no trick would make that army lose its heart. At last he raised the siege.

Again in 412 A.H.(1020 A.D.) we find Maḥmūd besieging the fort of Lohar-kot. Gardaizī writes:

وچون سنه اثنی وعشر واربعمایة اندر آمد قصد کشمیر کرد وحصار لوهرکوت را اندر

پیچید ویک ماه آنجا مقام کرد و ازآنکه آن قلعه بغایت منیع و محکم بود نتوانست گشاد ۲

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1. Gardaizī, Abu Sa'īd, 'Abdul Ḥayy bin Zuḥāk bin Maḥmūd, Zain-ul-Akhbār , p 73.
2. Ibid. p 79.
3. According to Farishtah of Lohar kot the same fort which was attacked by Maḥmūd in 406 A.H. According to his version Loh-Kot was attacked once again in 412 A.H. He writes.

در سنه اثنی وعشر واربعمایة قصد کشمیر فرمود ولوهکوت را محاصره کرد مدت یک ماه اوقات صرف نمود

" And when the year 412 A.H. (1020 A.D.) came in, he proceed -ed to Kashmīr and besieged the fort of Lohar-kot and stayed there for one month. As the fort was very strong and difficult to access he could not subdue it."

From the statement of Gardaizī it is clear that Maḥmūd invaded Kashmīr thrice but as the ill-luck would have it, he retired owing to inclement weather and the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers. Though Maḥmūd never entered Kashmīr Abul Ḥasan ʿAlī Farrukhī (d. 429A.H.- 1037 A.D.) his court poet who accompanied him in his expedition to Qanauj etc., gives expression to Maḥmūd's disappointed desire. He under the heading

در تحریض بحرکات هند و تسخیر کشمیر گوید

writes:-

بولفرح تو در پردهٔ عشاق رهی زن ÷ بوعمر تو اندر صفت گل غزلی گوی

تا روز بشادی بگذاریم که فردا ÷ وقت ره غزو آید و هنگام تکاپوی

ما را ره کشمیر همی آرزو آید نه ÷ ماز آرزوی خویش نتابیم بیک موی

گاهست که یکباره بکشمیر خرامیم ÷ از دست بتان پنبه کنیم از سر بت گوی[2]

Farrukhī also in one of his Qaṣīdahs in praise of Maḥmūd's son Muḥammad addresses him thus :

باش تا با پدر خویش بکشمیر شوی ÷ لشکر ساختهٔ خویش بکشمیر بری

آن بناهای که خدا مرز نداشت نمود ÷ بدلیری و بتدبیر بنه از خیره سری

کافران گشته بهم بر بنی و تابه سهست ÷ بسم باره کجا خورد همی سپری[3]

1. The foot-note contains this verse as follows:

دلیر لیست که ما را ره غزو آرزو آید ÷ ماز آرزوی خویش نتابیم همی رو

2. Farrukhī, ʿAli, Abul Ḥasan, Divān-i-Farrukhī, p 367 , vs. 7-10
3. Ibid p 380, vs. 11-13.

History does not reveal that Muḥammad ever attacked Kashmīr, but we see Masʿūd attacking and subjugating a fort named Sarsūtī in the valley of Kashmīr.

و اندر سنهٔ اربع و عشرین و اربعمایة قصد هندوستان کرد و قلعه بود اندر درهٔ کشمیران
را سرستی گفتندی پس بدان قلعه وآن را حصار کرد و مردمان آن بسیار
حرب کردند- آخر بگشاد و لشکر از آن قلعه غنیمت بسیار یافت [1]

" In the year 424 A.H.(1032 A.D.) he moved towards India. There was a fort in the valley of Kashmīr named Sarsūtī. He proceeded towards that fort, besieged it. The people fought vigorously. At last defeat was inflicted upon them and the army received much booty."

All these facts lead to the conjecture that the officers and soldiers of Maḥmūd's army brought with them the Persian language which they introduced into Kashmīr or at least in the vicinity of Kashmīr.

Going a step further we will find that Persian was introduced into Kashmīr by the commander and the miltimen, and active part in this respect was done by those Hindūs who entered his army. To support this we will refer to Niẓām-ud-Dīn's Tabaqāt-i-akbarī which tells us that one Hatī Taik who was a commander of a detachment consisting of Hindus, and had rendered signal services to Maḥmūd in his territorial expansion and in quelling disturbances went away to Kashmīr being displeased with the soverign. Niẓām--ud-Dīn Says:

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1. Gardaizī, Abu Saʿid, ʿAbdul Hayy bin Ẓaḥāk bin Muḥammad, Zain-ul-akhbār, p 79

هجرای سالار هندوان که در زمان سلطان محمود خدمتها کرد و عمری در ملازمت گذرانیده
بود بواسطۀ بعضی امور رنجیده گریخته بهندوستان آمده در کوه‌های کشمیر بود کوتوال
(ابوعلی) کس پیش او فرستاد و استمالت بسیار نمود پیش خود طلبیده قول و عهد
داده بغزنین فرستاد و امیر مودود در مقام التفات آمده تسلی او نمود [1]

" Hijrāi, who was the commander of Hindūs rendered meritorious services during the reign of Mahmūd and spent many years in the service but becoming angry, owing to some reasons fled to India and was in the mountain of Kashmīr. Kotvāl (Abū ʿAlī) sent some one towards him and did his best to conciliate him, summoned him to his court, promised him (safety) and sent him to Ghaznī, where Amīr Maudūd did favour to him and satisfied him."

Now it can be supposed that Harī Taik and his followers produced a taste for Persian language and literature in the inhabitants of the valley, and likewise it is just possible that some of Harī Taik's followers refused to leave for Ghaznī fearing that they might suffer the wrath of the king. However their supposition, if any ~~did~~ they did make it, was proved wrong by the fact that Maudūd did them favour.

Agsin in Tārīkh-i-Bahiqī we find a mention of one Tilk who knew Hindī as well as Persian, and after a long stay in Kashmīr went to Ghaznī and was raised to the responible post of commander of Hindūs force. Abul Fazl writes under the year 424 A.H.

این تلک پسر حجامی بود .... و زبان فصیح داشت و خط نیکو

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1. Nizām-ud-Din, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p 15.

بهندوی و پارسی و مدتی دراز بکشمیر رفته و شاگردی کرده ..... و از نزدیک
قاضی شیراز ابوالحسن آمد .... و قاضی فرمود تا او را از هر جانبی باز داشتند
و تلک حیله ساخت تا حال او با خواجه بزرگ احمد حسن رسانیدند .....
..... تلک از خواص معتمدان خواجه شد .... و امیر محمود چاکرانش و دبیرانش
را بخواست تا شایستگان را خدمت درگاه فرماید تلک را بپسندید ...
چون شاه مسعود از هرات به بلخ رسید .... و سوندر سپه سالار
هندوان بجای نبود تلک را بنواخت و خلعت زر داد ..... کارش بدین
پایه رسید که در میان اعیان می نشست در خلوت و تدبیرها[1]

" This Tilk was a son of a barber. He had an eloquent tongue and had good hand writing in Hindi and Persian. He had spent years in Kashmīr and studied there. From that place he came before Qāẓī of Shirāz, Abul Ḥasan by name. The Qāẓī ordered that he was not allowed to go any where. Tilk played a trick and his condition was told to Khawājah the great, Aḥmad Ḥasan. Tilk became one of the nobles and trust worthy men of Khawājah ....and when Amir Maḥmūd sent for his servants and clerks to select for appointment at the court, he liked Tilk ....When Shāh Mas'ud went from Hirāt to Balkh and Sundar the commander-in-chief of Hindūs was not present he favoured Tilk and bestowed upon him a robe of gold cloth ....He(Tilk) acquired such a dignity that he used to sit with nobles at private meetings."

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1. Baihiqī, Abul Fazl, Tarikh-i-Baihiqī , pp503- 504.

Taking into view all these facts it may be suggested that the army consisting mostly of Hindūs had made it-self conversant with Persian language and literature------Persian, the language of its soverign. Moreover, they would have accompanied Maḥmūd on his invasions of India and thus paved way for the introduction of Persian language in Kashmīr. We have seen Maḥmūd's forces attack-ing the environments of Kashmīr. In these circumstances we shall not be going out of our way if we presume that Persian language was making itself familiar to the people of Kashmīr and influencing their culture and taste.

III

Persian language and literature was progressing in the Panjāb and it will not be wrong to suppose that it had reached its climax during Ghaznavid regime but our researches fail to reveal any notable sign of its progress in Kashmīr, although Islām had found its way in Kashmīr through the preachers. Sir Thomas Arnold writes

" Of all the provinces and states of India (with the excep-tion of Sindh) Kashmīr contains the largest number of Muḥammadans (namely 70 percent) in proportion to the whole population, but unfortunately historical facts that should explain the existance in this state of so many Muslims, almost entirely of Hindū or Tibitan origin, are very scanty. But all the evidence leads us to attribute it on the whole to a long continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by Faqīrs and dervishes among

whom were Isma'ilian preachers sent from Alamut."[1]

Of the progress persian made up to the 8th century of Hijra ie. the 14th century of Christian era, and when the Islamising influence first made itself felt in the country, we have two views expressed by the historians.

The first Muhammadan king of Kashmīr according to A'zam was ~~ṢADR-UD-DĪN~~ Ṣadr-ud-Dīn (d. 727 A.H. 1327 A.D.)[2] King Ranchana who after embrancing Islām is known as Ṣadr-ud-Dīn found himself the undisputed king of Kashmīr in 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.) He was converted to Islām by Bulbul Shāh (d. 727 A.H.- 1327 A.D.) The story of Rinchana's embracing Islām has thus been told by Muhammad A'zam in Vaqi'āt-i-Kashmīr.

مخفی نماند که در عهد رینچو شاه اگرچه تمام مردم یک ملت کفر داشتند اما اختلاف
مشارب و تنوع اکثر مذاهب بسیار بود ...... رینچو شاه در دین امر متردد شد
هرچند تامل فرمود بنا بر فطانت ورای و رزانت تدبیر صواب نا هیچ دینی از
ادیان این ولایت قبول خاطرش نیفتاد ..... شب و روز در تحقیق و تفحص ادیان
و ملل بود و لمحهٔ ازین غم نمی آسود ..... ناگاه بحکم سعادت ازلی در دلش ریختند
که هرکه صبح پگاه اول در نظرش درآید این طالب صادق و حیران بملت دین او گرآید
..... صبح آنجا که بر مسند خود نشسته و بکمال جانگاهی دل بر فضل و عنایت الهی
بسته نظر اولش بر سمت قبله جانب دریا افتادی بیند که بزرگ عالی مقداری فرشته دیداری
بر مصلای سنگین با کمال تمکین با ادای مشرب در غایت ادب بر قانون دین مبینه مصطفویه علی
صاحبها الصلوٰة والسلام ادای نماز بکمال نیاز میکند این طائفه برگزیده را دید و بسیار در بسیار
پسندید و بملازمت آن پیر بزرگوار شائق و خواهان گردید بی تامل بدریافت خدمتش

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1. Arnold, Thomas, Sir, The preaching of Islām, p 240
2. Kaul, Nārā'in, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, Ms. fol. 58.

بتعجیل دوید - بعد لوازم ادب و خدمت از حقیقت دین وآئین پرسید - آنجناب
فیض مآب بیان ملت مصطفویہ علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام ...... برای ترغیب شاہ مزبور
بیان فرمود تا لمعانِ سینہ و پاکئ اعتقاد و ابعادت اسلام مشرف شد و بیان
لخفہ اہل بیت خود را باین سعادت مستفید گردانید

" It is clear that in the reign of Ritanjū Shāh though the whole population was inclined to infidelity, yet there was a lot of difference between the doctrines of their various sect. Ritanjū Shāh was irresolute in this respect. He thought over it, but owing to his sound judgement and firmness of right showing resolution, no religion from among those prevalent in the country appealed to his mind. He was at all the times busy in investigation and ascertainment of the truth of those religions and could not procure peace of mind by his pains. Suddenly, by the grace of God it struck him that who ever would first come to the bewildered sight of the real seeker early next morning should determine his religion. Early in the morning when he was sitting in his balcony and with great agony setting his heart upon the blessing of God he first of all looked towards the river. He saw a dignified old man with an angel's countinance saying his prayers with much devotion and great humality on a stone serving as a carpet on the river according to the doctrines of Sunnis. He saw this reverend man and liked him extremely, and became desirous of the company of the venerable saint. He without hesitation hurriedly went before him and after paying due deference asked about the truth of his religion. That bountiful one told him about the

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms. pp 39-41.

religion of prophet Muḥammad (May peace be upon him) inorder to persuade him. He with an open mind and purity of heart got the felicity of embracing Islām and at the same moment made all the members of his family derive profit from the bliss."

A'ẕam further says:

روز دیگر راون چند و سرداران دیگر و عامه خلائق فوج فوج بر دست حق پرست ....

.... حضرت بابا بلبل شاه قدس سره الاقدس .... مسلمان شد[1]

" Next day Rāvan Chand and other nobles and the public at large embraced Islām at the hands of that worshipper of God, Ḥaẓrat Bābā Bulbul Shāh, may God purify his holy secrets."

It is an open secret that Bulbul Shāh was a Persian who was according to Muḥammad A'ẕam, "the spiritual disciple of Shāh Ni'mat Ullah Walī, a 'Khalīfah' of the Suhrwardī Tariq or school of sufism founded by Shaikh-ush-Shayukh Shihab-ud-Dīn Suhrwardī."[2]

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1. A'ẕam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms. pp 39-40
2. A'ẕam writes: at p 141.

بهر تقدیر در تعین مرشد آنجناب اختلاف است - اکثری از ارباب تواریخ آنجناب را

منسوب بجناب شیخ الشیوخ شهاب الحق والملة والدین السهروردی قدس سره العزیز

می کنند و کتبه منتسبان آن حضرت میدانند و جمعی از متوسلان و فرزند معنوی شاه نعمت الله

ولی که از منسوبان و مخصوصان شیخ الشیوخ است می نویسند اما احقر الامم محمد اعظم

راقم این حروف میگوید که واقعه حضرت شیخ الشیوخ در سال ششصد و دو متفق علیه

است و ظهور حضرت بلبل شاه در سال هفتصد و بیست و پنج در کشمیر افتاد نود و

سه سال در میان فاصله است برین تقدیر توسل ایشان بلا واسطه آنجناب

بظاهر بعید می نماید والعلم عند الله تعالی

(continued)

SHĀH MĪR

The second version is that of Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad the author of Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, who considers Shāh Mīr known as Shams-ud-Dīn, as the first muslim ruler of Kashmīr. He writes:

در سنهٔ خمس و عشره و سبعمایة که ایام راجا سهدیو بود شاه میر نام شخصی که نسبت
خود چنین درست میکرد که شاه میر ال طاهر ال ابن ال شاباب بن کرشاسب ابن
نیک روز و آن راجه نسب خود بارجن که یکی از پاندوانست می رسانید..... شاهمیر
نوکر شد. مدت خدمت کرده اعتبار یافت و چون راجه سهدیو درگذشت ولیپر او
راجه رنجن بحکومت نشست و شاه میر را وزیر خود ساخت ..... و اتالیق پسر
خود که حیدر نام داشت باو تفویض نمود و چون راجه رنجن فوت کرد راجه اودن که قرابتی
باو داشت از قندهار آمده بحکومت نشست او نیز او را وکیل خود ساخت و دو پسر

(continued from the back page.)

" However there is a difference in the appointment of his spiritual guide. Many historians have connected him with Ḥazrat Shaikh-ush-Shuyūkh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrwardī the meteor of rightousness, nation and religion(May God purify his dear secrets). They rather consider him as his adopted son and a few describe him as the resort and spiritual son of Shāh Niʿmat ʿAlī Walī who is one of those connected with and favourites of the Shaikh-ush-Shuyūkh. But this humblest of the man kind, Muḥammad Aʿẓam, the writer of these words says, that the death of Ḥazrat Shaikh-ush-Shuyūkh took place in 632 and all agree to it, and the advent of Ḥazrat Bulbul Shāh existed in 725. There is a difference of 93 years, therefore, his association with him without an intermediator apperently seems distant (inconceivable) and God Alimighty knows it well.

(foot-note concluded.)

او را یکی جمشید و دیگری علی شیر نام داشت اعتبار نموده صاحب اختیار ساخت و
شاه میر را دو پسر دیگر نیز بود یکی شیر شاه و یکی هندال نام و این صاحب داعیه و
جلادت بودند چون شاه میر و پسران او غلبه و استیلا بهم رسانیدند به تقریبی راجه
اودن دیو از ایشان رنجیده از آمدن بخانه خود منع کرد و شاه میر و پسرانش تمام
پرگنات را متصرف شده اکثر نوکران راجه را از خود ساختند و روز بروز قوت و
غلبه یافتند و راجه اودن دیو زبون تر شد تا در سنه سبع و اربعین و سبعمائه راجه اودن
دیو در گذشت و زن کوته رانی قائم مقام او شد تا باستقلال حکومت نماید و بشاه میر
پیغام فرستاد که حیدر پسر راجه رنجن را بحکومت بردارد و شاه میر قبول این امر کرده
انقیاد ننمود - رانی با لشکر بسیار رفته گرفتار گشت ...... بعد از آن شاه میر را
بشوهری قبول کرده اسلام آورد و یک روز و شب باهم بودند - روز دیگر شاه او را
گرفته مقید ساخت و لوای سلطنت برافراخته ...... خود را شمس الدین خطاب
داده و چون ابتداء ظهور ملت حنفی در بلده کشمیر از زمان او است ابتدای طبقه کشمیر از او کرده شد ۱

" In the year 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.) during the reign of Rājā Sahdeva one Shāh Mīr who used to claim this pedigree. Shāh Mīr son of Ṭāhir Āl, son of Al Shashab son of Karshashab son of Naikroz and refers his ancestry to Arjan, one of the Pandūs. He became a servant of the Rājā and having served him for a considerable period, acquired much honour. When Rājā Sahdeva passed away and his son Rājā Ranjan also died, Rājā Audandeva who was his relative, came from Qandhār and sat on the throne and he too made him his representative. He placed reliance on his two sons, one

1. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, pp 596-597

of whom was named Jamshīd and the other ʿAli Shīr, and invested them with authority. Shāh Mīr had two other sons, one called Shīr Shāh and the other named Hindāl and they also aspired to greatness.

When Shāh Mīr and his sons became powerful and turbulent Rājā Audan Deva was annoyed with them in connection with certain matters, and forbade them to come to his house. Shāh Mīr and his sons taking possession of all the Parganas of Kashmīr, made most of the servants of the Rājā join them and acquired fresh strength and power day by day. Rājā Audan also became weaker till in the year 724 A.H.[1] he passed away, and his widow Kotā Devī took his place, so that she might rule with absolute power. She sent a message to Shāh Mīr to raise Haidar, son of Rājā Ranjan to power. Shāh Mīr did not agree with this and did not obey her. She advanced with a large army but was taken prisoner ....After that she accepted Shāh Mīr for her husband and became converted to Islām. They passed one day and one night together. The next day Shāh Mīr seized and

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1. Bīr Bal Kachur places Shāh Mīr's accession in the year 743 A.H. (1346 A.D.). He writes under the heading "About the Sultāns of Kashmīr: القصه در سنه هفت صد و چهل و سه هجری شاه میر بر سریر سلطنت کشمیر جای گیر شد

(Majmaʿ-ut-Tawārīkh , Ms, fol 162)

He further says that he died in 747 A.H. (1350 A.D.)

در سنه هفت صد و چهل و هفت ساقی اجل شراب ناکامی چشانید

Aʿzam in Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr gives the same dates.

در تاریخ هفتصد و چهل و سه بسلطنت نشست و خود را السلطان شمس الدین ملقب ساخته ...... در سنه هفت صد و چهل و هفت ساقی اجلش جام شراب حسرت چشانید

imprisoned her[1] and having hoisted the flag of the empire ...... gave himself the title of Shams-ud-Dīn . As the commencement of the appearance of the Ḥanfī religion in the country of Kashmīr was from his time, the beginning of the section about Kashmīr had been made from that time."

Farishtah merely copies Nizām-ud-Dīn. It is, however, inconceivable as he himself writes the name of Ranjan's son Haidar. Kaul mentions that his name was Ḥaidar Khān.[1] Moreover Ranjan made Shāh Mīr the guardian of his son. Had he not embraced Islām he would not have appointed Shāh Mīr as his son's guardian. From this it is obvious that Ranjan (Ranghana) was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr. Being a Muslim he gave his son a Muslim name. Taking these facts into view it can be confidently asserted that Islām flourished in Kashmīr at the advent of Bulbul Shāh, in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) when he went there with a few followers of his to preach Islām. As he and his followers were Persian by race, so it may be said that their presence served as a blessing in disguise to the Persain language.

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1. Kaul says that she stabed herself on the first night.

منقول است که چون شاه میر خواست که با کوته رین هم حجره شود کوته رین به خنجر
شکم خود درید روده را بیرون کشید عوض خود برای مجالست و مواصلت شاه میر گذاشت

(cf. Kaul, Nārā'in, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr ,Ms, p 59.

2. Ibid, Ms, p 57.

شاه میر را که در ورود وی رقم تحریر پذیرفته از خواص و مقربان بارگاه گردانید
حیدر خان ولد خود را به حضانت وی سپرد

Ranchana, whose Islamic name was Sadr-ud-Dīn, built according to the desires of Bulbul Shāh, a Khānqāh which was the first to be set up in Kashmīr. A'zam writes:-

FIRST KHĀNQĀH (MONASTRY) AND MOSQUE IN KASHMĪR

بعد تقلید اسلام ریتچو شاه و تبعه او بحکم پیر بزرگوار خانقاهی بر کنار
دریا بنا نهاده - و این اول خانقاهی ست که در کشمیر بنا یافته [1]

" After embracing Islām Richanju Shāh and his followers in compliance with the order of the reverend saint laid the foundation of a Khānqāh on the bank of a river and this is the first Khānqāh founded in Kashmīr.

A mosque was also constructed for congrigational prayer. A'zam writes:

برای جمعه و جماعت خود مسجدی بنا نمود [2]

" He laid the foundation of a mosque for Friday and the congrigational prayers."

These Khānqāhs (Monastries) and mosques were in the past the centres of Persian and Arabic learning in the East. They imparted instructions in the various branches of Persian learning, besides those of Arabic, comprising chiefly literature, rhetoric, philosophy mysticism, commentary on the holy Qurān and Hadīs.

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 41.
2. Ibid, p 41.

.... Researches show that seven hundred friends and sayyids accompanied that exalted one."

A'zam has also given a list of twelve persons who were prominent as his co-workers. These were:

1. Hazrat Mir Sayyid Husain Samani (Simnani)
2. Mir Sayyid Haidar.
3. Hazrat Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din.
4. Hazrat Sayyid Kamal.
5. Hazrat Sayyid Kamal Sani (The second)
6. Hazrat Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din.
7. Hazrat Sayyid Firoz alias Jalal-ud-Din.
8. Sayyid Muhammad Kazim.
9. Hazrat Mir Sayyid Rukn-ud-Din and Sayyid Fakhr-ud-Din (both were brothers.)
10. Sayyid Muhammad Quraishi.
11. Hazrat Sayyid Ahmad Quraishi
12. Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Qari.

These Sufis spent the rest of their lives in propagating their

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(Foot note continued from the back page)

arrival in Kashmir. He writes:

" He (Sayyid 'Ali Hamdani) arrived in that province (Kashmir) in A.D. 1380, A.H. 782.(cf Beal, Thomas William, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 355). But on the other hand Riew confirms 781 A.H. as the date of his visiting Kashmir. He writes:

" He is especially known as the apostle of Kashmir, which he entered in A.H. 781, with a train of seven hundred followers." (cf. Riew, Charles, Catalogue of the Persian Ms. in the British Museum, Vol. II. p 447)

3.Kaul, Nara'in, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Ms. 101. ...

3. Rahman Ali Khan, ...

the literary movement which enriched Persian literature and made it popular. We, therefore, deem it essential on our part to give him

IV

After a reign of three years, Sulṭān Ṣadr-ud-Dīn formerly Rinchana, passed away, and chaos began to prevail in Kashmīr. Till thirty years later Persian did not produce any literature.

SULṬĀN SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN:

In the year 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.) Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn succeeded to the throne and remained suzerian of Kashmīr for twenty years ie. from 755 to 775 A.H. (1354-1373 A.D.) His reign represents the most glorious period of the sovereignty of the Sulṭāns of Kashmīr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl echos this view when he says:

عمرها گل رخت بر بست و گشاد ٭ خاک ما دیگر شهاب الدین نزاد

Sayyid Ḥussin Simnānī:

During his regime Sayyid Ḥussin Simnānī along with other Sayyids who were his relatives, was sent to Kashmīr by Sayyid ʻAlī Hamdānī (d. 786 A.H.- 1384 A.D.) who is also known as Shāh-i-Hamdān or Amīr-i-Kabīr (The great Amīr) or ʻAlī-i-Ṣānī, the second ʻAlī, to survey the field for the propagation of Islām, and also to find means of escape from Timūr, who was suspected of contemplating, for political motives the massacre of his powerful Sayyid family. Aʻẓam tells us:

از جمله فیوضات و برکات که در زمان سلطان شهاب الدین کشمیر را مستفیض و مشرف ساخته این است که جناب مقرب درگاه ربانی عارف سبحانی حضرت سید حسین سمنانی رح با بزرگان دیگر از سادات که قرابت تام با جناب داشته بامر حضرت علی ثانی جهت راه و احوال و سیرت ملت شاه بکشمیر تشریف آوردند[1]

" Another among the blessings and graces which honoured and

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1. Aʻẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʻāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 49.

glorified Kashmīr during the reign of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn is, that the favourite of the court of God, a knower of the Divine, Ḥazrat Sayyid Ḥusain Simnānī with other honourable Sayyids who had relations with that exalted one, came to Kashmīr by the order of Ḥazrat ʿAlī Sānī to know the way and the condition of the subject of the king."

The incomming of these Sayyids shows that the Persian speech in Kashmīr made a marvellous growth. Persian by birth as they were, with the banner of Islām in their hands, coupled with their permanent settlement here, all this persuades us to imagine what a time of upheavel this period must have been for the language and culture of the then Kashmīr.

On the death of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, his brother Hindāl

SULṬĀN QUṬB-UD-DĪN : ascended the throne in 775 A.H. (1373 A.D.) under the title of Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-Dīn. During the reign Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī fled to Kashmīr from his native city of Hamdān with a host of seven hundred Sayyids. Aʿẓam writes:

از برکات و عطیات خاص الٰهی که در زمان میمنت اقتران او ناحیۀ کشمیر شرف قدوم سعادت لزوم ..... حضرت سید علی همدانی است نور الله مرقده که در شهور سنه هفت صد و هشتاد و یک نزول در کشمیر جنت نظیر فرمودند ..... به تحقیق پیوسته که رفقا و سادات قریب هفت صد کس همراه آنجناب بودند ۱

" Among the blessings and the special gifts of the Divinity that Kashmīr attained during this regime which is associated with prosperity is the visit of Ḥazrat Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī, may God illuminate his grave, who entered Kashmīr, the paradise on earth in the months of year seven hundred and eighty one.[2] ....

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1. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 50
2. Beal has given A.H. 782 (1380 A.D.) as the year of his

(continued)

.... Researches show that seven hundred friends and sayyids accompanied that exalted one."

A'zam has also given a list of twelve persons who were prominant as his co-workers. These were:

1. Ḥazrat Mīr Sayyid Ḥusain Sīmānī (Simnānī)
2. Mīr Sayyid Ḥaidar.
3. Ḥazrat Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn.
4. Ḥazrat Sayyid Kamāl.
5. Ḥazrat Sayyid Kamāl S̱āni (The second)
6. Ḥazrat Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn.
7. Ḥazrat Sayyid Fīroz alius Jalāl-ud-Dīn.
8. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim.
9. Ḥazrat Mīr Sayyid Rukn-ud-Dīn and Sayyid Fakhr-ud-Dīn (both were brothers.)
10. Sayyid Muḥammad Quraishī.
11. Ḥazrat Sayyid Aḥmad Quraishī
12. Maulānā Sayyid Muḥammad Qārī.

These Ṣūfis spent the rest of their lives in propagating their

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arrival in Kashmīr. He writes:

" He (Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī) arrived in that province (Kashmīr) in A.D. 1380, A.H. 782.(cf Beal, Thomas William, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 355). But on the other hand Riew confirms 781 A.H. as the date of his visiting Kashmīr. He writes:

" He is especially known as the apostle of Kashmīr, which he entered in A.H. 781, with a train of seven hundred followers." (cf. Riew, Charles, Catalogue of the Persian Ms. in the British Museum, Vol. II. p 447)

creed and educating their new converts in the principles of Persian mysticism, thus certainly giving a great incentive to Persian taste and learning in Kashmīr.

Sultān Quṭb-ud-Dīn himself acknowledged the greatness of the Sayyids. It is apparent from the fact that the Sulṭān, who had married two sisters contrary to the Sharī'at or the law of Islām, had to divorce one of his wives at the instance of Shāh Hamdān. The Sultān also adopted the dress then prevalent in the Islāmic countries. A'zam throws light on the subject in his history:

سلطان با اخلاص درست بخدمت خدام عالی مقام برسید و آداب ارادت و محبت بجای آورد و نصح و نصایح از آن جناب شنیده بکار می برد چنانکه دو خواهر با جهالت معاً بنکاح در آورده بود برهم زده و چون علم شریعت محمدی علیه الصلوات والسلام هنوز بخوبی شایع نشده بود سلطان هم لباس قوم کفره می پوشید و آن را با رهنمائی حضرت سید ترک داد[1]

" The sulṭān with sincere devotion used to go in the service of the servants of that exalted one and used to perform the ettiqutes of devotion and love. Hearing the advice and counsels from that honourable one, he used to act upon them. So he divorced one of the two sisters whom he had unknowingly married, and as the laws of Islām were not till then prevalent the Sulṭān used to put on the dress of the infidels, which he was caused to abandon abiding by the orders of Hazrat Sayyid."

By the arrival of these Ṣūfīs and saints, the kings were becomming pious day by day and, therefore, turning their attentions towards the construction of mosques and monasteries which were the centres of Persian and Arabic cultures in the East. For instance

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 43.

Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn erected a mosque in his capital Quṭb-ud-Dīn pura.

شهاب الدین ...... شهاب الدین پوره پای تخت خود قرار کرد

درآنجا مسجد کلان بنا کرد که هنوز بنای مسجد بحال است ۱

" Shihāb-ud-Dīn made Shihāb-ud-Dīn pura as his capital. He laid the foundation of a big mosque there. The foundation of the mosque are still standing."

Similarly Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī settled in Mahallah ʿAlā-ud-Dīn Pura where he made a platform for saying prayers. Aʿẓam tells us:

فرودش جناب آنحضرت در محله علاؤالدین پوره در رباطی که آنجا بود شد و برای خمس الاوقات

برلب دریای بہت صفه مربعی که الحال خانقاه فیض پناه است آراسته بود در آنجا نماز می خواند ۲

" That exalted one settled in a caravan Serai which was situated in Mahallah ʿAlā ud-Dīn Pura and for saying prayers for five times he made a quadrangular plat form on the bank of river Behat, where at present there is a Khānqāh, the asylum of blessing, he used to say his prayers there."

The Khānqāh was constructed, as we are told by Kaul, by Sikandar, who is known as 'But-Shikan ' or the iconoclast.

سلطان سکندر به جهت میر سید محمد بالای صفه که میر سید علی همدانی برای ادای نماز در محله علاؤالدین پوره

کنار آب ساخته بودند خانقاهی عمارت نمود و قریه چند وقف مجاوران خانقاه مقرر کرد

" Sulṭān Sikandar built a Khānqāh for Sayyid Muḥammad on the platform which was made by Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī for saying prayer at the bank of a river, and endowed a few villages for the person residing in the monastry."

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1. Aʿẓam Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr , Ms. P 48.
2. Ibid, p 50.
3. Kaul, Nārā'in, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr , Ms. fol. 61b-62 a.

Turning our attention again towards Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-Dīn's regime (775-791 A.H.-1373-1389 A.D.) we find it most noted in the history of Persian literature in Kashmīr for the productivity of its literature both in poetry and prose.

SHĀH HAMDĀN:

Shāh Hamdān who was not only a saint but an author too. He wrote the Zakhīratul Malūk, a treatise on political ethics and the rules of good governments in the Persian language. A manuscript copy of it is preserved in the Panjāb University Library containing 164 folios. At least three folios of Chapter nine and the whole of chapter ten are missing. It is in two hands The first hand writing is from beginning to folio 31 a and from 119a to 164b. All the folios are worm-eaten especially folios 32a to 118b. The worms have affected the margins of the book to a great extent.[1]

British Museum has also a manuscript containing 250 folios 10¾×9, 15 lines, 3 inches long written in neat Nasta'līq.[2]

The Zakhīratul Malūk consists of the following chapters.

۱- در شرائط احکام ایمان و لوازم و کمال آن که سبب نجات بنده است از عذاب ابدی و وسیلت وصول او بدوام لذات نعیم سرمدی

2- در ادای حقوق عبودیت

3- در مکارم اخلاق و حسن خلق و وجوب تمسک حاکم و پادشاه و بر سیرت خلفاء راشدین رضی الله تعالی عنهم اجمعین.

1. For manuscript see call No: pc I 15

Zakhīratul Malūk was lithographed in Amritsar by Niāz Ālī Khān 1321 A.H. This is also available in the Panjāb University Library. Its call No: is O C I 6.

2. Riew, Charles, Catalogue of Persian Ms. in the British Museum, Vol. II, Add 7618, p 447.

۴ - در حقوق والدین و زوج و زوجه و اولاد و عبید و اقارب واصدقا

5. در احکام سلطنت صوری و ولایت و امارت و حقوق رعایا و شرائط حکومت و خطر مهدهٔ آن و وجوب عدل و احسان

۶ - در شرح سلطنت معنوی و اسرار خلافت معنوی

7. در بیان امر معروف و نهی منکر و فضائل و شرائط و آداب آن

۸. در بیان حقائق شکر و نعمت و ذکر اصناف انعام و افضال حضرت صمدیت

۹. در بیان حقیقت صبر بر مکاره و مصائب دنیوی که آن از لوازم امور ولایت و سلطنت است

۱۰. در مذمت تکبر و غضب و حقیقت آن .

Beal is wrong in naming this book as Tazkirat-al-Maluk.[1]

Among the other works of Shāh Hamdān Kulasah-tul-Manāqib was composed in A.H. 778- A.D. 1376.[2]

It is a mystical treatise on various Sufic questions illustrated with verses of the holy Qurān and traditions and exposition of the virtues of the life of Shāh Hamdān. The following treatises have also been attributed by ʿAbdul Muqtadir in the first volume of Bānkipur catalogue.

رسالۃ الاصطلاحات A treatise on Ṣūfic terms and expression.

علم قیافہ A tract on physiognomy.

حل الفصوص A commentary on the well known mystic work of Ibn-i-ʿArabī who died A.H. 638-(A.D. 1204)

1. Beal, Thomas William. Oriental Biographical Dictionary , p 356
2. ʿAbdul Muqtadir, Maulavi, A catalogue of Persian Ms. in the Oriental Library at Bānkipur. Vol. I. p 230

A manuscript of this book is preserved in the Panjāb University Library. It bears its call No: A P F II, 1. It contains 94 folios, occassionally marginal notes, worm-eaten, repairs made, not dated.

مشارق الاذواق A commentary on wine-qasidah of 'Umar Ibn-ul-Farid, who died in A.H. 786 (1385 A.D.)[1]

Riew has mentioned a number of small mystical tracts which are as follows.

(۱) مکتوبات امیریہ - (۲) رسالۂ داؤدیہ - (۳) دہ قاعدہ - (۴) مکارم اخلاق
(۵) کشف الحقائق - (۶) مشارب الاذواق (۷) رسالۂ اعتقاد - (۸) رسالۂ درویشیہ
(۹) رسالۂ فتوحیہ (۱۰) کتاب منامیہ (۱۱) شرح مشکل حل - (۱۲) رسالۂ عشقیہ
(۱۳) اسناد حلیہ حضرت رسالتؐ - (۱۴) رسالۂ خطبہ امیریہ - (۱۵) رسالۂ خواطریہ
(۱۶) رسالۂ سادات نامہ - (۱۷) رسالۂ مناجات [2]

The following works of 'Alī Hamdānī are also preserved in British Museum.

1. رسالۂ نوریہ A tract on contemplation. It consists chiefly of extracts from the writing of Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī.
2. رسالۂ مکتوبات It contains letters of 'Alī Hamdānī on spiritual subjects.
3. در معرفت صورت و سیرت انسان It discusses the bodily and moral features of men.

Among the other works of Shāh Hamdān the following are also notable. Rahmān 'Alī Khān mentions the following three books in his Tazkirah-i-Ulmā'-i-Hind

۱- جمع الاحادیث - (۲) شرح اسمای حسنی - (۳) مرآۃ التائبین [3]

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1. 'Abdul Muqtadir, Maulvī, Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Ms. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur , Vol. I. p 230.
2. Riew, Charles, Catalogue of the Persain Ms. in British Museum, Vol. II. p 836.
* Riew gives its name as مشارب الاذواق and not مشارق الاذواق
(cf. Catalogue of Petsian Manuscript in the British Museum , Vol. II. p 836.
3. Rahman Ali Khān, Tazkirah-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind, p. 14.

Ghulām Sarwar also acquaints us with an other book of his, namely Isrār-un-Nuqṭ (اسرار النقط)[1].

Shāh Hamdān was also a poet. His dīvān is a small collection of the religious and mystical poems beginning:

The description of the manuscript given by Maulvī ʿAbdul Muqtadir is thus:

Foll 14. lines 15. size 6¾ × 3¼; 5¾ × 2¼

DĪVĀN-i-SHĀH HAMDĀN OR CHEHL ISRĀR :

It would not be out of place to say something about Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī who spent a good part of his life in Kashmīr and devoted his life in the propagation of his religion and by writing a few books on religion and mysticism and a number of Ghazals having mysticism as their theme, laid the foundation stone of Persian literature in Kashmīr. In the preceeding pages we have mentioned a number of books written by him in Persian prose, but here we intend to introduce him as a poet. No doubt he was not a Kashmīrī, but as he was the first who introduced persian poetry in Kashmīr, or he was the first out sider who stayed in Kashmīr and wrote poetry in Persian or in other words we may emphasise that he was the torch bearer of the literary movement which enriched Persian literature and made it popular. We, therefore, deem it essential on our part to give him

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1. Ghulām Sarwar, Khazīnah-tul-Asfiyah , Vol. II,p 294
2. ʿAbdul Muqtadir, The Bānkipur catalogue of Persian Ms., Vol.I No: 150, p 229

Riew has given the second hemistich of this couplet thus.

وایان حضرتت را از خود و جنت ننال

(cf. Catalogue of Persian Ms. in the British Museum Vol. II. Add. 16,779, p 825.

place, but as he was a foreigner so he will not be given sufficient room in this thesis. His life and works themselves provide sufficient material for an other thesis. Hence, we shall be very brief in commenting on his poetry.

So far as his collection of poems is concerned, it contains forty one Ghazals in all. The opening verse of the first Ghazal is

ای گرفتاران مشقت فارغ از مال و منال تو ÷ واهبان حضرتت را از خود و جنت ملال

Before writing a critical appreciation of these Ghazals, we would like to mention that a good deal of fiction has been written about these Ghazals which are known as چهل اسرار or "Forty mystries It is a strange phenomenon that with the passage of time fictions tales distort correct historical facts, disfiguring them beyond all recognition, so that in a decade or two, these myths themselves come to be substituted for and later acknowledged as facts. Exaggeration, for better and worse , is in the nature of man but the aim of history is the preservation of facts, the differentiation of correct from in correct accounts. As we have stated above a good deal of fiction has been written about 'Chehl Isrār' But when we apply the torch of scientific research, the real facts, suppressed intentionally, or otherwise, by our writers , emerge.

First of all we take up the fiction related to the name of this collection 'Chehl Isrār'. The reason advanced for this name is as follows.

وجه تسمیه چهل اسرار آنست که حضرت علی ثانی جناب میر سید علی همدانی قدس سره را در یک شام چهل مرید برای افطار نمودن روزه دعوت نمودند. حضرت به چهل مرید را وعده دادند که شام با همه شما روزه افطار خواهم نمود. حضرت بوقت شام در چهل خانه بیک شام افطار نمودند هر یک را یک غزل بدستخط مبارک نوشته برای سند عطا فرمودند

معلوم گردید که از حضرت از کرامت چهل وجود گردیده در یک وقت به چهل مکان روزه افطار نمودند - ازان چهل اسراری نامند این غزلیات را[1]

Naming it as 'Chehl Isrār' (Forty mystries) is due to the fact that one evening forty followers of Hazrat Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī (May God purify his secrets) invited him to break his fast with them. The Hazrat promised with all the forty followers, that he would break his fast at evening in their houses. He at that evening broke his fast in forty houses and hand over his own Ghazal with his own signature to each one of them as a certificate. On the next day it came to light that he by supernatural power turned himself into forty bodies, so at one and the same time he broke his fast in forty houses. This is why these Ghazals are being named as 'Chehl Isrār'."

First of all we should not forget that the collection contains forty one Ghazals and not forty, so the name should have been چهل و یک اسرار and the number of the followers who invited the Shāh of Hamdān ought to have been 41 instead of 40. May we think that one out of these forty-one Ghazals is not that of Amīr-i-Kabīr. This supposition of ours is not correct, because one Mastān Shāh of Kābul, who is said to be a great Sufī and perfect guide(مرشد کامل) has written تضمین on the all the forty one Ghazals of 'Ali-Sānī. It is interesting to note that this Tazmīn (تضمین) on the Ghazals was written by him (Mastān Shāh) on the instigation of the people rather followers and by the approval of Sayyid 'Alī Hamdāni himself whom the former saw in his dreams. Maulvi 'Abdul Hakīm Gunkārī whom according to his own statement remained with Mastān Shāh for 20 years, writes in the preface to Mastān Shāh's Dīvān.

1. Mastān Shāh, Dīvān-i-Mastān Shāh, p.445

بعد از اتمام دیوان شریف بعضی اشناصان از سر صدق و بعضی از روی امتحان آرزو نمودند که غزلیات چهل اسرار از قطب الاقطاب علی ثانی میر سید علی همدانی رحمة الله علیه را مخمس نماید حضرت پیر دستگیر فرمودند که حضرت موصوف پسند و اسطه پیر دستگیر این فقیر می باشد در کلام اوشان جرات کرده نمی توانم - بار دیگر التجا نمودند - حضرت ما فرمودند که امشب درین امر استخاره می نمائیم که استخاره بموجب حدیث شریف با حضرت پروردگار جلشانهٗ مشوره کردن است - حضرت درین آرزو بحکم باطن آن شب انتظار فرمان غیبی میداشت در آن شب نور جمال باکمال قطب الاقطاب حضرت علی ثانی میر سید علی همدانی قدس سرهٗ جلوه گر گردیدند دیوان آتش کده وحدت که از تصنیف حضرت ما ست بدست مبارک خود شاه همدان بدست حضرت دادند و فرمودند که مستان شاه دیوان را بگشای چون گشودند معائنه گردید که چهل اسرار مخمس شده در اخیر دیوان درج می باشد - از هر ورق مخمس چهل اسرار نور تجلی نور آفتاب بر آمده و تا فلک میرود و دامن آسمان را مشعل نگون می نماید و از صفحات دیوان آتشکدهٗ وحدت نوری بر آید مثل نور مهتاب تا به آسمان رفته دامن آسمان را مزین می گرداند حضرت علی ثانی رضی الله عنه فرمودند که مستان شاه مخمس چهل اسرار را برای تو گذاشته ایم گویا حضرت علی ثانی بروحی چهل اسرار را خود مخمس نمودند چون اجازت یافتند علی الصباح حضرت به تضمین مخمس چهل اسرار مشغول گردیدند [1]

" We have no concern with the correction of this statement. Whether or not Sayyid ʿAli Hamdānī said these words, but there is nothing denying the fact that the Ghazals of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī are forty one. It is , however, strange that one of the followers of Mastān Shāh has written a critical appreciation of 'Dīvān-i-Mastān Shāh, while commenting on the چہل اسرار writes:

لیکن اس موقع پر مخمس چہل اسرار کا ذکر کرنے سے باز نہیں رہ سکتا جو پہلے بھی رسالہ کی صورت میں علاحدہ شائع ہو چکا تھا اور اب دیوان کے ساتھ بھی ہدیہ ناظرین ہوتا ہے اور جس میں قطب ربانی غوث ہمدانی امیر کبیر حضرت میر سید علی ہمدانی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کی چالیس غزلوں پر تضمین فرمائی ہے [2]

1. ʿAbdul Hakim Maulvi, Preface to Dīvān-i-Mastān Shāh , pp 372/373

2. Dīvān Mastān Shāh , p 41.

But at this occasion I cannot refrain from mentioning 'Chehl Isrār', which has already been published separately, and now it is presented to the reader along with the 'Dīvān' and this Tazmīn (تضمین) has been made on the forty Ghazals of Commander of faith, saint, Amīr-i-Kabīr, Ḥazrat Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī (May God bless him)"

But on the next page he writes:

مجھے پہلے پہل یہ رسالہ مخمس چہل اسرار حضرت نے عطا فرمایا تو باوجود کسی قدر ذوق شعر گوئی
فہمی کے مجھے اس کی کچھ سمجھ نہ آتی تھی مگر بعدازاں جب حضرت کی توجہ باطن سے آنکھیں کھلیں تو
خود بخود شوق پیدا ہو گیا اور بالآخر جب مجھے سفر کشمیر کا اتفاق ہوا تو سری نگر میں ہر روز حضرت شاہ
ہمدان قدس سرہ العزیز کی خانقاہ معلی پر کمترین حاضر ہو کر بعد فاتحہ و دعا ہر روز ایک مخمس
حجرۂ مبارک کے روبرو پڑھا کرتا تھا اکتالیس روز کے بعد جب میں نے رسالہ مخمس چہل اسرار
کو ختم کر لیا تو رات کے وقت عالم خواب میں حضرت شاہ ہمدان رحمۃ اللہ علیہ کی زیارت ہوئی

When for the first time this treaty was handed over to me by the Ḥazrat (Mastān Shāh). I, inspite of having a little taste for poetry could not understand it, but later on, due to the internal attention of the Ḥazrat, I developed a taste for them and at last when I got an opportunity to go to Kashmīr, I used to visit the tomb of Ḥazrat Shāh Hamdān (May God purify his dear secrets) daily and used to read a مخمس infront of the blessed tomb after prayers. After forty-one days when I finished that treaty of 'Chehl Isrār' I got an audience of Ḥazrat Shāh Hamdān (May God bless him in the dream at night.

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1. Dīvān-i-Mastān Shāh , p 41.

We are no body to comment on the spiritual views of these writers though in our point of view, what they have said is inconceivable. We are, however, right in saying that the Ghazals available are forty one and not forty and therefore, reasons advanced by the followers of Mastān Shāh regarding the name of this collection is nothing but self-contradiction.

These Ghazals of Sayyid 'Ali Hamdānī, which are forty-one in number are mystical in their themes. Here, love is not a matter of deep sighs and sad partings. Of course we must not for a moment include in this category that minute fraction of vernal souls who presume, most unpresumptously that their love if not as archaic is definitely as deep and thorough as was that of their ancesters. Here the pangs of separation and fear of loss exist along with ecastapy of union and meaning fulness of life. These Ghazals are a piece of music, an exquisite melody that comes to us overwhelming and lulls our faculty of criticism and reasoning. It throbes the heart of the reader. In our opinion 'Chehl Asrār' is a real contribution to persian literature. It is very refreshing and the admiration for it increases when the reader studies it.

We now take the liberty of quoting two or three Ghazals to display the pattern of his poetry.

ای گرفتاران عشقت فارغ از مال و منال ؛ واهبان حضرتت را از خود و جنت ملال

مفلسان کوی شوقت را غلامی کرده چرخ ؛ سالکان راه وصلت را دو عالم پایمال

عارفان وصف تو مفتون اشراف ملک ؛ عوبران درگهت سرگشتهٔ تیه ضلال

شمه‌ای از فیض لطفت بوی برده نه فلک ؛ گشته سرگردان بگرد آستانت ماه و سال

آتش از لطفت گلستان گشته در پیش خلیل ؛ خورده نمرود لعین از نیم پشه گوشمال

بلبلان نغمهٔ تسبیح در بستان غیب ٭ وعدهٔ گویان بزیر گلبن باغ وصال

طوطیان طارم علوی برآورده زجان ٭ نعره های ماعرفناک ای قدیم ذوالجلال

پرتوی از عکس رویت تافته بر آب و خاک ٭ خاک از و پوشیده چندین خلعت حسن و جمال

خامهٔ صنعت چو لعبت این نقش مثال وجود ٭ سر شد بر تختهٔ غیب این مثال ازلی مثال

هر که بر خاک درت راه یافت عزت یافت او ٭ کز بیان وصف او فرموده شد سر تعال

پیش مجروحان هجرت نوش نیش پر شفا ٭ تشنگان وصل را بر آتشی چون عذب زلال

کشتگان تیغ عشقت زندگان جاودان ٭ صید شاهین محبت شاهان ملک بی زوال

باده نوشان محبت داود و معروف و جنید ٭ جان فروشان درت عمار و سلمان و بلال

دردی دردِ تو درمان دل هر باخبر ٭ زیور ذکر تو زیب حال هر صاحب کمال

در تمنای خیالت شد علائی جان فشان

تا چه خواهد دید آخر زین تمنای محال

راحت ار خواهی بیا با درد او همراز شو ٭ دولت ار جوئی برو در عشق او جانباز شو

ساز راه عشق سر بازی و بدنامی بود ٭ گر سر این راه داری در پی آن ساز شو

بر تن و جان چند ارزی چون نمی ارزی ارزنی ٭ صعوه با ارزانی آزاد هر دو شهباز شو

تا یکی همچون زنان این راه و رسم رنگ و بو ٭ راه مردان گیر و با جانبازان دمساز شو

چون زغن تا چند باشی لستهٔ مردار تن ٭ در هوای سیر جان یک لحظه در پرواز شو

جان و تن بند است و گرد دین حجاب اندر رهش ٭ جمله را بر هم زن و با عشق هم آواز شو

باز اوج کبریائی مانده ای در دام گام ٭ دام و دانه بر دو و عزم حضرت باز شو

گر همای قاف قربی بال همت بر گشای ٭ در فضای لامکان با قدسیان انباز شو

قفل این در شد علائی و کلید او نیاز

گر نیازی داری این جا بر سر ناز شو

تا چند داغ عشقش دارم نهفته از جان ؞ پنهان چه دارم آتش چون دوست نیست پنهان

چون نیست درد عشقش داروپذیر پیش من ؞ بیهوده چند پویم در آرزوی درمان

از من مجوی راهی چون رام نیست بختم ؞ کی راهی داند آن کو ز خویش گشته حیران

ادبار هستی ما شد پردهٔ جمالش ؞ ورنه ز راه تحقیق خورشید نیست پنهان

دور حیات هستی آخر شود و لیکن ؞ بود لقای جان هرگز فنای دوران

هر دم که بی غم او از سر دل برآید ؞ آن دم ز راه غیرت بر جان ماست تاوان

بی اشتغال امرش چشم امید گلشنای ؞ مرد آن بود که دارد بر دیده مهر فرمان

پایان نقد مردان نقد خود است ورنه

هرگز کسی ای علائی راه را ندید پایان

Owing to reasons of space we need not go indetails of his works, but we cannot refrain from saying that one who happens to study his (Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī) works is bound to pay tributes to his genius. He was a prolofic writer, a master of style and a Muslim patriot. The way Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī worked to enrich Persian literature in adverse circumstances should serve as an inspiring precedent to modern writers particularly those who came over to Pākistān from India.

We have already stated that there is a warmth and quite passion in his Ghazals. He has to communicate somthing different and something personal. This vein of sincere and deeply felt emotion subsists in all the Ghazals of 'Chel Isrār' or forty mystries. At places the general thoughtful mood is deepened with a more passionate endeavour to display his anguish which he is bearing in love of his oreater, the Almighty God.

It is stated that for some obscure reason the religious lyric appears commonly to attract the worst kind of poet. These lyrics

are degraded by a great deal of very poor verse----- common place ideas, wanting in any real ferver and expressed for the most part in vague, common place metaphors and ordinary similies. But the age of which we are speaking produced the best work of that kind which we possess, nor is the secret of this far to seek. The religious poems of Shāh Hamdān are simple love poems with a religious bent. They are really the out pourings of a personal devotion. The very phrases of love poetry occur----but indeed here the motive is religious. Here the poet is not expressing his feelings of love with a fancy-man or a hand-some lady, but with God. These are not to be classed with the kind of poetry which has its appeal in a mere verbal softness. There is a warmth and quite passion in them which characterise a genuine poet, who has something personal to communicate, and not merely a conventional medium which automatically produces a conventional content pattern. It is why this '<u>Ch</u>ehl Isrār' is widely popular.

A word about the style and technique. Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī is as careful about his technique as about the content of his poetry. The diction is not showy but functional and decorative at the same time. The images are fresh and are stamped into new metaphors and symbols of diction. His work is not symbolic in the same sense as our persian poetry in general tends to be.

EFFETS OF HAMDĀNI'S WORKS

These works of ʿAlī Hamdānī though they deal with religion and Sufism yet we can imagine how they would have proved conducive to the advancement of Persian language in Kas<u>h</u>mīr. Those who came in contact with the saint and his followers would have developed a taste for persian, and to crown all, in order to study these works, they would have made up their minds to study persian. The consequences are not far beyond

imagination.

Next comes the reign of Sulṭān Sikander who ascended the

SULṬĀN SIKANDAR : throne in 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.) and died in 816 A.H. (1413 A.D.) He was a patronizer of the learned and scholars. Aʿẕam writes:

سادات و علمای و فضلای در عهد او بسیار بکشمیر آمده تواضعهای و خدمتهای

شایسته نسبت بهمه بجا آورده و رعایت منزلت سادات و فضیلت بسیار نمود[1]

" Many Sayyids, learned and accomplished persons came to Kashmīr. He showed courtesy and rendered proper service to all and considering the rank of the Sayyids gave them preference."

It was perhaps due to this that Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī's son Mīr Muḥammad Hamdānī (d. 854 A.H.-1450 A.D.) entered Kashmīr with a train of six hundred followers. Aʿẕam writes:

حضرت میر محمد همدانی در سن بیست سالگی با ششصد کس از

رفقا و خدمه قدوم میمنت لزوم بولایت کشمیر آوردند[2]

" Ḥazrat Mīr Muḥammad Hamdānī at the age of 22 years set his auspicious feet on the soil of Kashmīr with six hundred persons from among his friends and servants."

The notable personalities that accompanied him or came to Kashmīr according to their own accord during Sikander's reign are as follows.

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1. Aʿẕam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 58

2. Ibid. p 60.

In this respect Beal states that Mīr Muḥammad Hamdānī, also a fugitive, brought in his train three hunred Sayyads to Kashmīr. (cf. Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 355)

Mīr Muḥammad Hamdānī was born in the year 774 A.H. so his enterance in Kashmīr falls in the year 796 A.H. (cf Mskīn, Muḥayy-ud-Dīn Tārīkh-i-Kabīr p 23) در شهور سنه هفتصد و هفتاد و چهار متولد شد

1. Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥiṣārī (Semnānī)
2. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Muḥammad Isfahānī.
3. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Aḥmad Sāmānī.
4, Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ḥusain Qāzī of Shīrāz.
5. Sayyid ʿAlā-ud-Dīn.
6. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn Bukhārī.
7. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid ʿAlī Akbar.
8. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Muḥammad Khāwarī.
9. Ḥaẓrat Mīr Sayyid Nūr-ud-Dīn.
10. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Muḥammad loristānī.
11. Khawājah Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Khurāsānī.
12. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ḥusain Khawārzamī.
13. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Muḥammad Airmānī.
14. Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Fakhr-ud-Dīn.

Sayyid Muḥammad Hamdānī like his father converted mary Hindūs to Islām. Aʿẓam writes:[1]

ملک سیه بت که وزیر و سپه سالار سلطان بود با جمعی از خاص و عام بجناب ایشان آمده باسلام مشرف شد

" Malik Sih Bet who was a minister and the commander-in-Chief of Sulṭān came with nobles and the common people before him and embraced Islām."

Sayyid Muḥammad Hamdānī weilded great influence in Kashmīr. Sulṭān Sikandar constructed a monastary for him at the fountain Bon by name.

سلطان مذکور که بجهت حضرت سید خانقاهی بر سر چشمهٔ بون بنا کرده موضع
[شن] برای اخراجات آن خانقاه و خادمان حضرت سید مقرر نموده بودند[2]

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1. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr , Ms. pp 60-61.
2. Ibid. p 61.

" The said Sultān constructed a '*Khānqāh*' at the fountain Bon for the Sayyid and endowed village Mattan for the expenses of '*Khānqāh* and the servants of the Sayyid."

Another *Khānqāh* was constructed on the platform made by Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī for saying prayers.

بالای صفه که حضرت میر کلان قدس الله سره برای خمس الاوقات
بر کنار دریای بہت آراسته بودند خانقاہ پی علی بنا کردند ابتدای تعمیر خانقاه
معلی در سنه ہفت صد و نود و ہشت بود و اتمام آن در نود و نو ¹

" On the platform, which the elder Mīr (May God purify his secrets) made on the bank of the river Behat for saying prayers for five times, built a magnificient manastery. The construction of this magnificeent monastery began in the year 798 (A.H.) and completed in 799 (A.H.)"

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1. A'zam Muhammad, *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr*, Ms. p 61.

According to Meskīn the monastery was built by Sikander at the instigation of Sayyid Muhammad Hamdānī. He writes in *Tārīkh-i-Kabīr*

سلطان سکندر بت شکن کمر خدمت ایشان چست بر لبۀ آداب و تعظیم و تکریم و پیشوای بجا آورد
و رتبۀ خادمیت حاصل نمود و بر صفۀ مرفوعه حضرت سید علی ہمدانی قدس سره خانقاه معلی کمال استواری و سنگینی
موجب فرمان واجب الاذعان در سنه ہفت صد و نود و نو بنا فرمود. مسجد اسس علی التقوی تاریخ است
(مسکین محی الدین تاریخ کبیر ص ۳۲)

" Sultān Sikander the iconoclast girded his lions for their service, and deeply revered, implicitly obeyed and took him as his guide and got the rank of a servent. He obeying the orders, compliance with which was necessary, in 899 built a magnificent and strong stone monastery on the plat-form made by Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī (May God purify his secrets) The date of its construction comes from this:
مسجد اسس علی التقوی
" The mosque raised on the foundation of piety."

For the expenses of this Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā or "Exalted shrine" and the servants etc., he got three villages by presenting a rubi to Sultān Sikandar."

جناب سید محمد ہمدانی یک لعل بدخشی ہمراہ داشت و تبرکاً بسلطان داد و او
در بدل آن سہ قریہ از سہ پرگنہ برجہت مصارف خدمہ و لوازم خانقاہ گرفت[1]

" Sayyid Muhammad Hamdānī who had one rubi of Badakhshān with him presented it as a gift to Sultān and in return thereof got three villages from three parganas for the expenses of the servant and other necessities of the monastery."

Mīr Muhammad who acquired succession to his father's position of spirtual pre-eminence, was the author of a Treatise on Sufism and wrote a commentary on the Shamsīya a well known book on Arabic logic.

The other Sayyids also did their best to promote learning. The author of Tārīkh-i-Kabīr places Sayyid Muhammad Hisārī among the great Sufīs and saints and states that he used to ride on a lion.[2] These gentlemen who came during the regime of Sultān Sikander wrote treatises on religions. Hazrat Sayyid Ahmad Samānī wrote a treatise 'Dar Sharah-i- Tanvīr dar 'Ilm-i-Farā'iz (در شرح تنویر در علم فرائض)[3]. Hazrat Sayyid Hussain, the Qāzī of Shīrāz who accompanied Sayyid Muhammad Hamdānī commited to writing a treatise known as Rasālah-i dar Jami' Ahādis (رسالہ در جمیع احادیث)[4]. Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Khāvarī

1 A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms. p 64.
2. Miskīn, Muhayy-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh Kabīr , pp22
3. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , p 63
4. Ibid.Ms. p 64

wrote Sharah-i-Lamʻāt (شرح لمعات) and Khāwar Nāmah (خاورنامه [1]
He had a gift for poetry and composed verses.

These Sayyids among whom we find not only Sufis or saints bu also scholars and poets ensured the development of Persian cultur language and literature which was steadly permeating the very soul of Kashmīr.

The most notable persons among the scholars was Maulānā Afzal who hailed from Bukhārā and was on his arrival placed at the head of the grand college opposite to the Jāmiʻ Masjid which Sikandar ha built. Maskīn Says in Tārīkh-i-Kabīr.

مولانا افضل بخاری از شهر بخارای شریف در زمان سلطان سکندر بت شکن کشمیر را بورود
مسعود خود مشرف گردانید و سلطان پیش روی مسجد کلان مدرسه سنگین برای او بنا
فرمود و تمامی عمر بتدریس و تعلیم طالبان صرف نمود. و سلطان موضع ناگام او را جاگیر بخشید[2]

" Maulānā Afzal Bukhārī, dignified Kashmīr by his blessed visit to Kashmīr from Bukhārā during the reign of Sultān Sikandar 'But Shikan'. The sultān constructed a school for him opposite to the big mosque. He spent whole of his life in lecturing to students. The king assigned to him the village of Nagam for his maintaenance."

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1. Aʻzam Muhammad, Waqiʻāt-i-Kashmīr , Ms. P 64.

حضرت سید محمد خاوری ...... تصانیف بسیار دارد و از انجمله شرح لمعات و خاور نامه. و طبع موزون هم داشت. شعر میگفت

"Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Khāwarī ....is the author of many books and among them are Sharah-i- Lamʻāt and Khāwar Nāmah. had a poetical disposition. He used to write verses.

2. Maskīn, Muhayy-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr , p 290

Sulṭān Sikandar died in 816 A.H. (1389 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Mīr Khān, surnamed ʿAlī Shāh. Very little is known about his reign. The final result was the passing of the kingdom in the year 823 A.H. or 1420 A.D. into the hands of Sulṭān Zain-ul-ʿAbdin, literally, the ornament of the Adorers, or the glory of the Devout. He is famous by the name 'Bad-Shāh' and his reign extending over 50 solar or over 51 lunar years constituted a climax never attained by any other independent king in Kashmīr. He had his education under Kabīr Maskīn writes under Kabīr:

ʿAlī Shāh

SULṬĀN ZAIN-UL-ʿABIDIN(BADSHAH):

سلطان زین العابدین شاگرد وی شد[1]

" Sulṭān Zain-ul-ʿAbidīn became his pupil."

Zain-ul-ʿAbidīn who himself was a scholar and a poet had great love for men of letters. His liberalities and patronage of the learned, the accomplished master, the poets and his love for arts and crafts had drawn the intelligentia of not only Persia but of Tūrān and Khurāsān also. He also imported religious books of Arabic and Persian from the neighbouring countries. Aʿẓam writes:

در ترویج ارباب هنر پرداخت و صنائعی که در آن وقت درین شهر نبود یا کتب دینیه از عربی و فارسی
از ولایت ایران و توران خصوصاً خراسان که بکشمیر نزدیکتر بود بید و اهتمام فراوان طلبانیده ...... برتبهٔ
علوم و اعزاز علما و فضلا و بلغا و اهل حرفه و رعیت پروری کوشش می نمود[2]

" He offered good prospects to skilful persons and made efforts to industrialize (Kashmīr). He tried his best to import religious

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1. Maskīn, Muḥayy-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr, p 290

2. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Vaqiʿat-i-Kashmir, Ms. p 71.

books in the Arabic and Persian languages from Irān, Tūrān and particularly from Khurāsān being near to Kashmīr. He also endeavour -ed the propagation of sciences and dignifying the scholars, eloquent orators, artisans and educating his subjects."

He himself was a poet and composed verses in Persian. A'zam gives an anecdote of his poetical talent.

ملا احمد مروی فصیح عالم و شاعر ظریف و ندیم و مصاحب سلطان بود. شملهٔ دستار به پیشانی می
گذاشت سلطان که طبع موزون داشت روزی بزم شعر آراسته بودند بجانب مولانا گفت ؎

شاخ پیشانیٔ ملا احمد کشمیر ببین ÷ گر ندیدستی تو در آفاق انسان شاخ دار

مولانا مذکور در جواب سلطان بدیهه گفت ؎

شاخ پیشانی خدایا کرگدن واری داشتم ÷ تا نیایم در میان ماده گاوان در شمار

سلطان تحسین نمود. انعام و اکرام افزود.

" Mullā Ahmad of Marv was an erudite scholar, a poet and a witty person. He was Sulṭān's favourite and companion. He used to set the tassel of his turban on his fore-head. Sulṭān who had a poetical disposition, one day held a festivity. He pointing towards maulānā said:

" See the horn of Mullā Ahmad of Kashmir's fore-head, if you have not seen in the world a man with a horn."

The said Maulānā readily said in reply to Sulṭān.

" O king I own the horn on the fore-head like the rhinoceros, so that I may not be numerated among the cows.

Sulṭān admired it and increased his gratuity."

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1. A'zam. Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms. p 74.

he was once expelled from the country owing to some fault of his, but a fragment came to his rescue.

وقتی مولانا را بیک گناهی اخراج نموده به پکلی فرستادند و مدتی در تیه حیرت سرگردان بود آخرالامر از پکلی این قطعه فرستاد و سلطان خوش شد و مولانا را باز آورد و بیش از پیش انعام و اکرام داد[1]

" On one occasion Maulānā was banished for one of his fault and was sent to Pakhlī and for a long time he remained wandering in the desert of bewilderness. At last he sent this fragment and the Sulṭān was pleased, and sent orders for the Maulānā's return and endowed gratuity more than before."

The king was moved by this fragment.

نی ز نحوم ز مبتدای خبری ÷ نی به منطق ز جزو و کل اثری

برمن این کسر و جر چرا رانند ÷ احد از غیر منصرف خوانند[2]

This anecdote reveals how Zain-ul-ʿAbidīn loved poetry. He used to derive much delight from the company of the poets, whose number at his court was not negligible. Niẕām-ud-Dīn says in his Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī :

در مجلس او اهل دانش از هندو و مسلمان همه وقت می بودند[3]

" In his assemblies men of intellect, both Hindūs and Muslims were always present."

For reasons of space, it is impossible to give an account of all the men of letters who were attached to his court or who flourished in his time, therefore, a very brief account of a few

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1. Aʿzam, Muhammad, Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr , Ms. p 74.
2. Ibīd, Ms. p 74.
3. Ibid. p 74.

most notable among them will suffice.

ملا جمیل حافظ که در شعر و خوش خوانی عدیم المثال بود نیز از سلطان رعایتهای می یافت ...... حبیب آتش باز که تفنگ در کشمیر او پیدا کرده در زمان سلطان بود. در فن آتش بازی نظیری خود نداشت و کتاب سوال و جواب که متضمن فواید بسیار است سلطان با اتفاق او تصنیف کرده [1]

" Mullā Jamīl Ḥāfiz, who was unrivalled in versification and also in eloquation, also received great favours from the Sulṭān ....Ḥabīb a maker of fire works or of g uns, who (first) manufactured muskets in Kashmīr, lived in his reign, and had no rival in his art. The sulṭān in concert with him wrote a book containing questions and answers. This work is of great value. He further tells us:

سهوم[2] نام زیرکی بود که بزبان کشمیر شعر میگفت و در علوم هندوی سرآمد روزگار بود دین حرم[3] نام کتابی تصنیف کرد. تمام واقعات سلطان را به تفصیل آورده بود. شاهنامه تمام یاد داشت. مانک نام کتابی در علم موسیقی بنام سلطان تصنیف کرده بود بسبب مورد الطاف گردید .... در زمان او سلطان محمود نامی که هم شاعر بود و هم دانشمند پیدا شد. در بحر و قافیه که می خواست در بدیهه شعر می گفت و در همان لحظه که از مشکلات علمی از او سوال میکردند بی تامل حل می کرد [4]

" There was a vey intelligent man of the name of Sahūm, who composed verses in the dialect of Kashmīr , and in the sciences and literature of India was the leader of the age. He wrote a book called Din Ḥaram in which he narrated all the events of the Sulṭān's reign in detail. He had memorised the whole of Shāhnāmah

1. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī , p 602
2. Farishtah gives his name as سوم (cf see vol. II. p 661.)
3. Farishtah mentions the name of the book as زین حرب (Vol.II.p 661).
4. Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Aḥmad, Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī , p 603.

and he wrote a book called Manik in science of music, and dedicated it to sulṭān, and owing to this received many favours. .....
....In his time a man of the name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was born, who was both a poet and a wise man. He could compose extempore verses in any form and meter he wished. He also immediately and without any consideration solved any literary difficulty that was propounded to him."

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn himself was a scholar, well versed in the literature of his age and conversant with a number of languages. He was in the words of Stein " a patron of Sanskrit learning."[1] As he extended his patronage to scholars in as generous measure as to artisans and craft men, the great influx of scholars and men of letters from other lands was inevitable into Kashmīr. Names of a few of them are mentioned here.

1. Maulānā Jamāl.
2. Ḥazrat Sayyid Badr-ud-Dīn.
3. Ḥazrat Sayyid Ḥasan Manṭaqī.
4. Ḥazrat Sayyid Nūr-ud-Dīn.
5. Sayyid Jān Bāz Walī.
6. Ḥazrat Sayyid Hilāl.
7. Ḥazrat Bābā Ḥāji Ādam
8. Ḥazrat Sayyid Muḥammad Amīn Manṭaqī-ul- Baihāqī known as Mīr Bābā Weisī.
9. Ḥazrat Shaikh Ḥamza.
10. Mīr Sayyid Ḥabīb Ullah.
11. Sayyid Shihāb ud Dīn.
12. Ḥazrat Bābā Latīf-ud-Dīn
13. Ḥazrat Bābā Naṣr-ud-Dīn.

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1. Stein, M.A. Kalhana's Rājtarangini, (English Translation) Introduction, vol. I. p 131.

14. Hazrat Bābā Qāsim-ud-Din.

15. Maulānā Qāzī Mir 'Alī Bukhārī.

16. Qāzī Kamāl-ud-Dīn-

MULLĀ AHMAD:

It is in his glorious reign that Kashmīr produced scholars and poets. The most noted personalit-y among them was Mullā Ahmad who was the pupil of Maulānā Muhammad Afzal. He was a profound scholar, a distinguished poet and an excellent historian. Tārīkh-i-Waqā'i-Kashmīr and a translation of the Mahābhārata into Persian are among his works. Maskīn writes in his history:-

ملا احمد کشمیری تلمیذ رشید ملا افضل بخاری است .... طبعی موزون داشت

چنانچه تاریخ وقائع کشمیر و ترجمه مهابهارت از نتائج طبع وقاد اوست[1]

" Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī is the pupil of Mullā Afzal Bukhārī. ....he had a poetical disposition too, so the Tārīkh-i-Waqā'i-Kashmīr and the translation of the Mahabharata are the results of his sober disposition."

MAULĀNĀ KABĪR

Another Kashmiri scholar was Maulānā Kabir who migrated to Hārāt, at which place he studied theology and all its allied sciences. The kign after several attempts induced him to return to Kashmīr. He held the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām or Head of the ecclesiastical department. Maskin reveals these facts thus:

مولانا کبیر .... در هرات رفته خود را بعلوم عجیبه و غریبه آراسته و پیراسته گردید - سلطان زین العابدین

بتکلیف تمام او را طلب داشته ...... پس مولانا بر عهدهٔ شیخ الاسلامی تسلط نمود و بنای مدرسه

کرده بتعلیم و تدریس شاگردان اشتغال گرفت و چند قریه از پرگنه ناگام برای مدد معاش بنام وی جاگیر بودند[2]

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1. Maskīn, Muhayy-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr, p 290
2. Ibid, p

Maulānā Kabīr ......migrated to Herāt, adorned himself with wonderful sciences, Sulṭān Zain-ul-Ābidīn after several attempts induced him to return to Kashmīr..... Hence Maulānā held the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām and laying the foundation of a school remained busy in lecturing the pupils. For the up-keep and maintenance of the school many villages in the Nagam pargana were assigned to him."

The notable saints born and bred up in Kashmīr were Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Kashmīrī, Ḥaẓrat Durrah Shāh Kashmīrī who was the disciple of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Bābā Ochap Ginā'i etc.

TRANSLATION OF BOOKS :

Zain-ul-Ābdīn's reign is also noted for translation of the books of Persian and Arabic in Hindī and Sanskrit and vice versa. Niẓām-ud-Dīn gives the following information in this respect-

و بسیار کتب فارسی و عربی بفرمودهٔ او بزبان هندوی ترجمه کردند و کتاب مها بهارت که از کتب مشهور است
و کتاب راج برنگی[2] که عبارت از تاریخ پادشاهان هند است بفرمودهٔ او بفارسی ترجمه کردند[1]

" And many books in the Arabic and Persian language were translated by his orders into Hindī language and the Mahābhārata which is the most famous book, and the book called Rājatarangini, which is the name of an history of the Bādshāh's (kings) of India, were translated into Persian by his orders.[2]

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1. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p 603.

2. The word راج برنگی does not signify any meaning. It would be راج ترنگنی . Niẓām-ud-Dīn is wrong to say that it was the history of the kings of India, because Rājatarangini is the history of the kings of Kashmīr as Farishtah writes:

و کتاب راج ترنگنی که عبارت از تاریخ پادشاهان کشمیر است در عهد او تصنیف شد

(cf. Farishtah, Muḥammad Qāsim, Tārīkh-i-Farishtah, Vol. II.p 660.

V

CHAK DYNASTY

The glorious period of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin ended in the

GHAZI CHAK year 874 A.H. (1470 A.D.). After his death chaos prevailed in the country and its climax appeared in the form of stuggles between Muhammad Shah and his father's cousin Fateh Shah for the throne of Kashmir from 889 A.H. to 922 A.H. (1484-1516A.D) It seems as if Kashmir had become fertile soil for jealousy, dissensions, rivalry and blood-thirstiness. A succession of incompetant rulers, and ambitious nobles constantly engaged in internecine warfare. All its concomitants left the country a prey to foreign invaders. Kashmir remained in the grip of chaos till 962 A.H. (1555 A.D.) when the seat of authority passed into the hands of Chaks who flourished as feudal lords in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin and were strong enough to interfere in the trend of events and exert their influences when internecine was between Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah gave them time to make hay.

From 874 A.H. (1470 A.D.) the year of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin's death till 962 A.H. (1555 A.D.) the year of Ghazi Chak accession to the throne, we do not find any noticeable progress in Persian language. However a number of Sufis and saints visited Kashmir, but none of them was so striking a personality whose arrival and stay in Kashmir could give incentive to Persian literature. But inspite of this, their arrival and stay in Kashmir was

responsible for creating a vey favourable atmosphere for the Persian language to develop in Kashmīr which would have suffered a set back owing to civil strife which offered the monarchs little opportunity to watch its growth under their patronage. A'zam has mentioned the following persons who either came to Kashmīr or were born there during this long period of strife which lasted about 90 years.

1. Sayyid Aḥmad.
2. Ḥazrat Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Bukhārī.
3. Bābā Fateh Ullah.
4. Zainī Raishī
5. Zonī Raishī
6. Maulānā Mīr Razī-ud-Dīn
7. Mīr Dāud.
8. Maulānā Kamāl-ud-Dīn.
9. Maulānā Lolī Ganā'i alius Mullā Malihī.
10. Maulvī Mullā Shangrif Ganā'i .
11. Maulānā Naṣir alius Mullā Bābā.
12. Qāzī Ibrāhīm.
13. Maulānā Ānī pupil of Maulānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī.[1]

For reasons of space we have intentionally omitted their biographies.

In 962 A.H.(1555 A.D.) Ghāzī Chak ascended the throne and devoted his attention to the removal of evils which had for long paralysed the administration of the country. After him Ḥusain Shāh Chak sat on the seat of authority in 970 A.H. (1563 A.D.) He had a taste of poetry. A'zam tells us

HUSAIN SHĀH CHAK

1. A'zam , Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr . Ms. pp 124-131.

that Maulānā Nāmī S̱ānī (the second) who usually received gifts and robe of honour on every Īd from Ḥussin Chak requested for a horse with a saddle.

MAULĀNĀ NĀMĪ

یکبار بجای دو خلعت عیدین این رنگ استدعای اسپ کرده و برای شاه نوشته بود که

خلعت شاهی مرا اسپی رسد با زین رسد

شاه در جواب نوشته که   این چنین کم فهم را نی آن رسد نی این رسد[1]

" Once he instead of two robes of honour for the two Īds he requested for a horse in this manner and wrote to the king:

"The king's robe of honour may reach me (in the form of) a horse with a saddle."

The king wrote in reply thereto:

" This fool will get neither this nor that."

Khawājah A'ẕam quotes the following two couplets of his:

آن ترک آل پوش سوار سمند شد ⁂ یاران حذر کنید که آتش بلند شد

حائل کرده تیغ و لبسته خنجر یار می آید ⁂ دلا برخیز و کاری کن که جان در کار می آید[2]

Among the prominent poets of his courts were Maulānā Mīr 'Alī who was unique in writing Nasta'līq. A'ẕam mentions the following two couplets to show his poetical talent.

گل بدستم چه بینی در کف من خار خوش است ⁂ این گل تازه بر آن گوشهٔ دستار خوش است

سبو سبو ده و خم خم ده و بود مرا ⁂ قدح چو آب زند آتش بلند مرا[3]

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1. A'ẕam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms. p 178.
2. Ibid, p 139.
3. Ibid, p 177.
According to Bindra Ban Dās Khushgo the second verse was written by Mulla Ali Ṣarfi. (cf. Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 34a, also see p. 379 infra)

Maulānā Nāmī was also one of the eminent poets of the court. A biographical sketch of his, will be given under Aujī, his son who flourished in the reign of Jahāngīr 1014-1037 A.H.(1605-1627A.D) However the verses quoted by A'ẓam are reproduced here.

عروسی ست بی شادی آیین او ⁂ که نتوان روان داد کابین او
بخاموشی چیره زبانی دهد ⁂ بفرتوت فر و جوانی دهد[1]

هرگز دلم بغیر تو مائل نمی شود ⁂ وز دیده نقش روی تو زائل نمی شود
از دوریت چه باک که این بعد ظاهری ⁂ اصلا میان ما و تو حائل نمی شود
دستم بریده باد چه کار آیدم بگوی ⁂ در گردن بتان چو حمائل نمی شود[1]

So far as the production of literature is concerned the information is meagre.

MAULĀNĀ QĀẒĪ HABĪB ULLAH:

A'ẓam tells us that Maulānā Qāẓī Habīb Ullah who was a sayyid came to Kashmīr from Tūrān and became Chief Justice (اقضی القضات) and wrote 'Aqidah-i-Nasriah, a book regarding the laws and doctrine of Sunnis and a treatise in which he discussed Imāmat and Khilāfat.

مولانا قاضی حبیب الله سید بود- خود از ولایت توران آمده ...... در کشمیر توطن نموده
در عهد حسین چک اقضی القضات این دیار شده تالیفات مفیده دارد از انجمله عقیده نصریه بنام
ملک نصیر الدین چک در اصول و فروع اہل سنت والجماعت و رساله مجموعه بزبان فارسی در بحث امامت و خلافت
لطیفه بسیار دارد[2]

" Maulānā Qāzī Habīb Ullah was a Sayyid who originally came

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1. A'ẓam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 177-178.
2. Ibid. ff. 123b -124a

from Tūrān and stayed in Kashmīr. In the reign of Ḥusain Chak he held the post of 'Aqzal-Quzzāt'. He wrote many useful books. Among them there is 'Aqidah-i-Naṣrīah' regarding the laws and doctrines of Sunnis . This he dedicated to Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Chak. He wrote treatises in the Persian dialect in which a comprehensive discuss--ion on Imamat and Khilāfat has been made."

Though there are many other Ṣufīs or scholars who enjoyed a good deal of reputation during his regime yet their literary products have not been mentioned by any historian or biographer. Hence to mention their name is of no value.

'ALĪ SHĀH CHAK

Ḥusain Shāh's illness persuaded the nobles at the court to intrigue about the next successors On the advice of Dulat Chak the king sent the royal insignia to 'Alī Khān to avoid bloodshed. 'Alī Khān ascended the throne as 'Alī Shāh Chak in 978 A.H.(1570 A.D.). Neither he nor his decendents were men of literary taste, so the question of their patronage does not arise.

YŪSUF SHĀH CHAK

Yūsuf Shāh Chak was a voluptuous and, therefore, was forced by his minister to resign, though he once again gained power in 988 A.H.(1580 A.D.) and remained on the seat of authority till 994 A.H.(1586 A.D.) This year also saw Yaqūb Shāh Chak as the king of Kashmīr who led a life of ease and pleasure. Misrule followed, so Qāsim Khān was ordered by Akbar

AKBAR INVADES KASHMIR

the great Moghal Emperor in the year 994 A.H. (1586 A.D.) to march upon Kashmīr with an army of forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He entered Rājuary and proceeded to Srinagar. Yaqūb made several attempts to retrieve the situation, but met with no success. The flight of Yusuf and

Ya'qūb has been satirized in the following couplet.

نه از یوسف نشان دیدم نه از یعقوب آثاری ؛ عزیزان یوسف ار گم شد چه شد یعقوب را باری[1]

A'zam tells us that Yusuf Shāh used to write verses both in Persian and Kashmīrī dialect.[1] He has given the following couplet as specimen:

لیلی جازه را بر مجنون بجود نزاند ؛ زور کند جذبهٔ معجزهای اوست[2]

PERSIAN LITERATURE DURING CHAK REGIME

Though the Chaks did not take an active part in the advancement of Persian language and literature, yet we find that Persian language had shot its roots very deep and by that time had achieved its goal. It is because of that, that in this period of strife we do not find Kashmīr barren.

MULLĀ MEHRĪ

Maulānā Mehrī was a poet during the reign of 'Alī Shāh. A'zam writes:-

مولانا مهری از شعرای عهد علی شاه بود - استاد خوش فکر است بهره از فضائل علمی هم داشت واین شعر در منقبت حضرت امیرالمومنین حضرت علی مرتضی کرم الله وجهه از اشعار اوست[3]

" Maulānā Mehrī was among the poets of 'Alī Shāh. He was the master of high cognition. He had a good share in other sciences too. This couplet written in praise of Hazrat 'Alī is among his verses."

The couplet is as follows.

مرتضی پادشاه و حضرت عالی نسبی است ؛ آفتابی است که برج شرفش دوش نبی است[4]

1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 142.

2. Ibid, p 142

3. Ibid, p 178.

4. Ibid. p 178

An other poet who lived during the Chak regime was Maulānā

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD AMĪN:

Muḥammad Amīn. He flourished during the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. Following couplet of his has been given as specimen of his poetry by Muḥammad A'ẓam.

برهمن گرد تو گردم ره کفر بنما ∴ کز ایمان خودم شرم الیسی می آید

رباعی   من خنده که ببلبل عاشق ناساز ∴ من گریه که ابر بودی دوم چون غماز
یا ناله که سر گوش نگیا انم ∴ من درد دلم خلوتی محرم راز

رباعی   این سینه ز سودای تو ام گلزارستان ∴ رگهای وجودم ز تو نارستان
عیسی کرده از چشم تو بیمارستان ∴ نار تو کجا نبات در گلزارستان

رباعی که در تعریف کشمیر گفته است:-

دوشینه بچشم دل نهان از مردم ∴ دیدم نه بهشت بلکه کشمیر دوم
خاکی ز عبیر و مشک یافته خمیر ∴ آبی ز صفا وجود دریافته گم [3]

He was buried out side the tomb of Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn in the Mahallah Arot.[3]

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 178
2. Ibid, pp 178-179

Maskīn has given the first hemistich of the second couplet thus
خاکی ز عبیر و مشک آگنده خمیر
(cf, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr, p 342)

3. Maskīn, Muḥayy-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr, p 342.

BĀBĀ DĀŪD KHĀKĪ: Bābā Dāūd Khākī whose proper name was Ḥamzah was not only a Ṣūfī but an author too. He wrote Wird-ul-Murīdīn and its explanation known as Dastūr-us-Sālkīn, and Waṣīdah-i-Jalālīa.[1] He died in the year 994 A.H.(1586 A.D.)the year when Kashmīr was attacked by Akbar's forces.

A manuscript copy of Sharah-i-Wird-ul-Murīdīn is preserved in the Panjāb University Library. Its call No: is r C IV 59. It contains 117 folios. It is written on Kashmīrī paper in Nasta'līq It is in two different handwritings and on different kinds of paper. The first hand-writing is up to folio 49b and the second from folio 50a till end. The paper used in the first 49 folios is inferior to that used in the second part. A few folios are missing in the end.

CONCLUSION: To sum up this chapter we would say that in fact Persian language was introduced into the Panjāb and upper India including Kashmīr before Islām but it did not made any progress and did not produce any literature till Meḥmūd's invasion of India in the first quarter of the fifth century of Muslim era.

In the neighbouring provinces of Kashmīr Persian language was progressing but no visible traces could be found in Kashmīr and it was Meḥmūd's army which made Kashmīr acquainted with Persian language. But no development is seen in Persian language till the beginning of the 8th century. What were the reasons which hampered the progress of Persian language and consequently Persian liter

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 165.

literature.

There were two main reasons which brought about a stop to its progress.

Firstly from Ghaznavid the power went into the hands of Ghoris. Shihāb-ud-Dīn who subdued the last Ghaznavid king and occupied Lāhore in 589 A.H. (1181 A.D.) held his court in Dehlī. In other words , at the end of 6th century Dehlī became the centre of learning, and Persian literature found its new home there. Persian language and literature flourished there and reached their climax under the patronage of Muslim rulers. But it is strange to note that up till then Persian was not popular among the people of Kashmīr. Obviously it was due to the fact that Kashmīr being an isolated land surrounded by snow-capped mountains was far beyond the reach of the Muslim rulers of India, so they never thought of paying attention towards this 'Paradise on earth.' The Persian language did not make any progress, as the inhabitants of Kashmīr did not come in contact with the people of India who were conversant in Persian language and literature.

Secondly the state encouragement is vital to the literary and educational advance of a country, and in those days when the Emperor himself was virtually the state we can realise the important rôle played by him for good or evil in the literary world. To explain this we would say that the personal character of the reigning soverign was the most important factor affecting popular well being, and it was specially true in the case of education. If Emperors were of literary taste and encouraged the cause of educating and learning, we find their courts a bee-hive of

literary men, poets, philosophers and scientists giving a great impetus to the literary life of the day. We find noblemen imitating them and lavishing endowement after endowement upon schools and colleges and distinguished literary men, for their support and encouragement. On the other hand, if emperors were devoid of literary tastes and addicted to low pleasures and licentiousness, there was a corresponding set back in learning. We find their courts deserted by the literate, and learning languished as a rule The reason for this is not far to seek. The sovereign was the largest fountain from which the educational institutions, professors and literary men drew a very large portion of their substenance, a slight change in their literary taste produced a corresponding change in the literary world. Centralized as all power was in the emperor alone, the changes in his will and desire made themselves felt in all directions of national activity. The emperor's taste was, so to speak a barometer of the then literary atmosphere.

Taking into view these facts when we study the literary history of Persian language and literature we find our conclusions cent per cent true, namely that Persian flourished in Persia and India under the patronage of the rulers. In the eleventh century of Hijra which corresponds to the 17th century of Christian era, Persian poetry suffered a reverse even in Persia, because the kings of Safvid dynasty were religious minded and did not like Qasīdahs in their praise, so the poets said good-bye to their mother land and came to India where the Moghal Emperors and governors were encouraging the poets and other men of letters

by lavishing endowement after endowement upon them.

Moreover, it would not be out of point to mention here that Persian was and is the language of Muslims and in India it progressed under Muslim rulers. India came under Muslim sway during Ghaznavid regime and since then persian began to progress. But on the contrary Kashmīr remained under Hindū rule up to 720 A.H (1320 A.D.) so progress in Persian language till then cannot be imagined. No sooner did the kings of Kashmīr embraced Islām than the Persian language began to progress though slowly yet steadily.

The Muslims monarchs constructed mosques, schools and monastries which can be compared with the present day's schools, colleges and universities where though contrary to our system of education religious education was given top-priority, yet other forms of art and science were not neglected. It is an admitted fact that Persian was the medium of expression because the Muslim rulers were under the influence of the Persian, Persia(Irān) being the neighbouring country. Moreover, the first and the last who came to Kashmir to preach Islām were Persians who weilded great influence on the minds of the people irrespective of caste and creed.

Before closing this chapter it would not be improper to say that among all the Muslim rulers of Kashmir Zain-ul-ʿabidin was the most conspicious figure who patronised and loved Persian art and culture. his greatest service is that he advanced the claim

of Persian literature in Kashmīr to rank as a national literatur.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW A.H.994-1164

A.D. 1586-1751-1752.

INTRODUCTORY:

Moghal attempts on Kashmīr began with Bābur continued with Humāyūn and Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlat, who more than once urged Humāyūn to use Kashmīr as point d' appui for the recovery of Hindustan. This Ḥaidar Mirzā Dughlat was distinguished as a soldier and in literature, and is best known to posterity as the author of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī. To him Kashmīr owed years[1] of wise and able government with return of prosperity and happiness. He was killed in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). On his death the whole country relapsed into confusion.

I. Dughlat captured Kashmīr in 948 A.H. He writes that to resume at noonday prayers on Monday, the 8 Rabi II, 948 (2nd August 1541 A.D.) we routed an army of 5,000 cavalry and several thousand foot with a body of 300 men. The preacher (Khaṭīb) of Kashmīr, Maulānā Yusuf, found the date in Fatḥ-i-Mukarar (The repeated victory).

cf. N. Elias & Ross English Translation of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī. p. 486.

AKBAR'S INTERFERENCE IN KASHMĪR'S AFFAIRS:

Akbar however, began to take interest as early as 976 A.H. (A.D. 1586), but he started interference with the affairs of Kashmīr in the time of 'Alī Shāh Chak (A.H. 978-987 A.D. 1570-159 In 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.) Akbar sent an embassy to 'Alī Shāh Chak of which the result was that the Emperor was proclaimed sovereign of Kashmīr in the public prayers and 'Alī Shāh Chak sent his niece at Akbar's request to be given in marriage to prince Salīm. Farishtah writes:-

درین ایام ملا عشقی و قاضی صدرالدین از درگاه جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه
برسم رسالت آمدند علی شاه دختر برادر زاده خود را بجهت خدمت
شاهزاده کامگار سلطان سلیم مصحوب ملا عشقی و قاضی صدرالدین با دیگر
تحالف و پیشکش ارسال داشت وخطبه وسکه بنام نامی آن بادشاه ساخت [1]

" In these days Mullā 'Ishqī and Qāzī Ṣadr-ud-Dīn came as embassy from the court of Akbar. 'Alī Shāh sent his niece with Mullā 'Ishqī and Qāzī Ṣadr-ud-Dīn along with other gifts, to give her in marriage to the successful prince Salīm and ordered Khuṭbah to be read in, and strike coins by the name of that renowned king."

This was the first step made to an, at least, nominal recognition of the Emperor's supremacy.

'Alī Shāh died in 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.) and was succeeded by Yūsuf Shāh. Yusuf's reign opened with civil war. Being defeated he fled from Kashmīr and went to Lahore in the court of Seyyid Yūsuf Khān Shahīdī, and Mān singh accompanying him went to

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1. Farishtah, Qāsim, Muḥammad, Tārīkh-i-Farishtah, Vol. II, P. 695

Fateh Pur Sīkrī. Akbar ordered Mān Singh and Sayyid Yūsuf to reinstate the fugitive which they effected. Farishtah gives the following details:-

درین اثنا یوسف شاه بکالپور رسیده شنید که کشمیریان لوهر چک را بشاهی قبول
کردند او از انجا ...... از راه جمو پیش سید یوسف شهیدی که از امرای کبار
جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه بود جهت استمداد بلاهور آمده و باتفاق او راجه مانسنگه
بفتح پور سیکری رفته ملازمت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه ...... به بهانه امداد
یوسف شاه راجه مانسنگه و سید یوسف خان شهیدی را بجانب کشمیر ارسال نمود
آنها باتفاق یوسف خان در سنه سبع و ثمانین و تسعمایه از فتح پور سیکری روان کشمیر گشتند[1]

"In the mean time Yūsuf Shāh reaching Kālpūr heard that the Kashmīrīs had accepted Lohar Shāh as sovereign. He from there... ...... by the way of Jammu came to Lahore, before Sayyid Yūsuf Shahīdī (who was one of the greatest nobles of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar the king), for the sake of seeking help and with his consent Rājah Mān singh went to Akbar, who was in Fateḥ pūr sīkarī......Akbar on the pretext of helping Yūsuf Shāh sent Rājah Mān Singh and Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Shahīdī towards Kashmīr and they in 987 along with Yūsuf Khān left Fateḥ Pūr Sīkarī for Kashmīr.

During the royal progress in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) through the Panjāb, Ya'qūb the son of Yūsuf Shāh who was with the army, sent warning to his father that Akbar intended to visit Kashmīr. Then probably apprehending danger to himself, he fled to his own country. A'zam has described this episode in detail. Briefly it

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1. Farishtah, Qāsim, Muḥammad, Tārīkh-i-Farishtah, vol.II pp. 697 & 698.

runs thus:

روزی جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه بجای خود بحضور یعقوب شاه گفت که یوسف خان از
درگاه ما سرفراز شده بعشرت میگذراند اول پسر کهتر دویم مرتبه فرزند کلان خود فرستاده خود از
خانه عیش و عشرت پای بیرون نکشید و اراده قدمبوسی ننمود حکیم علی را حکم شد تا رسیدن
لشکر این جانب یوسف خان را از کشمیر آورده باستان بوسی مشرف سازد و عذر و
حیله مسلم ندارد و چون این خبر بیوسف رسید که یعقوب شاه شنیده بود پس
با وزرا مشورت نموده از راه بیدلی گفت ...... بهتر این است که بروم ..
...... درین اثنا خبر رسید که بادشاه هند از لاهور بکابل متوجه شد یعقوب شاه دوگردان
شده بکشمیر آمد

"One day Akbar, in the presence of Ya'qūb Shāh said that Yūsuf Shāh received honour from our court, and is enjoying a life of ease and pleasure. He first sent his younger son and then the elder one, but he himself did not set foot outside the house of pleasure or determine to come to court. Ḥakīm 'Alī was ordered that before the army reached that side, he should bring Yūsuf Khān out of Kashmīr, make him obtain the honour of waiting on the king, and not accept any excuse. When this news, which Ya'qūb had heard reached Yūsuf who consulted his ministers and said reluctantly, "Is it good that I should go?"............ Meanwhile it was heard that the king of India marched from Lāhore to Kābul. Yaqub Shāh fled to Kashmīr,"

1. A'zam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. f 147.

From the above it seems that Yūsuf was willing to proceed to the royal camp, but Nizām-ud-Dīn tells us that his nobles threatened him with superession by Ya qub if he left Kashmīr:-

یعقوب بیوسف نوشت که حضرت را ارادهٔ آمدن بکشمیر است. یوسف خان قرار داد
که باستقبال برآید ...... و لزم مصمم خواست که متوجه درگاه شود. بابا خلیل و
بابا مهدی و شمس دولی موسوس او شده او را ازین عزیمت باز داشتند و
قرار دادند که اگر یوسف خان متوجه درگاه شود او را بقتل آورده یعقوب را بجای
او بحکومت بردارند او از ترس این عزیمت را بتعویق انداخته ایلچیان حضرت را رخصت نمود[1]

"Ya'qūb wrote to Yūsuf that Hazrat (Akbar) had determined to visit Kashmīr. Yūsuf Khān resolved that he should advance to welcome him..... and with firm resolution desired to go to the royal camp. Bābā Khalīl, and Bābā Mehdī and Shams Deulī being perplexed about him prevented him for this undertaking and resolved to put him to death and place Ya'qūb on the throne, if he went towards the royal camp. He owing to fear, postponed his undertakings and permitted the royal embassy to depart."

After this Nizām-ud-Dīn writes that Akbar invaded Kashmīr but the reason which lead Akbar to open compaign against Kashmīr has not heen given by him. Here A'zam throws some light.

یعقوب شاه پیش از حلم کبری بگر رسید و پدرش میخواست که حکم به حبس نماید که
چرا باین حرکت که موجب شورش مزاج اکبر بادشاه شد ارتکاب نمود. شفیعان

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1. Nizām-ud-Dīn, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī , p 631-632.

بالتماس و الحاح تمام مانع آمدند و بار سلام داد. تا آنکه حکیم هم رسید. حکیم را تا خانپور
استقبال نموده به تعظیم تمام آورده در حویلی سید علی جای داد تا دو ماه بانواع
اکرام و اعزاز بجای آورد. گفت که همراه شما فی الفور یعقوب خان را دست بسته
میدهم. حکیم از اصل کار واقف شده بعرض بندگان جلال الدین پادشاه مخفی عرضداشت
فرستاده بهگوان داس راجه با پنجاه هزار سوار و پیاده از اٹک براه باره مولا روانه کرد [2]

" Ya'qūb Shāh reached Srīnagar before the arrival of Hakīm. His father wanted to put him behind the bars, as he had behaved in a manner which had disturbed king Akbar's temperament. Some intercessors prevented him from doing so with many solicitations and requests. He permitted him to pay homage to him. In the meanwhile Hakīm too, reached. He went out to receive the Hakīm as far as Khānpur and with great respect brought him and alloted him place in the Havaili of Sayyid 'Alī, and served him for two months with much reverence. He said, "I at once send Ya'qūb with you with folded hands. Hakīm came to know of the reality and sent a confidential letter to the servants of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the king. The king sent Rājah Bhagwān Dās with an army consisting of 50,000 soldiers from Atock via Bārahmulā."

A'zam does not tell us the reasons of Ya'qūb's flight from the imperial camp. Smith throwing light on the subject says:

" Ya'qūb Khān......finding that Akbar, in practical disregard of treaty, was preparing for a fresh invasion of his country, fled from the imperial camp and prepared to resist.'

I. Farishtah writes پنج هزار. Orignal text is as follows.
شاهرخ میرزا و راجه بهگوان داس و شاه قلی خان محرم و دیگر امرای نامدار
که قریب پنج هزار سوار بودند به تسخیر ولایت کشمیر تعین فرمودند
در تاریخ فرشته جلد اول صفحه ۵۰۵

II. A'zam, Muhammad Wāqiāt-i-Kashmīr. Ms, p. 147-148.

Moreover, Ṭabāṭabā'ī also adds the following information to our knowledge. He says that Ya qub fled from the royal camp and this annoyed him, so he wrote a letter to Yūsuf Khān. Ṭabāṭabā'ī writes:

چون این سخن بعرض رسید فرمانی بنام یوسف خان صادر شد که خیریت ذات و امنیت
ولایت تو درین است که خود آمده بملازمت مشرف شود یا پسر خود را
باستان والا بفرستد - او عذرهای زمینداوانه پیش آورد و عرضداشت نمود لهذا
قصد کشمیر بخاطر اکبر مصمم گشت [1]

" When this was made known to him (Akbar) an order was issued to Yūsuf Khān that the welfare of himself as well as of his country lay in the fact that either he himself should come to the court or should send his son to the lofty threshold. He put up the pretext of land in reply. Hence Akbar resolved to conquer Kashmīr."

ENVOY RETURNS UNSUCCESSFUL AND AKBAR ORDERS FOR AN ATTACK :

Now a little detail from Abul Fazl about this campaign is reproduced here. He writes as follows in the third volume of Akbar Nāmah :

بنابر آن چون فرستادگان از کشمیر باز گردیدند و نخوت فروشی و
نکوهیده کاری او برگزاردند شاهنشاه دیده وری میرزا شاهرخ
بهادر و راجه بهگونت داس و شاه قلی خان محرم و مادهو سنگه و
مبارک خان و جلال خان و بسیاری از احدیان لشکرگی میرزا
علی اکبر شاهی و شیخ یعقوب کشمیری و حیدر چک و دیگر مبارزان
کارطلب را دستوری دادند و امین الدین بخشی گری اختصاص یافت [2]

I. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Ghulām Hussin Khān, sayyar-ul-Mutakhrīn, Vol. I, P. 195.
II. Abul Fazl, Allāmī Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III, p 480

"Accordingly when the envoys returned from Kashmīr and represented the arrogance and wickedness of the ruler, His Majesty on 9th Dai, (20th December, 1585, despatched Mirzā Shāh Rukh Bahadur, Rājah Bhagvant Dās, [illegible] Shāh Qulī Mahram, Mādhū singh Mubārak Khān and many Ahadīs in the charge of Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Shahi, Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Chak and other strenuous and brave men. Eventually Amīn-ud-Dīn was made Bakhshī."

It is pointed out here that A'zam is mistaken. From Abul Fazl statement it is obvious that no letter open or confidential was addressed to the king by the Hakīm. Akbar was as has already been stated, desirous of invading Kashmīr. It was his heart desire to anex it, so he availed himself of this opportunity, basing his righteousness on the arrogance of the ruler of Kashmīr.

The winter season set in, the ways were blocked by the snow. the commanders were, therefore, of the opinion to go via Bhimbar at the end of the winter season because a large army could march by that route. But it was not approved by the king as according to Akbar's point of view "The retribution of the wicked is a thing that does not endure delay." He ordered the army to proceed by the Paklī route where less snow falls. He was further of the opinion that during the season of rain fall or snow the enemy would be off their guard. Abul Fazl the court historian writes:

ناگزیر دل بدان صوب نهادند. ازین آگهی یوسف خان آهنگ پیکار در سر گرفت
و بسیاری کار آگهان را و دانه گردانید که نزد دریای بین سنگ حصاری
برآرند و در پر تنگی استواری جای ساخته آماده آویزش شوند
فرستادگان از باره حولا ششش کروه گذشته بودند که اقبال روز افزون
لنگرف کاری در آمد - مرزبان کشمیر نفس آن سگالش برگسترد

و رخصت گردها را باز گردانید ۱ .

" They were obliged to give their minds to this. On this news, Yūsuf Khān resolved to give battle and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near the river Nain sukh-- the delight of the eyes. (the river is now known as the Kunar). In every defile they were to establish a fortress and to prepare for war. The force that was sent had passed Bārahmulā by six kos, when the daily increasing fortune (of Akbar) became conspicuous. The ruler of Kashmīr erased from his mind the idea of that plan and he recalled the men he had sent.[I]"

The difficulty of crossing the passes, the fall of snow and rain, and the fact that Akbar's army belonged to a hot country made Yūsuf Khān the ruler of Kashmir think that the campaign would not be opened now. As ill-luck would have it, he learnt, when the opportunity had gone out of his hands. Akbar's army had arrived near Pakli, Yūsuf Khān thought of fighting. Abul Fazl says:

درین هنگام که سپاه ایزدی اعتصام نشیب و فراز در نوردیده نزدیک پولیاس فرود آمد
یوسف خان از شاد خواب پندار برخاست و بچاره گری ناسپاسی برنشست و چون بجز
زینهاری شدن و کورنش رسیدن دست آویز ملک داری نیافت از گشن کوار سست بیبهانه
دیدن ما در درگاه با چندی جدا شد و کاردانی فرستاده را فرا دل در میان آورد امرا که سیمی
سرما و گرانی آذوق و دشواری راه و ریزش برف و باران لستوه آمده بودند از بیش
خود پذیرفته آمده را دستوری دادند و با وچندی از دستاران چهارم اسفندیار
بفیروزی سپاه پیوست. امرا گوناگون بزرگ داشت بجا آورده انجمن آراستند و آهنگ بازگشت در گرفتند ۲

I. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah , Vol. III, p 480.
II. Ibid, pp 480-481.

When the troops aided by the providence had traversed hights and hollows and had come near Bulyās, Yūsuf Khān awoke from his presumptous slumbers and tried to amend his insubordination. As there was no way of preserving his kingdom except through submission and homage, he emerged from the pass of Kūārmast, under pretext of wishing to examine the (intended) battle-field with a few men, and sent a skilled envoy to lay open his secret intention. The officers had been exceedingly harassed by the severe cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads and the rain and snow. They received the envoy and then sent him back, and Yūsuf came with a few confidents of the army on 4 Is-fandyār (about 14 February 1586) they treated him with respect, and had a confetence. They then formed the design of returning."

Akbar did not approve of it and ordered.

اگر یوسف خان را حیله اندوزی در سر نیست و براه درستی میرود باید که فیروزی سپاه
در آن عرصهٔ دلکشا درآید و آن ملک گرفته بدو سپارند امرا کام و ناکام قدم پیشتر نهادند [1]

" If Yūsuf Khān was not meditating any fraud and was treading the high way of truth, the right thing was that the army should enter the delightful country (of Kashmīr), and, after securing it, should make it over again to Yūsuf. The officers, willing or unwilling, had to advance.

YA'QŪB SHĀH HIS SON CONTINUES WAR WITH AKBAR'S ARMY:

The Kashmīrī, however, did not lay down arms, but they appointed Ḥussain Khān Chak as their head, Ya'qūb son of Yūsuf Shāh joined them, and they left their new chief and clove

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1. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol.III, p 481.

to him. There was daily fighting and in the words of A'zam:-

چنان جنگها شده که رستم دستان رشک ازان میبرد و اگر گیو و پشن هم
حاضر می بود ازان داروگیر از حسرت و غیرت خون میخورد ...... باوجودیکه
ایام سرما و گرانی غله نوعی جلادت و شجاعت مستحکم کردند که لشکر مغلیه
باوجود آن کثرت عبرت گرفتند ...... یعقوب نوعی قافیه مغل
تنگ نموده که از جان بیزار شده ......: راجه مذکور لاعلاج شده
طرح صلح با یعقوب شاه انداخت و رو بگریز نهاده طبل بازگشت
نواخت، چون به پکلی رسید یوسف شاه را محبوس ساخته بپیشگاه
خلافت اکبر بادشاه رسانید[1]

"Such a furious battle took place that even Rustam would have felt envy at it and if Gaiv or Pashan had been present they too would have been deeply afflicted by envy and jealousy..........
Inspite of winter and dearness of provisions they showed such valour and firmness that the Moghals not-withstanding their large numbers learnt a lesson. Ya'qūb entangled them in such difficulties that they were disgusted with life. .... The said Rājah seeing no remedy laid the foundation of peace with Ya'qūb, and beat the drum of return. When he reached Paklī, he arrested Yūsuf Shāh and caused him to reach the court of king Akbar."

In the light of the above quoted statement there is nothing denying the fact that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb fought vigorously and the Moghal army suffered terribly from the cold etc., and were glad to retreat on any terms.

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, pp 148-149.

Abul Fazl says in Akbar Nāmah about the treaty that the Kashmīrīs offered to agree that, "The pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāhinshāh and that the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial. A superintendent (Dārogha) should be appointed for each department and then the army should return. As the army had been harrased, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yusuf the ruler of Kashmīr .... Though His Majesty did not approve of the settlement, he had regard to the circumstances of the army and of the Kashmīrīs and accepted the agreement.[I]"

YA'QŪB ASCENDS THE THRONE OF KASHMĪR: It has already been stated that Yūsuf Shāh left Kashmīr in the company of Mān singh, so his son Ya'qūb Shāh established himself on the throne in A.H. 994 (A.D. 1586). On his accession, Ya'qūb took to a life of ease and pleasure, hence misrule followed. Qāzī Mūsā, the chief Qāzī was ruthlessly done to death by Ya'qūb Shāh, He wanted the Qāzī to retain the name of Caliph 'Alī in Azān. Qāzī Mūsā objected to it and thus Ya'qūb was offended. He sent for the executioner and put Qāzī Mūsā to death. A'zam writes:

یعقوب شاه تکلیف نمود که فقرهٔ علی ولی را داخل اذان سازند...... قاضی اصلاً از

I. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah , Vol: III, p 481.

The original text reads thus:-

منابر و دراهم بگرامی نامه شاهنشاهی چهره بر افروزد و سرای ضرب و زعفران و ابریشم و شکاری

جانور لبرکار والا بازگردد و بهرکدام داروغه فرستاده فیروزی جنود که بازگشت نماید چون

لستوه آمده بودند بکوشش یوسف خان مرزبان کشمیر پذیرفتند...... اگرچه شهریار کشورستان

راپسند نیامد لیکن بروزگار سپاه فیروزی و کشمیریان بخشودند و قرارداده پذیرائی یافت

صلابت شاه نترسید و راضی برخلاف سنت معمول اسلام نگردید ......
یعقوب شاه ...... جناب قاضی را برتخت شهادت نشاندند ...... بعد شهادت
قاضی مردم شهر از یعقوب شاه متنفر شدند و دلهای خلائق از وی برگشت و
بزرگان اکثری ازین واقعه ازین شهر حرکت کردند[1]

Ya'qūb Shāh ordered that the phrase "'Alī Valī" should be retained in the Azan. Qāẓī did not care for the power of the king and did not agree to pact against the prevailing practice of Islām. Ya'qūb Shāh made Qāẓī sit on the throne of martyrdom ..... After the martyrdom of Qāẓī, the inhabitants of the city began to hate Ya'qūb Shāh and the hearts of the people were turned from him, and many great men, owing to this incident, left the city.

YA'QŪB'S PREJUDICE:

The Sunnīs were naturally alarmed, with the result that Shaikh Ya'qūb with other prominent persons petitioned to Akbar for help. Abul Fazl writes:-

درین هنگام حیدر چک و شیخ یعقوب کشمیری چنان برگزاردند که بزرگان آن ملک
از به دید ما سر باز نکشند اگر لختی بومی سپاه پنجاب همراه شوند همانا بی آویزش بدست درآید[2]

" At this time Haidar Chak and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī represented that, " The grandees of this country will not swerve from our views, and if a few of the landlords be sent with Panjāb troops, it is probable that the country will come to His Majesty's hand without a contest."

A'ẓam tells us that Shaikh Ya'qūb etc, entered into the following convention with the king:

در مقدمهٔ مذهب دخل اغراض از جانب حکام نباید - علما از مردم کشمیر معمول باشند مردم اینجا

I. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 151.

II. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol, III, p 496.

را از تکالیف مرفه دارند و با وجود این رعایات در امور ملکی قوت و اقتدار تابنا نزنید[I]

" The ruling prince shall not interfere with religious affairs, the purchase and sale of commodities, and rates of cereals

" The digniteries and officials of Kashmīr shall have no Kashmīrī as a slave.

" The inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or opperessed, and nobles of Kashmīr having been a source of mischief shall have no share in the administration of the country."

AKBAR ASPIRES TO CONQUER KASHMIR:

Akbar made up his mind to conquer Kashmīr inspite of his counsellors unwillingness. It would be of interest to know that before invading Kashmīr he consulted astrologers who decided that invasion would effect a speedy conquest. Abul Fazl says:

بفرمان گیتی خدیو انجمن اخترشناسان برآراسته آمد و در طالع سال و حال کواکب
ژرف نگهی بکار رفت نمودار شد که اگر لختی تکاپو رود بزودی گشوده آید[2]

" By the orders of His Majesty, a meeting of astrologers was held and a close investigation of the horoscope of the year, and of the state of the constellutions was made. It came to light that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made."

QASIM KHAN ATTACKS KASHMIR

Qāsim Khān despatched with a force to Kashmīr via Rājaurī in 995 A.H. (1586 A.D.) Ya'qūb Khān moved out to meet him with an army largely composed of malcontents

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I. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqiāt-i-Kashmīr,, Ms, p 152.

II. Abul Fazl, Allāmī, Akbarnāmah, Vol: III, p 496.

who soon deserted him. A contest ensued but Ya'qūb Khān had to give way, retreating to the south of the valley. Qāsim Khān and the Moghal force reached Srīnagar.

محمد قاسم خان میر بحر را با دیگر امرا در سنه خمس و تسعین و تسعمایه بکشمیر فرمود و یعقوب شاه که
بر تخت کشمیر قدم نهاده بود سر راهها مضبوط ساخته در مقابل لشکر بادشاه نشست سرداران
کشمیر که سر فتنه داشتند و اصلا اطاعت را پیش نهاد نمی ساختند درین وقت از
یعقوب شاه رنجیده به محمد قاسم خان پیوستند و بعضی در شهر سری نگر علم مخالفت افراشتند
یعقوب شاه تسکین فتنه درون خانه اهم دانسته برگشت و افواج اکبرشاهی کما ینبغی
بکشمیر در آمده یعقوب شاه بکوهستان گریخت و محمد قاسم خان میر بحر شهر سری نگر
را متصرف ساخته در پرگنات کشمیر عمال نصب کرد[1]

" Muhammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Bahr was despatched with a few others in 995 A.H. and Ya'qūb who held the throne of Kashmīr blocked the ways and sat to confront the army of the king. The chiefs of Kashmīr who had a mind to incite disturbances and had never thought of obedience were aggrieved by him and joined Muhammad Qāsim Khān and a few others raised the flags of opposition. Ya'qūb Shāh giving priority to the suppression of the internal commotion, returned and Akbar's army entered Kashmīr. Ya'qūb Shāh fled to the mountains and Muhammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Bahr captured the city of Srīnagar and appointed officials on Parganas."

Though Kashmīr was subjugated by Qāsim Khān's hard toils yet Ya'qūb Shāh the ex-Chak king, was still exerting himself to regain his lost kingdom The inhabitants submitted to Qāsim Khān's decrees

1. Farishtah, Muhammad Qāsim, Tārikh-i-Farishtah, Vol, II,p 69-70

in bitterness so long as the winter's cold endured, but in the word of Abul Fazl:

چون هوا روی باعتدال آورد زنبورخانهٔ بدگوهران برآشفت، بیشتری جدائی گزیدند
و یعقوب فرومایه را از خول‌گاه برآوردند در حوالی جینیر بیست و سه کروه شهر هنگامهٔ
شورش گرم شد هرچند فوجها رفتند کاری از پیش نتوانستند برد[1]

" Hardly had the weather moderated when rebellion again raised its head. Many deserted him, and enticed the mean Ya'qūb from his hiding place. There was a hot commotion in Janir 23 kos from the city. Though troops went there, they could not carry through the business."

Abul Fazl narrates this rebellion in detail, but here its summery would suffice to elucidate facts.

QASIM KHAN'S EFFORTS PROVE FRUITFUL :

Abul Fazl writes:

پس از چندی قاسم خان باز بآویزه‌گاه آمد، اگرچه هرروز میان تراولان آویزش روی
میداد کین پنج بار چپقلش ستوگ چهرهٔ رادمرد برافروخت و فیروزی رو داد
.... دلاوران تیزدست غنیم را برشکستند و برفراز کوه برآمدند..
...... روز دیگر قاسم خان بادل‌سخت گزین رو به پیکار آورد و کشمیریان دل
داده پراگنده شدند، یعقوب بجانب کمراج رفت و امرا بازگشته انجمن نشاط
آراستند، یعقوب و شمس چک باهم پیمان یک جهتی بسته سر بشورش برداشتند
.... روز پنجم قاسم خان بگروهی دلاوران رفت و سترگ آویزش روی داد..
.... و هنگامه ناسپاسان پراگنده شد ...... و یعقوب از انجا خود را
بشمس چک رسانید و کمتر زمانی باز نزدیک شهر آمده گرد فتنه برانگیختند

1- Abul Fazl, Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah , Vol , III, pp 521-522.

...... و هر روز جوقی بهادران به پیکار باطل ستیزان بر آمدی
قاسم خان نیز دل برگرفته عرضداشت و طلب خود را خواهش نمود -
شهریار دوربین پذیرفته میرزا یوسف خان را بسپه آرائی آن دیار
فرمود ...... فرمان شد که چون تیره رایان نخوت فروش مالش
یابند قاسم خان بدرگاه والا باز گردد کشمیریان از آوازهٔ فیروزی
جنود برقی را بگروه فرستادند که بیک جهتی نالگیان را استوار گردانند
میرزا یوسف خان ازین آگهی محمد بیت و بابا خلیل و ملا طالب اصفهانی
سرائی پیشتر روانه ساخت ...... پیشتر از آنکه بدان لشکر
گاه پیوندد هنگامهٔ بدسگالان پراگنده شد، یعقوب به کشتوار شتافت
و شمس چک بکوهستان کامراج پناه برد، قاسم خان را بدرگاه والا
دستوری داد .... او زبان مداوا گشاد ولختی دلها برنشست
و رمیدگی مردم را چاره گر آمد - مبارک خان و جلال خان و سید دولت
و جمعی را بر شمس چک فرستاد - آن شوریده از تیره گاه شبخون
آورد و فراوان غنیمت برگرفت، بامدادان فیروزی سپاه تکاپوی
نموده چنان برشکستند که دیگر برنخاست و به پیمان سید بهاالدین
آمده دید - میرزا یوسف او را با میر روانه درگاه ساخت [1]

I. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol, III, pp 522-523.

"After some time, Qāsim again came out to fight. Though every day there was fighting between the skirmishers, yet on five occasions there were close engagements followed by victory...... The brave men defeated the enemy, and got to the top of the hill.. ... Next day Qāsim Khān went forward to do battle. The Kashmīrīs lost heart and fled, and Ya'qūb went off to Kamrāj. The officers returned and had a joyful meeting. Ya'qūb and Shams Chak made a treaty with one an other, and stirred up commotion. On the fifth day, Qāsim went of with a number of brave men and a great battle took place..........and the foe was dispersed..........Ya'qūb joined Shams Chak and in a short time again came near the city, and stirred up commotion. ....Every day a body of imperialists came out to fight with them. Qāsim Khān too got disgusted and petitioned for his recall. The provident monarch accepted and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān was nominated to the command. An Order was given that when the arrogant and blinded one was punished, Qāsim Khān should return to court. When the Kashmīrīs heard of the army, they sent some men to ravines, inorder that by coaleseing with the Naikan (Guardians of the passes) they might make the road secure. When Muhammad Yūsuf Khān heard of this he sent of Muhammad Baht, Bābā Khalīl and Mullā Tālib with conciliatory messages. ......Before they had reached the camping ground the evil doers had dispersed. Ya'qūb went off to Kashtwar and Shams Chak took refuge in the hills of Kamrāj. Muhammad Yūsuf gave Qāsim Khān leave to go to court. He unloosed the tongue of conciliation and set himself to the task of gaining the hearts of the people and there terrors and distrusts were soon allayed.

Mubārak Khān and Jalāl Khān and Sayyid Daulat with a body of men were sent against Shams Chak. The latter made a night attack from Taragaun and obtained much plunder. At dawn the imperialists pursued him and they so broke his power that he never again rose up and made his submission on the safe conduct of Sayyid Bahā-ud-Dīn. Mirzā Yūsuf Khān sent him to court with Mir.

YUSUF SHAH'S RANK IN AKBAR'S COURT:

Before we proceed further it would be of interest to write that Yūsuf Khān and his son were exiled to Bihār, where they were imprisoned under the charge of Mān Singh, the governor. A year or so later Yūsuf Khān was released from confinement and appointed to a "Command of 500" a rank carrying a salary ranging from 2100 to 2500 rupees a month, and inadequate to the dignity of a deposed sovereign. He served in that capacity under Mān Singh for several years[1] The time and manner of his death do not appear to be recorded.

AKBAR'S REGIME IN KASHMIR

AKBAR VISITS KASHMIR

In 1589 A.D. (997 A.H.) the Emperor carried into execution the long cherished wish of paying a visit of pleasure to Kashmīr. He travelled by the Bhimber pass and Rattan Panjāl. Abul Fazl records:-

بیست و پنجم خرداد پس از هشت ساعت و بیست و چهار دقیقه ..... بشهر سری نگر رایات
همایون بر افراخته آمد جوق جوق مردم پذیرا شده و به نثار و پیشکش بهروزی اندوختند [2]

---

1. Smith, V.A. Akbar the great Moghal, pp 240-241.
II. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmi, AkbarNāmah, Vol,III, pp 542-543.

"On 25th Khurdād, (5 June, 1589 , after 8 hours 24 minutes, His Majesty planted his standards in the city of Srīnagar. Crowds of people arrived and had their desires gratified. There was the glory of largesse and presents."

Or as Nizām-ud-Dīn tells us:

در روز پنج شنبه غره شعبان سنه مذکور نزول رایات جهانگشای در شهر سری نگر وقوع یافت [1]

"On Thursday, the first day of Sha'bān of the aforementioned year (viz, 997 A.H. 1589 A.D., the world conquering standards halted at the city of Srinagar."

For a journey of pleasure such as Akbar was now making there could be no more lovely scene than Kashmīr ......the incompareable valley which has ever been reputed an earthly paradise, poets old and new, Eastern and Western, have vied with one another in its praise. However, it must not be imagined that this was merely a pleasure trip to the "Happy valley". Akbar respected the feeling of his subject by proclaiming that no soldier should molest any citizen. Kirpā Rām writes in his history:

بعد از آن در شهر سری نگر رایت اقبال افراخته شده در خانه یوسف شاه
نزول افتاد و لشکریان را حکم صادر شد که احدی در خانه رعیت فرو نیاید [1]

" After that, hoisting the prosperous flags in Srīnagar he stayed in the house of Yūsuf Shāh, and the soldiers were ordered that no one should be bittered in the house of the subjects."

Faizī Fayyāzī, the court poet, wrote a Qasīdah having the following as opening line:

FAIZI'S QASIDAH ON KASHMIR

هزار قافله شوق میکند شبگیر ؛ که بار عیش گشاید بخطه کشمیر [3]

I. Nizām-ud-Dīn, Tabaqāt i-Akbari, p 372.
II. Kirpā Rām, Majma'-ut-Tawārikh , Ms, fol. 108[b]
III. Abul Fazl, Allāmi, Akbarnāmah , Vol. III, p 543.
This Qasīdah consists of 98 verses. He has copied whole of it in his Akbarnāmah. (cf. pp 543-547.

About Akbar's visit writes Shuka:

"On the fifth bright lunar day of Ashadha, Akbar arrived with his army in the capital of Kashmīr. On the seventh bright Lunar day of that month he pleased the Brahmana boys with gifts of gold and they blessed him. He then went to Marttanda and gave cows adorned with pearls and gold to Brahmanas. He was glad to see Kashmīra with its vines and walnut trees, and high and charming woods of Tālī trees. He stood on the banks of the vitasta and saw the position of the city and was greatly astonished. He saw the tank near Jyeshtharudra adorned with various kinds of flowers and was greatly surprised."[I]

EFFORTS FOR THE WELFARE OF KASHMIR :

The Emperor did not leave his new territory without traces of his genius but displayed great activity during his brief visit. Frederic Augustus writes:-

"Irrigation channels were cleaned and many orchards laid out. From this day date the avenues of spire-like poplars and the grapes of giant plants, in the shadow of which even now, the traveller resting at Islām Ābād and Srīnagar, sees in their leafy glories a memorial of Akbar's sense of beauty and love of well doing."

AKBAR LEAVES KASHMIR :

Akbar remained in Kashmīr till the beginning of the rains and then took his way to Hindustān.

I. Dutt, Jogesh Chunder, Kings of Kashmīra, Vol.III, pp 417-418

II. Augustus, Fredric, Emperor Akbar , (Translation) Vol. II, p215

چون روزی چند خاطر اشرف از تماشا و سیران ولایت فراغ دست

داد و ایام برسات در آمد حکم شد که شاهزاده با دیگر اہل حرم رہتاس

را مستقر ساخته انتظار قدم برده باشد

"As a few days gave the noble mind freedom from seeing the sights and travelling about that country and the time of the rains was approaching, an order was issued, that the prince with the inmates of the Ḥaram should take up his quarters at Rohtās, and await the arrival of the Emperor there."

Kashmīr was once agian in revolt in 1,000 A.H. (1592 A.D.)

YĀDGĀR'S REVOLT: when Yūsuf Khān Rizvī Mashhadī left Kashmīr for Akbar's court having made his cousin Yādgār Mirzā Nāẓim during his absence. Yādgār Mirzā declared himself king but was suppressed in no time. Farishtah writes:-

درین اوقات سید یوسف خان مشهدی بموجب فرمان اشرف برادر خورد خویش
میرزا یادگار را در کشمیر گذاشته خود بدرگاه آمد و میرزا یادگار دختر زمیندار بزرگ
کشمیر را در عقد خود آورده باستظهار اہل کشمیر علم مخالفت برداشت خطبه آنجا را بنام خود کرد

"In the mean time Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī in compliance with the royal order leaving Mirzā Yādgār in Kashmīr, came to the court. Mirzā Yādgār married the daughter of a big land lord of Kashmīr and by the help of the inhabitants of Kashmīr raised the standard of opposition and ordered that the "Khuṭbah" should be read in his name."

I. Nizām-ud-Dīn Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p 372.

II. Farishtah, Qāsim, Muhammad, Tārīkh-i-Farishtah., Vol. I, p 510

Shuk gives some other reason for the rebellion. According to his point of view, Qāẓī 'Alī who was appointed to make inquires into the increase of the revenue of Kashmīr, could not please the inhabitants of Kashmīr , for miserliness was predominant in his nature and he had an inordinate passion for the accumulation of riches. He writes:-

" The Kaji gave nothing to any one, nor enjoyed anything himself, but collected a large quantity of gold by robbing others, even as mice collect paddy. Menaced by Kaji Ali Yosobha Khana's men went about hungry, even like tanks in the hot season. The people of Kashmira came to rob the heaps of paddy when they saw it amassed by Kaji Ala, and the wealth hoarded by the wicked Kaji caused quarrels amongs the Mughals themselves. Mirzā Yādgār broter of Yosobha Khana, joined the people of Kashmīr with the intention to kill Kaji Ala. The Kaji fought several times with him, and then fled. His horse perished in ascending a hill, and he also went to heaven. ....Merja Yadgara turn aside from serving the feet of king Jyellaldina, and assumed the sovereignty of Kashmira[I]".

Badāyūnī has given an interesting episode which would be of much interest. He writes:-

در وقت خواندن خطبه لرزه بر اندام او فتاده بی شعور گشته بود بعد از دیری بحال آمد و از اتفاقات
اینکه بانروز که سجعی برای مهر خود یافته نگین بحضور خود کندن فرموده بود از آن جلا شد بچشم او فتاد
و تا دیری می مالید و ازین تفألها دانستند که دولت او دیرپا نخواهد بود[I]

I Dutt, Jogesh Chunder, Kings of Kashmira Vol. III, p 420.

II. Badāyūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p 382.

" At the time of reading Khtbah trembling laid hold of him, and he lost his senses, and recovered after a long time. From the curious accidents it was this, that on that very day he got the legend (سجعی) for his seal. He ordered the signet to be engraved in his own presence. An atom from that jumped up and entered his eyes. He rubbed them for a long time and groaned. This seemed to foretell that his career would not be long."

In short, when Yādgār assumed the sovereignty of Kashmīr the inhabitants of the country became apprehensive of another war and were grieved. Shuka continued :

"When king Jyallaladina heard of his conduct........ he sent Shikha Phereda ahead with many men to subdue the Merja. The Shikha ascended the top of a hill called Hastiganja even as the chariot of the sun ascends the eastern hills. At this time Merja Yadgar arrived at the village of Shurapura, but he was killed by his own servants who rose against him."[I]

On the other hand Abul Fazl has tried to save Qāzī Nuṣrulla and Qāzī 'Alī at the risk of Mirzā Yūsuf and his agents, saying that Mirzā's agents were in the habit of taking bribes, so when they "lost hopes of getting bribes they adopted evil thought." He writes in Akbar Nāmah.

چون راز دار میرزا یوسف خان جمع خزانی کشمیر برگزارد قاضی نوراللّه و قاضی علی را بدرگهش
فرستادند - چون گماشتگان میرزا از پاره پذیری ناامید گشتند تباه سگالی پیش گرفتند

I. Dutt, Jogesh Chunder, Kings of Kashmira, Vol, III, p 418.

قاضی نور الله بدرگاه آمد و ناسازگاری مردم و تباه سگالی ایشان وا نمود، ازین آگهی
برخی بدنهادان را طلبداشتند و حسین بیگ شیخ عمری را بیاوری فرستادند
چون لختی حال بدگوهران پیدائی گرفت درویش علی، عادل بیگ، یعقوب بیگ
ترکمان، امام قلی چولاق، قبا بیگ و دیگر نوکران میرزا یوسف خان همداستان شده
فتنه سازی بر نشستند، نخست نزد کمال الدین حسین اسکو که از احدیان
است رفتند تا او را سرداری برگرفته شورش را افزایند از سعادت
نپذیرفت. یادگار عم زادهٔ میرزا یوسف خان را دست آویز آشوب گردانیدند[1]

"When the confident of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān reported the increase of the revenue of Kashmir, Qāẓī Naṣrullah and Qāẓī 'Alī were sent to make inquiries. When the Mirzā'z agents lost hope of getting bribes they adopted evil thoughts. Qāẓī Naṣrullah came to court and reported the disorganization of the men and their evil intentions. On this information, some of the evil disposed were summoned, and Ḥusain Baig, Shaikh 'Umrī was sent to encourage (the royal). When the condition of the evil disposed became known in some measure, Dervish 'Alī, 'Ādil Baig, Ya'qūb Baig Tarkamān, Imam Qulī Jūlāq, Qiyā Baig and other servants of Mirzā Yūsuf Baig ploted together to stir up strife. First they went to Kamal-ud-Din Ḥussain Asko, who was one of the Aḥadis, in order to get him to become their leader and raise a rebellion. He had the auspiciousness not to accept their proposals and then they made Yādgār, the cousin of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān their instrument."

I. Abul Fazl, Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III. p 617.

Whatev er may be the reasons of this strife, there is no denying the fact that it was Qāzī Nūr Ullah and his companion Qāzī ʿAlī's harsh treatment or rather misbehaviour that caused the ... Moghals to be at daggers drawn, and shed the blood of each other, in that beautiful valley --the very paradise on the earth.

Rebellion was suppresed by Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī. Akbar

AKBAR VISITS KASHMĪR FOR THE SECOND TIME:

visited Kashmīr for the second time in 1001 A.H. (1593 A.D.). Nizām-ud-Dīn writes:-

بتاریخ هشتم محرم احدی و الف کشمیر از قدوم میمنت لزوم رشک فردوس برین ساختند
و دلبست و هشت روز در کشمیر استقرار داشته هر روز بسیر کشتی و شکار مرغابی قدسی خاطر را
خوشحال می ساختند و حکومت کشمیر را باز بمیرزا یوسف خان رضوی مرحمت فرمودند I

" On the eighth of Muharram in the year 1001 A.H. Kashmīr was made the object of the envy of the higher paradise, by the grandeur of the auspecious advent of His Majesty. He stayed in Kashmīr for twenty-eight days and every day his saintly mind was made happy by going about in boats and shooting water fouls. He conferred the government of Kashmīr again on Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Rizvī."

Akbar for the third and last time visited Kashmīr in 1005 A.H (1595 A.D.) Abul Fazl writes in Akbar Nāmah under the year 1005A.H

افسر خدیو ...... بیست و هشتم بشهر ناگر نگر سایه اقبال
انداختند شهر دسری نگر بلند کوهی بزرگ آبگیری در گرد او II

I. Nizām-ud-Dīn, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p 377.

II. Abul Fazl, ʿAllāmī, AkbarNāmah , Vol, III. p 726.

"His Majesty, on the 28th cost the shadow of his fortune on the city of Nagarnagar, near Srīnagar there is a high hill and there is a large reservoir near it."

Akbar remained in Kashmīr for about four months. He wished to spend the winter in that delightful locality, but no sooner did the winter season set in than it became very cold and the inhabitants of hot countries began to feel some what inconvenience, and to crown all, the whole of Kashmīr suffered from a terrible famine. This famine also cast its shadow on the whole of northern India but its grip was harden on Kashmīr. Owing to the deficiency of rain coupled with the presence of Akbar's army, the scarcity of foodgrains increased. This persuaded Akbar to announce that his design of remaining there was abandoned. Akbar, however did his best to make arrangements for the feeding of the inhabitants. The court historian writes:-

از بارش کمی و کشت ورزی پراگندگی لختی گران ارزی بود - در آمدن فیروزی سپاه اگرچه آن
سختی افزود لیکن شاهنشاهی نوازش چاره گر آمد - در آن شهر دوازده جا الوان
والا که همه را خورش آماده ساختند، هر یک شنبه در عیدگاه خلق عالم بر زدی
و چند از پیشگاه حضور رفته خواهشگران را خواسته و خورش دادی. هشتاد هزار
ستمند و گاه کم و بیش کام دل برگرفتی و در ساختن قلعه نیز فراوان آرزومند
جان داروی زندگی یافت و بدست آویز مزدوری از تنگنای جانکاهی برآمد[1]

I. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, AkbarNāmah_, Vol, III. p 727.

"On account of the deficiency of rain and the dispersal of the husbandmen, price became some what high. Though by the coming of the victorious army the scarcity was increased yet the Shāhinshāh's graciousness provided a remedy. By his orders twelve places were prepared in the city for the feeding of great and small (ie. young and old.) Every Sunday a general proclamation was made in the 'Idgāh, and some went from the palace and bestowed food and presents, on eighty thousand necessitious persons, and some times more or less, received their hearts' desires. A great many persons also got their livlihood by the building of the fort. By means of their wages they were brought out from the straits of want."

Criticising this statement of Abul Fazl, Smith writes in his history:-

" Abul Fazl characteristically glozes over the calamity in language which gives no notion of the severity of the visitation .... the opportunity for offering one more morsal of flattery to his master appealed to Abul Fazl far more strongly than the sufferings of nameless millions."[I]

Two priests, father Jerome Xavier and benedict of Goes, accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr. Smith on the basis of Xavier's letter writes that.

"The famine did not spare her (Kashmīr) and hard necessity compelled mothers to expose of their infants, many of whom the priests picked up and baptized wholesale, in the full assurance that by so doing they secured instant salvation and eternal bliss for the souls of the little ones."[II]

I. Smith, V.A. Akbar the great Moghal , p 267. II. Ibid, p 268.

During his stay in Kashmīr Akbar made up his mind to interfere

AKBAR WISHES TO CONQUER TIBBET :

in the Tibbet affairs. His efforts proved prolific in this respect. He resolved to conquer it, but owing to famine his hopes were dashed to the ground. Abul Fazl tells us.

درین هنگام (که رایات اقبال بکشمیر در آمد) سگالش آن بود که لشکری بگشایش آن ملک نامزد گردد

چون چهل روزه آذوقه سپاه از خشک سالی بدشواری سرانجام می یافت و قدسی طبیع اندرز گزاری بود اندیشه بجد در نیامد [1]

" At the time that the royal standards came to Kashmīr it had been intended that an army should be sent to conquer that country. As owing to the scarcity of the rain, it was difficult to provide the soldiers with forty days provisions, and as His Majesty wished to convey counsels, the design was not carried out."

He , however, directed operations against Ajū Rāī, the ruler of Tibbet Kalān (Major) and Khurd (Minor), parts of little Tibbet (Baltistan) who offered resistance. The later was consequently replaced by Ali Rai who held a principality in that vicinity.

In Kashmīr Akbar left a memorial in the lordly fort of Koh-i-

THE BUILDING OF THE NAGARNAGAR:

Mārān (The hill of snakes) which formed a pictureseque item in the land scape where it crowns a lofty rock called Harī Parbat, that rises to the north east of Srinagar. This fort is known as Nagar Nagar or Nāga Nagrī as Shuka puts it. In its praise Shuka writes:

" Men after performing various kinds of religious austerities

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(Continued from the back page)

Mu'tamid Khān says in an indirect manner that Kashmīrīs ate their own kind. He writes:

در اندک فرصت آ چنان قحطی که کشمیریان گوشت یکدیگر میخوردند بالکل رفع شد

(cf Mu'tamid Khān , Muhammad Sharīf, Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāgīrī, p 454.

1. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol.III, p 731.

go to heaven in their second birth after death, but when the people saw this Nāgā nagrī, they did not attempt to ascend to this heaven I.

It was finished in 1007 A.H.(1597 A.D.) and might have cost according to the estimate of Frederic, "Little less than £ 110,000." II The construction of this great bastioned stone wall was under taken it was given out chiefly, with a view to providing work for the people. In the palace there was a little garden with a small building in it, which Akbar used constantly to sit in.

AKBAR'S REFORMS: The house of Chak used to exact an annual fine from the Brahmans. Shuka writes:-

" For the preservation of his sacred thread a Brahmans annualy paid a tribute of forty pans to the king." III .... Now when King Jyalladin learnt of the condition of the Brahmanas, he repealed the practice of levying fines on them. .... He announced, ... that he would instantly pull down the houses of those who would take the annual tribute from them." IV .... The Emperor bestowed villages to the Brahmanas, and they looked graceful, even as the forest, that had been burnt by fire, does when the clouds begin to rain." V

The new land assesment which had followed the remittences of the taxt, called Bāj Tamgha, resulted in an increase of revenue.

I. Dutt, Jogesh Chunder, Kings of Kashmira, Vol, III. p 426.

II. August, Frederic, The Emperor Akbar, (Translation by Beveridge) Vol. II. p 214.

III. Dutt, Jogesh Chunder, Kings of Kashmira, Vol.III. p 420

IV. Ibid, p 421. V. Ibid. pp 422-423.

which , as recorded by officials, amounted to over one lakh of Kharwār. A Kharwār was equal to 3 maunds and 8 seers of Akbar's reign, and was reckoned at 16 Dams of Akbar's currency.

AKBAR 'S DEATH: Akbar died in the year 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.) [I] "The funeral," writes Binyon, " according to Muḥammadon custom among the Sunnī Sect, was of the simplest. A gap was broken in the wall of great red sand stone of Āgra which Akbar himself had built, and through this the body was borne on the shoulders of Salīm, now to be the Emperor Jahāngīr, and his son. A little procession followed it to the grave which had been prepared, at a distance of three miles." [II]

I. There are differences among the historians about the exact date of Akbar's death. Binyon gives 27th October, 1605 (cf see Binyon, Lawrence, Akbar, p 157 which corresponds to 25th Jamādi-ul- Akhir, 1014, while David Price writes that "according to some authorities the Emperor Akbar died on Wednesday, the 10th of the latter Jummady, A.H. 1014 corresponding with 12th of October, A.D. 1605.(cf David Price, Memories of the Emperor Jahāngīr, p 1.) He also confirms it at some other place too. (cf see foot note at page 75) . But in the text of its translation of Memories of Emperor Jahangir, we find the following paras worthy of perusal.

"At this time of anxious suspence, my father sent one of his dresses, with the turban taken from his own brows......I clothed

myself in the dress and in humble duty proceeded into the castle On Tuesday the eighth of the month, my father drew his breath with great difficulty, and his dissolution being evidently at hand, he desired that I would despatch some one to summon every Amir." (cf David price, Memories of the Emperor Akbar, p 75-76) He further writes: "On the evening of Wednesday (ie, 9th of the month) when one watch and four section of the night were expired, my father's soul took flight to the realms above. (cf p 75)

From this it seems that he ascended the throne on 8th Jamādi-ul-Akhir ie., the 10th of October, 1605 A.D. But according to Augustus the 12th Jamādi-ul-Akhir falls on the 15th of October. According to him Akbar died on this date. (cf The Emperor Akbar , Vol. II. p 424.

II. Binyon, Lawrence. Akbar, pp 157-158.

NŪR UD DĪN MUḤAMMAD JAHĀNGĪR

SALĪM ASCENDS THE THRONE :

Prince Selim had completed thirty six years of his age when he mounted the throne of Agrah, on the 10th day of October, 1605 A.D. (8th Jamadi II 1014) under the proud title of Jahangir, or "World Grasper". "His addiction to wine and his indulgence in luxuries," writes S.M. Jaffer, "afforded little prospect of a happy reign, but his natural abilities, combined with his libral education and strong common sense amply qualified him to carry on the administration of the Mughal Empire to the entire satisfaction of his subject."[II]

JAHĀNGĪR'S VISITS TO KASHMIR:

Jahāngīr who was a lover of nature naturally loved Kashmīr. His numerous visits, two of which were in the company of his father and six during his own reign, viz. 14th 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st are sufficient evidence to prove that this very paradise on the earth appealed to him most."His visits to that valley," writes Lawrence, " were marked by the construction of lovely pleasure garden. and he set a fashion which was followed by his nobles. Magnificent Chanār trees planted through out the valley, with the ruins of cascades and summer house all owe their origin to the Mughal ...vogue."[3]

I. Benī Prasād and S.M. Jaffer are wrong to say that Salīm ascended the throne of his father when he was thirty six years. (cf. Benī Prasād, History of Jahāngīr, p 111, and Jaffer, S.M. The Mughal Empire, p 180.)

Jahāngīr himself says that he was of 37 years . He writes :

در سن سی و هفت سالگی بر تخت سلطنت جلوس نمودم

(cf. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud-Dīn, Memories of Jahāngīr , p 1.

II. Jaffar, S.M. The Mughal Empire, p 180

III. Lawrance, Walter, The Valley of Kashmir , p 194.

Mu'tamid Khān writes in Iqbāl Namah-i-Jahāngīrī .-

از عهد دولت حضرت عرش آشیانی شاه آلو مطلقاً نبود. محمد قلی افشار از کابل آورده پیوند کرد
تا حال دوازده درخت ببار آمده زرد آلوی پیوندی نیز درخت چند معدود بود مشارالیه
پیوند را درین ملک شایع ساخت والحال فراوان است [1]

" During the reign of Akbar the plum was not available here. Muhammad Qulī Afshār brought it from Kabul and grafted it. At present twelve trees have borne fruit. The grafted yellow plum too were rare. The said made graft prevelent in this country and now it is in abundance."

In the words of Lawrence Mughal Emperors "so far as Kashmīr is concerned, would be entitled to the gratitude of posterity for the sake of beautiful and shady plane-trees. In the vicinity of Dal lake there were 777 gardens in the Moghal times, and roses and bed-musk brought in a revenue of one Lakh of rupees per annum![2]

Jahāngīr was accompanied by his beautiful queen Nūr Jahān "Whose romantic spirit appears to have had her lord and Emperor into the most secluded and picturesque recesses of the valley. Many of these pleasant retreats are to this day pointed out as the spots were the royal pair were wont to disport themselves in those days of royal abandon."[3.]

Jahāngīr built many places and summer houses. He completed the costruction of the celebrated Shālīmār Garden. The ruins of palaces at Manas-bal and Vernāg, etc., attest to his taste in selecting picturesque sites.

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1. Mu'tamid Khān , Muhammad Shrif, Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī.p.565
2. Lāwrence, Wālter, The Valley of Kashmir , p 195
3. Newalls, lient, Sketch of the Mohammadon History of Cashmera_, J.A.S.B. No:: V. 1854. p 436.

The main event in the history of Kashmīr during the reign of Jahāngīr is the conquest of Kishtvār. a description of this conquest in his own words is worthy of reproduction:-

CONQUEST OF KISHTVĀR:

بتاریخ دهم شهریور ماه الٰهی سنه چهاردهم دلاورخان با ده هزار سوار و پیاده جنگی عزیمت فتح
کشتوار پیش نهاد همت ساخته حسن نام پسر خود را با گرد علی میر بحر بمحافظت شهر و حراست
سرحدها مقرر داشت و چون گوهر چک دایبه چک بدعوی وراثت کشمیر در کشتوار و نواحی آن
سرگشته وادی ضلالت و ادبار بودند به بهیبت نام یکی از برادران خود را با جمعی در مقام
دلیسو که متصل بکوتل پیر پنجال واقع است بجهت احتیاط گذاشت و از منزل مذکور
تقسیم افواج نموده خود با فوجی براه سنگین پور شتافت و جلال نام پسر رشید خود را با نصرالله
عرب و علی ملک کشمیری و جمعی از بندهای جهانگیری براه دیگر تعیین فرمود. همچنین دو فوج
دیگر بر دست راست و چپ خود قرار داده که میرفته باشند. چون راه بر اسپ میسر
نبود- چند اسپی بجهت احتیاط همراه گرفته اسپان سپاهی را در کل باز گردانیده بکشمیر
فرستاد و جوانان کارطلب کمر خدمت بمیان جان بسته پیاده بر فراز کوه بر آمدند و غازیان
لشکر اسلام با کافران بد سرانجام منزل بمنزل جنگ کنان تا تری کوٹ که یکی از محکمهای
غنیم بود شتافته .... و ایبه چک برگشته بخت به بسیاری از اهل ادبار بقتل
رسید و از کشته شدن ایبه راجه بی دست و دل شده راه فرار گرفت - از پل گذشته
در بند درکوٹ که بر آن طرف آب واقع است توقف گزید .... دلاورخان
.... به لشکر فیروزی اثر پیوست ...... القصه دلاورخان تا چهار ماه و ده
روز در بند درکوٹ پای همت افشرده سعی در گذشتن داشت. ....
در دل شب جلال پسر دلاورخان با چندی از بندهای درگاه و جمعی از افغانان
قریب بدویست نفر از آن راه بسلامت گذشته هنگام سحر بی خبر بر سر راجه رسیده

کرنای فتح بلند آوازه ساختند .... در آن شورش یکی از سپاهیان
براجه رسیده خواست که بزخم شمشیر کارش به تمام رساند ...... راجه فریاد برآورد
که من راجه ام .... مردم بر سر او هجوم آورده دستگیر ساختند. دلاوران
با لشکر منصور از آب عبور نموده بمنزل بدر ملک که حاکم نشین آن ملک است درآمد
از کنار آب تا آنجا سه کروه مسافت بوده باشد. دختر سنگرام راجه جموون دختر
سورجمل پسر راجه باسو در خانه راجه است و از دختر سنگرام فرزندان دارد
پیش از آنکه فتح شود عیال خود را از روی احتیاط به پناه راجه جسوال و دیگر
زمینداران فرستاده بود. چون موکب منصور نزدیک رسید دلاورخان حسب الحکم
راجه همراه گرفته متوجه آستان بوس گشت. نصرالله عرب را با جمعی از سوار
و پیاده بحراست این ملک گذاشت. کلیه حاصل راجه بر جریمه است و
باندک تقصیری مبلغ کلی می ستانند و هرکس را متمول و صاحب جمعیت یافتند
بهانه انگیخته آنچه دارد پاک میگیرند. بهمه جهت یک لک روپیه تخمیناً زر حاصل
حصه او باشد و در وقت کار شش هفت هزار پیاده جمع میشود و اسپ
در میان آنها کم است. قریب پنجاه اسپ از راجه و عمده های او بوده باشد
محصول یک ساله در وجه انعام دلاورخان مرحمت شد[1]

" On the tenth of the Ilāhī month of Sharīwār, in my 14th year (1028 A.H.) Dilāvar Khān with 10,000 horses and foot, determind

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I. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī pp 294-297.

to conquer Kishtvār. He appointed his son, Hasan by name with Gird 'Alī Mīr Behr to guard the city and administer the territory. As Gauhar Chak and Aiba Chak laid claim to Kashmīr as heirs, and were stirring up strife in Kishtwār and were wandering in the valley of confusion and ruin, he left Haibat, one of his brothers, with a force at Desū which is near the kotal of Pīr Panjāl, by way of caution. Dividing his forces at that place, he himself hastened with a force by the road of Sanginpūr, sending his son Jalāl, with Naṣrullah 'Arab, and 'Alī Malik Kashmīrī and a band of Jahāngīrī servants by another road and his elder son Jamāl with a band of zealous young men as an advance guard to his force. At the same time, he placed two other forces to move forward on his right and left. As no horses could go on the road, by way of precaution, he took some with him, but left nearly all his 'Sipahis' horses behind and sent them to Kashmīr.(ie. Srīnagar). The young men buckled the belt of duty on their waists, and went up hills on foot. The Ghāzī's of the army of Islam fought from post to post with the ill-fated unbelievers as far as Narkot, which was one of the enemy's strong holds........The ill-fated 'Aibā Chak with many of the doomed people was slain. By the death of 'Aibā, the Rājah became powerless and without heart, and took to flight and crossing by the bridge, stoped at Bandarkot which is on the other side. ....Dilāvar Khān .....joined the victorious army. In short, for four months and ten days, Dilāvar Khān having planted the foot of courage at Bandarkot made endeavours to cross over. .... At mid night Jalāl, Dilāvar Khān's son, with some of the servant of the court and a band of

Afghāns, about 200 in number, crossed over in safety, made an attack on the Rājah unawares and blew loudly the trumpets of victory.. .....In that commotion, one of the soldiers reached near the Rajah and wanted to kill him with the sword .....Rājah said loudly, " I am Rājah .....the men rushed on the Rājah and made him prisoner .... Dilāwar Khān ......having crossed the river with victorious army came to Mandal Badr which was the capital of the country, and three kos from the river. The daughter of Sangrām, Rājah of Jammū and the daughter of Sūraj Mal son of Rājah Bāsū were in the Rājah's house (ie. married to him) By Sangrām's daughter he had children. ~~Before~~ He sent his family for refuge to the Rajah of Jaswāl and other Zimīndars before defeat was inflicted uopn him. When the victorious cavalcade reached near , Dilāwar Khān in compliance with the orders, took the Rājah with him, and came to kiss the threshold leaving Nasrullah ʿArab with a body of horse and foot to guard the country.

" The whole income of Rājah consists of fines, and for a small offence he takes a heavy sum. From, whom-so-ever is wealthy and in comfortable circumstances the Rājah, on some pretext, clears out from him all that he has. From all sources his income is about Rs 100,000. In time of war 6,000 or 7,000 men on foot collect togather. There are but few horses among them. The Rājah and the chief men have about fifty between them. I bestowed a year's revenue on Dilāwar Khān by way of reward."[1]

THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR ROSE UP IN REVOLT AND THE STEPS TAKEN BY THE E M P E R O R

Though the Rajah was arrested and put into imprisonment in the fort at Gawālyār, yet the subject of the ex-Rājah could not be suppressed fully. No sooner had the people came to know of

1. Rogers and Beveridge, English Translation of Tuzk-i-Jahāngiri Vol: II, pp 135-139.

Naṣrullah's weakness they stood up in revolt. Naṣrullah could resist as long as three days and was put to the sword by the rebels in the year 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D) Jahāngīr describes this incident in detail:

چون دلاورخان فتح کرده متوجه درگاه شد نصرالله عرب را با چندی از منصبداران
بمحافظت آنجا گذاشت او را در رای دو خطا افتاد یکی آنکه زمینداران
و مردم آنجا را تنگ گرفت و سلوک ناملایم در پیش داشت. دوم آنکه جمعی
که کمک مقرر بودند به طمع اضافه منصب ازو رخصت خواستند که بدرگاه رفته
مهم سازی خود کنند و ان تجویز این معنی نموده اکثری را برو رخصت داد. چون
پیش او جمعیت کم ماند زمینداران آنجا که زخمها ازو در دل داشتند و
در کمین شورش بودند فرصت یافته از اطراف هجوم آوردند پل را که عبور
لشکر و کمک منحصر در آن بود سوخته آتش فتنه و فساد افروختند و
نصرالله متحصن گشته دو سه روز خود را به هزار جان کندن نگاه داشت
چون آذوقه نبود و راه را نیز بسته بودند ناگزیر به شهادت قرار داده
مردانه با چندی همراه بودند داد شجاعت و جلادت داد تا آنکه اکثری از آن
مردم به شهادت رسیدند و بعضی خود را اسیر سرپنجه تقدیر کردند[1]

"Dilāwar Khān after conquering (Kishtwār) came to the court. He left Naṣrullah 'Arab with a few other officials to guard that

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1. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud-Dīn Muhammad, Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī, p 312.

place. He committed two blunders, the first was that he suppressed the land holders and the people of that place with an iron hand, and always ill-treated them. The second one was that the army which was appointed there to render help, in the hope of increase in their cadre, sought leave from him, so that by going to the court they might show their services. He allowed a large number of them, and when the army with him remained less in number the land holders who had wounds on their hearts by his hands and were lying in the ambuscade of rebellion got opportunity and gathered from all sides. Reducing the bridge, which was the only way for going through the army and reinforcement, to ashes, they burnt the fire of sedition and disturbances. Nasrullah took refuge in the fortress and with much difficulty and trouble could resist for two or three days. As there were no provisions and the way had already been blocked, he could not help but die. He, with a few, that were with him, showed much courage and valour, till many of those men were slain. Some got themselves arrested as the ill-luck would have it."

Jahāngīr on hearing this sad news sent Jalāl son of Dilāwar Khān who had rendered meritorious services during the course of last battle. But this time, against the hope of Jahāngīr, he failed to achieve his goal, so the Emperor sent Irādat Khān in the year 1030 A.H. (1621 A.D.) to do the needful. The Emperor himself writes:

با ارادت خان حکم شده بود که خود تا آن خدمت شایسته شتافته مفسدان بد سرانجام را تنبیه و تادیب
بر اصل دهد و بنوعی ضبط آن کوهستان نماید که غبار تفرقه و آشوب بر حواشی آن ملک ننشیند موی الیه
بموجب فرموده شتافته خدمت شایسته ظاهر ساخت . . . . و ضبط تهانجات نموده بکشمیر مراجعت کرد[1]

1. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī, p 332.

"Irādat Khān was ordered that he should forth with run towards that worthy duty and punish the ill-fated mischief-maker and should capture the mountainious country in such a manner that all disturbances should be put down. In complience with the orders, the said (Irādat Khān) ran towards the spot and rendered mer-itorious services ....and capturing the Thanajats returned to Kashmīr."

Irādat Khān returned to Kashmīr in the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign ie. in the year 1031 A.H.(1622 A.D.) and was sent to Qandhār and A'taqād Khān was appointed to his place. The reasons for this have been described by Jahāngīr himself. He writes:

ارادت خان که به تنبیه و تادیب مفسدان کشتوار شتافته بود بسیاری را بقتل رسانیده از
سر نو ضبط نموده و استحکام داده بخدمت پرداخت تا آنکه ...... ارادت خان خدمت
کشتوار را خوب کرده. چون رعایا و سکنه کشمیر از طرز و سلوک او شکوه می نمودند
اعتقاد خان را بصاحب صوبگی کشمیر سرفراز ساخته ...... و ارادت خان را بخدمت لشکر قندهار تعین نمودم [1]

" Irādat Khān who had gone to punish the mischief makers of Kishtvār, put many to death and subjugated again from the very beginning, and returned to court after fortification. Irādat Khān had discharged this duty efficiently, but as the subjects of Kashmīr complained against his treatment, I appointed A'taqād Khān as the governor of Kashmīr.........and sent Irādat Khān to Qandhār in the service of the army.

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1. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī, pp 345-347.

It seems to us that the people of Kishtvār were not satisfied by the administration of the subadars (governors) and approached the Emperor for the release of the Rājah. The Emperor acceeded to their request and released him:

RLEASE OF RĀJAH OF KISHTVĀR :

کنور سنگه راجه کشتوار را که در قلعه گوالیار مقید بود از حبس بر آورده کشتوار
باو عنایت کردم و اسپ و خلعت و خطاب راجه باو عنایت شد [1]

"I released Kanwar Singh the Rājah of Kishtvār who was in the imprisonment at Gavālyār, and bestowed upon him the sovereignty of Kishtvār and also a horse, a robe of honour and the title of Rājah.

So far as the welfare of Kashmīr was concerned, Jahāngīr took an active part in this respect. He prohibited the immolation of Muslim women in emulation of the Hindū women who consigned themselves to flames with the remains of their husbands. The strangulation of daughters at birth by men without means was stoped.[2] He also forbade intermarriage between Hindūs and Muslims. . Mu'tamid Khān writes:

MEASURES ADOPTED FOR THE WELFARE OF KASHMIRIS

بدعتهای ایام جهالت در میان آنها مستمر است چنانچه زنان هنود با شوهر خود زنده
با آتش در می آیند. اینها (مسلمان) خود را زنده بگور در می آرند. الغرض رسید که درین
چند روز دختر ده دوازده ساله با شوهر زنده بگور در آمده و بعضی از مردم بی بضاعت
را که دختری بوجود می آید فی الفور خفه کرده می کشتند و با هنود خویشی و پیوند میکنند
و هم دختر می دهند و هم میگیرند...... فرمان شد که بعد از آن پیرامون این امور
نگردند و هر کس که مرتکب بدعتها شود او را سیاست کنند [3]

I. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud.Dīn Muhammad, Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī, p 347.
II. This order was according to the Islāmic law. According to the holy Qurān God says: (٥: ٤٠٨) و لا تقتلوا اولادکم من املاق
III. Mu'tamid Khān, Muhammad Sharīf, Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol p. 571.

"The innovations of the days of ignorance are prevalent amongst them, so the Hindū women consign themselves to flames with the remains of their husbands and these (Muslim women) bury themselves alive in the grave of their dead husbands. It was brought to the notice of the king that a few days back a girl of ten or twelve years of age was burried alive in the grave of her husband and when a daughter takes birth (in the house) of men without means they at once kill her by way of strangulation and they contract marriages with the Hindūs; and give and take the hands of their daughters in marriage too. ....It was ordered that in future they should discontinue these practices, and one who is guilty of such lapses should be punished."

This was brought to the notice of the Emperor who visted Kashmīr in the 14th year of his reign, and remained there till the 15th year began. Mu'tamid Khān has mentioned it among the occurences of his 15th year of reign ie. 1029 A.H.(1620 A.D.)

PLAGUE IN KASHMĪR:

During the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign, in the year 1026 AH (1617 A.D) the epidemic of plague infested the country so virulently that the dead were thrown without even the last rites being performed. Jahāngīr writes:

درین تاریخ عرضداشت واقعه نویس انجا رسید نوشته بود که درین ملک علت وبا اشتداد تمام
یافته و کس بسیار تلف میشود باین طریق که روز اول دردسر و تب بهم میرسد و خون بسیار از
بینی می آید روز دوم جان بحق تسلیم میکند و از خانه که یک کس فوت شد تمام مردم آن خانه
در معرض تلف اند و هر که نزد بیماری یا مرده میرود بهمان حال مبتلا میگردد از جمله شخصی مرده بود
او را بر بالای کاه انداخته بودند اتفاقاً گاوی آمده از آن کاه میخورد و می مرد بعد از آن
سگی چند از گوشت آن گاو خورده تمام مرده اند و کار تا بجای رسیده که از توهم مرگ پدر

نزدیک پسر و پسر نزدیک پدر نمی رود - از غرائب آنکه در محله که ابتدای بیماری
از آنجا شده بود آتشی درگرفته قریب به سه هزار خانه در آن محله میسوزد...
....امید که حق سبحانه تعالی بر بندگان گناهکار خود مهربان گردد و ازین بلیه کلی نجات یابند

" On this day (Wednesday, the 17th Isfandarmuz, 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign 1617 A.D.) a report of the chronicler of events arrived, that the plague had taken firm hold of the country (Kashmīr) and that many had died. The symptoms were that the first day there was headache and fever and much bleeding at the nose. On the second day the patient died. In the house where one person died all the inmates were carried off. Whoever went near the sick person or a dead body was affected in the same way. In one instance the dead body was thrown on the grass, and it chanced that a cow came and ate some of the grass. It died, and some dogs that had eaten its flesh also died. Things had come to such a pass that from fear of death, fathers would not approach their children, and children would not go near their father. A strange thing was that, in the ward in which the disease began, a fire broke out, and nearly 3,000 houses were burnt. .... I trust that the Almighty will have mercy on His simple folk, and that they will be altogether freed from such calamities."

PELSAERT'S VIEW ON KASHMĪR: Franciso Pelsaert a Dutch protestant whose name usually appears in its French form as Fransois Plesart, was in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He remained in India for seven years from January 1621 to the end of 1627 A.D. His commercial report to his employees written in 1626 is printed under the title of the Remonstrantie.

1. Jahāngīr, Nūr-ud-Dīn Muhammad, Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī, pp 219-220.

This has been translated by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl. In this booklet of 88 pages, Pelsaert gives us light glimpses of Kashmīr in Jahāngīr's reign. "He had visted Kashmīr," writes Moreland, presumably to transact some business at court.[1]" The observations are not quite accurate in all details and there are several obscuri--ties. In the conclusion Pelsaert confesses saying, "I have delibe-rately passed over in haste certain matters such as the origin of the inhabitants, their nature and disposition, their dress, their methods of war, etc.,[2]" The reason put forward for it is that since the object of his report was merely to furnish information to his employers regarding the actual or potential trade of the country, so this report was drawn up for the use of the company, and not for a popular audience. Pelsaert writes about Kashmīr during the reign of Jahāngīr's reign thus:-

" The city (Srīnagar) it-self is planted with very pleasant fruit-bearing and other trees while two great rivers flow past it. The larger of these comes from Wirnagie, Achiawwāl and Matiara, th the other rises from the ground like a well or spring. Three kos from the city, having its source at Saluara from an inland lake, but the water of neither of them appear to be sweet or healthy, and the inhabitants boil it before they drink it, while the king and the chief nobles have their water carried 3 or 4 kos from Swindesseway where the water is clear and snow white. King Jahān-gīr began the construction of a wood aqueduct, to bring good water from a distance of 10 or 12 kos into the fort, but realising that it could be easily poisoned by enemies or mal-contents, he abandoned it after having spent fully 10,000 rupees. In Kash-mīr

1. Pelsaert, Franciso, Jahāngīr's India, (Conclusion), p 85.

foreigners usually suffer from the flux, and many die of it, the cause must be the water, and the quantity of fruit which is available."

" On the east side of the city lies a great stronghold, with a wall of grey stone, fully 9 or 10 feet thick, which joins it to a high, rocky hill, with a large palace on the summit, and another some what lower, or half way up, towards the north two or three residences with separate approaches, but the principal ones lie on the south towards the east. In the centre of this fort is the king's palace, which is noteworthy rather for its elevation and extent than its magnificance, The queen lives next the king, on the North side, next to her, her brother Āṣaf Khān and, a little farther on, Mukārib Khān. On the other side or, southern side, lives Sulṭān Shahryār, the king's youngest son who is married to the queen's daughter by her first husband. On the south west live Khawājah 'Abdul (Abul) Hasan, and also other great nobles, all of whom reside with in the fortress and round the hill, in a circle of about a kos in circumference. The city is very extensive, and contains many mosques, as their churches are called. The houses are built of pine wood, the interstices being filled with clay and their style is by no means contemptible, they look elegant, and fit for citizens rather than peasants and they are ventilated with hand some and artistic open work instead of windows or glass. They have flat roofs, entirely covered with earth, on which the inhabitants often grow onions or which are covered with grass, so that during the rains the green roofs and groves make the city most beautiful on a distant view. The inhabitants of the country and the city are for the most

part poor, but they are physically strong, especially the men, who can carry quite twice the load of a Hindustānī. This is remarkable in view of the fact that men and women get so little food. Their children are very handsome and fair, while they are young and small, but when they grow up, they become yellow and ugly, owing to their mode of life, which is that of beasts rather than men. The women are small in build, filthy, lousy and not handsome They wear a course grey wollen garment, open from the neck to the waist. On the fore-head they have a sort of red band, and above it an ugly, black, dirty clout, which falls from the head over the shoulders to the legs, cotton cloth is very dear, and their inborn poverty prevents them from possessing a change of raiment."

"They are fanatical Moslems. It was their twelfth king who observed this creed, (This sentence is obscure. The meaning seems to be that the king who submitted to Akbar was the twelfth Moslem king), before king Akbar's general Rājah Bhagvān Dās overcome the country by craft and subtlety, the lofty mountains and difficult roads rendering forcible conquest impossible."[1]

1*. Akbar's Prime Minister, Abul Fazl, has admitted that if the rulers of Kashmir fortified Kashmir's passes, an army of "thousand Rustam" would find it difficult, or rather impossible to get possession of the country. Abul Fazl writes:-

چه مسالک آن ملک ازان قبیل است که اگر چند روز بیشتر از آمدن بیگانه والی آنجا واقف شده
سنگباهی را بگیرد اگرچه لشکری از هزاران رستم آراسته باشد گرفتن آن مشکل بلکه محال خواهد بود

(cf Abul Fazl, ʿAllāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol. II, p 129.

"Kash-mīr produces many kinds of fruits, such as apples, pears , walnuts, etc., but the falvour is inferior to those of Persia or Kābul. In December, January and February the cold is very severe, with constant rain and snow, the mountains remain white with snow, except in places where the sun shines in the warm weather, causing heavy floods in the rivers."

" The reason of the kings special preference for this country is that, when the heat in India increases, his body burns like furnace, owing to his consumption of excessively strong drink and opium. Excesses which were still greater in his youth He usually leaves Lāhore in March or April, and reaches Kashmir in May. The journey is very difficult and dangerous, besides being expensive, for pack-animals cannot cross the mountains, and practically every thing must be carried on men's heads. All the nobles curse the place, for it makes the rich poor, and the poor cannot fill their stomachs there, because every thing is excessively dear, but apperently the king prefers his own comfort or pleasure to the welfare of his people."

" Kashmīr yeilds nothing for export to Āgra except saffron, of which there are two kinds. That which grows near the city sells in Āgra at 20 to 24 rupees a seer, the other kind, which grows at casstuwary, 10 kos distant, is the best, and usually fetch 28 to 32 rupees per seer (of 30 pice weight). Many pamris are also woven, these are clothes 3 ells long and 2 broad, woven from the wool (it is more like hair), which grows on the hind quarters of the sheep, very fine and soft as silk. They are worn here (ie. in Agra) as wraps in the winter because of the cold, and look very well and fine having a surface like borotos, walnuts

which are plentiful, are also exported to Agra."

" The goods sent from Agra to Kashmīr are coarse, unbleached cotton cloth, yarn for local consumption, and also pepper and opium. Nutmeg, cloves and mace are too dear, and their use is unknown, but all of them are, as might be expected, brought there when the king is in residence.[1]"

Ma'tamid Khān also throws sufficient light on Kashmīr. He gives in detail the condition of the people, production of fruit, saffron, revenue etc., during the reign of Jahāngīr.[2] So far as revenue is concerned, it was according to his statement 7,46,70,400 Dāms. He writes:-

و جمع ولایت کشمیر ...... بحساب نقدی هفت کرور و چهل و شش لک و هفتاد هزار و چهار صد دام می‌شود[1]

"The revenue of Kash-mīr amounts to 7,46,70,400 Dāms."

GOVERNORS OF KASHMIR:

Jahāngīr appointed seven Subedars or governors one after an-other, to govern Kashmir. Their names are as follows. The years of their governorship are mentioned against the name of each.

1. Qalīch Khān	1015-1018 A.H	1606-1609 A.D.
2. Hāshim Khān	1018-1021 A.H.	1609-1612 A.D.
3. Nawāb Safdar Khān.	1021-1024 A.H.	1612 -1615 A.D.
4. Nawāb Ahmad Khān.	1024-1027 A.H.	1615-1618 A.D.
5. Dilāwar Khān	1027-1028 A.H	1618-1620 A.D.
6. Irādat Khān	1029-1031 A.H.	1620-1622. A.D.
7. Nawāb A'taqād Khān.	1031-1042 A.H.	1622-1633 A.D.

1. Pelsaert, Francisco, Romonstrantie, (Translation by Moreland and Geyl) Jahāngīr's India, pp 33-36.
2. Mu'tamid Khān, Muhammad Sharif, Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol. 3 pp 553-567.

With the exception of Qlich Khān (1015-1018 A.H.) and Irādat Khān (1029-10 31 A.H.) all were just and numerous are the instances of their justice. So far as Nawāb A'taqād Khān is concerned, he was suspended by the Emperor Shāhjahān, so we will discuss the reasons thereof, under the said king.

JAHĀNGĪRŚS LAST VISIT TO K A S H M I R, HIS ILL-NESS AND DEATH:

Jahāngīr left for Kashmīr in 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.). Even the "Paradise on the earth", could no longer do him any good. His asthma took a more violent and more dangerous turn and his life was despaired of by the physicians. A panic spread through the camp. Though, thanks to his natural vitality, he recovered at the time yet the complaint continued in a grave form. Every day saw him weaker.

Shortly after, the Emperor himself left for Lāhore. As he reached Bairankala, his old hunting ground, a felt a longing for hunting for the last time. Resting his match-lock on a wall, built o the purpose, at the bottom of a high mountain, he fired at the deer which the country people were engaged to drive thither. A foot-soldier busy in providing game for the Emperor happened to run too close to a precipice, and, his foot slipping, fell down the moun-tain-side to be dashed to pieces. The incident shook the Emperor to the depth of his being. He called for the mother of the decease and gave her money to support herself. But nothing could remove his remorse and his depression. He fancied that the death of the poor man was really the visit of the angel of death to himself. The thought of the death haunted him incessantly and he sank into despair. His complaint assumed a graver form than ever. He could no longer sleep or feel at ease for a moment.

The day after the incident, the imperial cortage encamped at Thanah. The next stage was Rājuery. Towards the close of the day; on Safar 27, 1037 (October,27, 1627 A.D.) they left Rājuery for the next stage. The Emperor went from bad to worse and showed alarming symptoms. He called for a cup of wine, they placed it at his lips, but he was unable to swallow. During the night he grew still worse and expired in the early hours of the morning of Safar 28, 1037 (October 28, 1627) in the 22nd year of his reign[1], and was

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1. Mu'tamid Khān, Muhammad Sharīf, Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī, pp 292-93

The orignal text runs thus:-

در اوائل زمستان رایات عالیات بعزیمت دارالسلطنت لاهور ارتفاع یافت و در
مقام بیرم کله بنشاط شکار پرداختند .... در ته کوه نشیمن گاه بجهت
بندوق اندازی ترتیب یافته چون زمینداران آهو را رانده بر تیغهٔ کوه برآورند
.... درین وقت یکی از پیاده‌های آن مرز بوم آهو را رانده آورد.
آهو بر پارچه سنگی بعسرت جا گرفت وچنانچه باید خوب محسوس نمی شد پیاده
خواست که پیشتر آمده آهو را ازان مکان بیجا سازد. بمجرد آنکه قدم پیش
نهاد پای خود را نتوانست درجای مضبوط ساخت. در پیش تیه بود......
قضارا تیه کنده شد و ازانجا معلق زنان بحال تباه بر زمین افتاد. افتادن
همان بود و تسلیم شدن همان. تمام اعضائیش ازهم گسیخت. از مشاهدهٔ
این حال مزاج اشرف بشورش و آشوب گرائید و خاطر قدسی مظاهر
بغایت مکدر گشت و ترک شکار کرده بدولتخانه تشریف آوردند. مادر آن
پیاده آمده به جزع و فزع بسیار ظاهر ساخت. اگرچه اورا بنقد تسلی

burried in the suberbs of Lāhore in the garden of his favourite wife Nūr Jahān.

Jahāngīr reigned more than 22 years.

فرمودند لیکن خاطر اشرف تسلی نمی یافت - گوئی ملک الموت باینصورت متمثل
گشته بنظر اشرف در آمده بود - ازان ساعت آرام و قرار از پیشین دل برخاست
و حال متغیر گشت - از بهرم کله به بهنبر و از بهنبر براجور تشریف آوردند . . . .
در اثنای راه پیاله خواستند همین که برلب نهادند گوارا نیفتاد و برگشت و تا رسیدن
بدولتخانه حال بدین منوال بود - آخرهای شب که در حقیقت آخر روز حیات بود
کار بدشواری کشید و هنگام صبح که زمان واپسین بود ایستادهای بساط قرب
را روز امید سیاه نمود - نفسی چند بسختی برآمد - هنگام چاشت روز یکشنبه بیست و
هشتم صفر هزار و سی و هفت هجری بیست و دوم از جلوس اشرف همای روح
مطهر آنحضرت از آشیانه خاک بال افشانده سایه بر فرق ساکنان خطهٔ افلاک
افگنده جان بجان آفرین سپرد.

SHĀHJAHĀN

Shāh Jahān reached the vicinity of Agra on Thursday twenty-
CORONATION sixth Jamādī-ul-Ūlā, 1037 (28th January, 1628)
and stopped in the Dahara garden for twelve days, waiting for
the auspicious hour fixed for his state entry into the capital.
On Monday, 8th Jamādi-us-Sānī, 1037 A.H.(8th February, 1628) at
the exact time indicated by the court astrologer, the coronation
of the new Emperor took place. The Khutbah was read in his name,
and he assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Shihab [illegible]-ud-
Dīn Muhammad Sāhib Qirān-i-Sānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī.[1]

Being the Emperor of India Kashmīr naturally came under his
sway and we find him paying visits to Kashmīr off and on or more
properly speaking, at intervals of five or seven years. The first
visit took place in 1043 A.H.(1634 A.D) " The enchanting beauty
of this province hypnotised ShāhJahān, " writes Mr. Saksena,
" and though he had no staff of painters with him to reproduce its

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1. Lāhorī and Kanboh has given in detail the coronation of the
Emperor(cf Lāhorī, Abdul Hamīd, Bād Shāh Nāmah, Vol,I, Pt. II,
pp. 86-88, and Kanboh, Muhammad Sālih, Amal-i-Sālih, Vol, I,
pp. 222-231. A gist from Lāhorī's Bād Shāh Nāmah is given below.

روز پنج شنبه بیست و ششم جمادی الاولی سال هزار و سی و هفتم دار الخلافه آگره بآرایش و آذین حیرت
افزای دیده وران شد...... و چون ساعت سعادت اشاعت جلوس مبارک دوازدهم روز بود منزل فیض نزل
..... تشریف فرمودند و ده روز دیگر دران مکان والا بنیان توقف گزیدند روز دوازدهم هشتم شهر جمادی الثانی
سال هزار و سی و هفت هجری ..... بروز مبارک دوشنبه ...... در دولت خانه مبارک دار الخلافه آگره .....
نزول سعادت فرمود و بعد انقضای سه و نیم گهڑی که عبارت است بیست و چهار دقیقه نجومی باشد در فرخنده ساعتی
..... پای آسمان جاه بر تخت فرقدسای نهاد

natural beauty, he had a number of excellent writers at court who have described Kashmīr in glowing picturesque language which is poetic in spirit though prose in form.

During the first visit of Shāh Jahān it was brought to his notice that the conversion of Muslim girls to Bunduism and then their subsequent cremation with their Hindū husband was very common. Shāh Jahān followed his father's policy. Lāhorī writes:

درین ولا بعرض مقدس رسید که مسلمانان ساکن بهمبر از جهالت پیشگی بکفار دختری دهند و ازین طائفه
می ستانند و مقرر شد که مسلمانان دختر کافران را بعد از ممات دفن کنند و کافران دختر مسلمان را پس از
انقراض حیات بسوزانند. فرمان شد که هر کافری که مسلمه در خانهٔ او باشد اگر شرف اسلام دریابد زن
را بعقد جدید باو را باز گذارند و اگر شقاوت و غوایت از ادراک این سعادت سر برتابد مومنه را ازو جدا سازند [1]

" In the mean time it was reported that the Muslims residing in Bhimbar, owing to their ignorance gave the hand of their daughters to Hindūs and similarly marry with their daughters, and it was decided one that the Muhammadons should bury the daughters of infidles after their death and infidles should burn the daughters of Muhammadons after the end of their life. It was ordered that any infidel who had a Muslim woman in his house should have her as her wife after renewing the marriage ceremony, if he attained the dignity of becoming a Muslim, but if owing to misfortune and wretchedness he turned his back upon this bliss the pious lady should be separated from him."

It is a matter of interest to point out here that the Hindū Rājah of Bhimbar announced the adoption of Islām, and was given

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1. Lāhorī, ʿAbdul Ḥamīd, Bādshāh Nāmah , Vol.1. Pt. II. p 57.

the title of Rājah-i-Daulatmand, (or Rājah of riches) Lāhorī writes:-

جوکو زمیندار انجا ...... بتوفیق ربانی و بیم و امید حضرت صاحبقران ثانی با تمام قبیلهٔ خود در ملت بیضای مصطفوی درآمد و بخطاب راجه دولتمند سرفرازی یافت ۱

" Jokū the landholder of that place , by the help of God and owing to fear of and hope from Hazrat Sāhib Qirān-i-Sānī, he with all his family entered into the brighter religion of Mustafā and got dignity with the title of Rājah-i-Daulatmand."

Sh-āh Jahān also appointed there Qāzīs and teachers to teach the people religious laws and Islamic culture. Lāhorī writes:-

قاضی و معلم از سرکار خاصه شریفه معین گشته باجرای احکام شریعت و تعلیم و آداب عبادت بپردازند 2

" The Qāzīs and the teachers were appointed by the government that they should remain busy in issuing the orders of Divine Law and teaching the manners of prayers."

A few Muslims also made complaints against the Hindus who ha[cut off] built buildings in the premisses of a mosque. It was ordered that investigation be made and the needful done. Court historian write[cut off]

چون رایات جلال بحوالی گجرات رسید جمعی از سادات و مشائخ آن قصبه استغاثه نمودند

که برخی از کفار ناهنجار مومنه را در تصرف دارند و چندی از بنیان مساجد بتعدی

در عمارت خود آورده . بنابران شیخ محمود گجراتی .... رخصت یافت

تا بعد از ثبوت نسا مسلمه را از تصرف کفار برآورده مساجد و عمارات آن ملاعین

جدا سازد . و مطابق حکم عمل آورد 3

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1. Lāhorī, Abdul Hamīd, Bād Shāh Nāmah, Vol, I. Pt. II. p 57-58.
2. Ibid, p 57.
3. Ibid. p 57-58.

"When the exalted standards reached the vicinity of Gujrēt a group of Sayyids and Shaikhs of that village made a complaint that some wicked infidels possessed pious ladies and a few others had by force included the land of mosques in their building. On this Shaikh Muhammad Gujrēti .... got leave, so that after proof, he should take the Muslim ladies from the possession of the unbelievers and get the mosque separated from the buildings of those cursed one. He acted in accordance with the orders."

Shāh Jahān remained there for three months and then returned. Says Lāhorī in Bādshāhnāmah:

موکب گیهان نورد که سه ماه درین سرزمین نزهت آگین اقامت داشت قرین هزاران شادمانی انبعاث نمود[1]

"The world travelling cavalcade that had been staying for the last three months on the earth full of pleasure moved with immense of mirth."

Shāh Jahān visited Kashmīr for the second time in 1049 A.H. (1640 A.D.) Another visit is recorded in 1054 A.H. (1645 A.D.) and the last in 1060 A.H. (1651 A.D.) which, however was cut short on account of floods and storms.

CONQUEST OF TIBBET

In 1047 A.H.(1638 A.D.) Zafar Khān was the governor of Kashmīr when the Emperor made up his mind to conquer Tibbet. The causes in brief, were, that the Chak were given asylum in little Tibbet. Jahāngīr's Ṣubadār of Kashmīr Hāshim Kh-ān attempted to reduce 'Alī Rāi Marzabān (Warden of Marches) of Shakardū to submission but failed.[2] In Shāhjahān's time, Abdāl

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1. Lāhori, Abdul Hamid, Bādshāh Nāmah, vol.I. Pt. II, p. 49.
2. Kanboh, Ṣālih Muhammad, Amal-i-Sālih, Vol. II. pp 253-254. Following is the orignal text.

چون حضرت جنت مکانی پیوسته در پی فتح تبت و تبت کلان که الحال تبت معروف است بود

(Continued)

the son of 'Alī Rāī gave protection to Ḥabīb Chak and Aḥmad Chak Zafar Khān, therefore, persuaded Abdal to acknowledge Moghal sovereignty and to read the Khuṭbah in Shāh Jahān's name in 1043 AH (1634 A.D.). But Abdāl, with in the next two years repudiated his submission. Shāh Jahān ordered Zafar Khān to subjugate Little - Tibbet. Lāhorī writes:-

حکم شد که ظفر خان حارس کشمیر با لشکر آنجا بدان صوب شتافته ولایت مذبور را مسخر گرداند
او بتهیه این لیسات پرداخته ترتیب هشت هزار سوار و پیاده از بندهای پادشاهی
و تابینان خود و مرزبانان آن نواحی فراهم آورده .... در عرض یک ماه به شکردو
نام پرگنه که سر آغاز ملک تبت است رسیده نزدیک حصار علی رای دائره کرد.....
ابدال در حصن کهپره بهوچه متحصن گشته بود ...... ظفرخان ... مصلحت در محاصره و پیکار
ندیده چنین اندیشید که سپاهی و رعیت تبت را که از ناهنجاری ابدال دل آزرده بودند
بمدارا و مواسا جانب خود کشید و جوقی برای کشایش حصار شکردو و اسیر کردن فرزندان
ابدال تعیین نماید ...... بنابر آن میر فخر الدین را که نوکر معتمد او بود با فرهاد بیگ بلوچ
و نزدیک چهار هزار سوار و پیاده بر قلعه شکردو فرستاد خود بقلع ابدال پرداخت
و حسن خواهر زاده ابدال را با دیگر تابینان که در زمره بندگان درگاه آسمان جاه
منتظم اند و لختی از زمینداران کشمیر که با سکان آن مرز بوم آشنائی داشتند برآن
داشت که بترغیب و ترهیب این گروه را بشاهراه اطاعت و انقیاد رهنمون
گردند و برخی لسد مداخل و مخارج آن دو حصن حصین برگماشت ...

(Continued from back page.)

همت والا نهمت بر حصول این معنی بگماشتند و درین باب سعی جمیله مبذول داشته یک مرتبه در زمینداری
علی رای جنتی مکان کیپل عساکر ظفر مآثر نمودند چنانچه هاشم خان صوبه دار کشمیر با عدد و عدت تمام متوجه آن
صوب شد و گروهی انبوه را در قلل آن کوهستان بکشتن داده خسارت بسیار بسپاه ظفر پناه رسید

(Concluded)

ابدال از مخالفت مردم و سپردن قلعه و اسار زن و فرزند بیاس افتاده جز زینهار
چاره نیافت . ناگزیر حصن کہرپہوچہ را واگذاشت و بوسلامت شادمان
یکلهبیوال ظفرخان را دید ...... ظفرخان باندیشهٔ آنکه مبادا از ریزش برف
راه‌ها بسته شود ...... ملک تبت را بعهده محمد مراد وکیل ابدال واگذاشته بکشمیر
مراجعت نمود

" It was ordered that Zafar Khān, the governor should proceed to that side with the army of that place and should conquer the said country. He made preparations for the conquest and gathered together about eight thousand Cavalry and infantry from the servant of the king and from himself and the Marzbān of the vicinity. ...... He in a span of one month reached near Shakardū, which is the name of a 'Parganah', and where the country of Tibbet begins. He made a circle round the fort of 'Alī Rā'ī. Abdāl fortified himself in the foot of Kahrpahocha. ....Zafar Khān did not find it advisable to lay a seige and fight, and thought of winning over the soldiers and subjects of Tibbet, (who owing to rudeness of Abdāl were annoyed), by consolation and amicableness, and should appoint a few to conquer the fort and arrest

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1. Lāhorī, 'Abdul Hamīd, Bādshāh Nāmah, Vol. I. Pt. II. pp 282-86

the children of Abdāl ...... On this, he sent Mīr Fakhr-ud-Dīn who was his reliable servant, with Farhād Baig Baloch and about four thousand cavalry and infantry, towards the fort of Shakardū. He himself turned his attention towards the fort of Abdal. He persuaded Hasan Abdāl the son of Abdāl's sister with some private servants of the court of heavenly dignity ...... and with a few land holders of Kashmīr who had acquaintance with the inhabitants of that place, so that they by persuation and frightning this company lead them on the high road of obedience and submission, and also appointed some others on the enterences and exits of that strong fort. Abdāl on account of people's opposition was disappointed and found no way except to submit. Help-less as he was, he left the fort of Kahrpaochah and by the mediation of Shādmān Pakhlivāl saw Zafar Khān . ... Zafar Khān with the fear that by the snow fall the ways might not be blocked handed over the country of Tibbet to Muhammad Murād the agent of Abdāl and returned to Kashmir.

This action of Zafar Khān was not approved of by the Emperor.

GOVERNORS OF KASHMIR

Shāh Jahān appointed nine governors altogether of whom two, namely Zafar Khān and 'Alī Mardān Khān were appointed twice. A'taqād Khān, who was appointed by Jahāngīr, continued his office till his high handed-ness and oppressive rule brought about his removal. He was no doubt, as Lāwrance points out, " a cruel ruler but he was energetic, for he finally crushed the chaks."[1] Ahsan Ullah who is known for his title

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1. Lāwrance, Walters, The Valley of Kashmīr , p 195.

Zafar Khān took active part in the welfare of Kashmīrīs. It was on his request that many of the severe taxes imposed by A'taqād Khān and his predecessors were abolished. Reforms were also introduced in the system under which the revenue, on account of safforon, was collected. Poll-tax on boat-man and taxes on other things were reduced. A few orders of singular value issued by the Emperor are reproduced here.

متصدیان مهمات سرکار عموم و اهل شهر خصوص عجزه و مساکین و عجوزان سال خورد و خورد سالان
بیوه و بی پرورده را بجهت چیدن گل زعفران کار بیگار می فرمایند حکم اقدس صادر شد که دیگر تکلیف
متعرض این جماعت نشده کارگران این شغل مزدوری را از سرکار خاصه شریفه مزدوری بدهند - دیگر از
عهد باستان باز معهود بود که برسر خرواری شالی ده نیم دام محصول است که بوزن خاص میگرفتند درین ایام
چهار دام قرار یافته مقرر شد ...... در اصل چیزی ازین باب بوصول نرسانند - دیگر از بر موضعی سر بر
چهار صد خروار شالی حاصل ده سر گوسفند حسب المقرر زمان ماضی میگرفتند و الحال از نقدی صوبه داران سابق
در ازاء قیمت هر گوسفند شصت و شش دام که موازی بهای سه گوسفند است نقدی از رعایا بازیافت می
نمایند حکم شد که حسب الصدور امر نفاذ قرین دستور سابق معمول بود - درین باب دست تطاول من جمیع الوجوه
کشیده دارند - دیگر از پیر و جوان و خورد و کلان کشتی بانان بعنوان سرشمار هشت و پنج دام میغه میر بحری
نام نهاد میگرفتند - فرمان شد که ازین پس قانون قدیم را دستور العمل ساخته درین باب نیز ابواب بدعت
مسدود سازند و از پیران دوازده دام و از جوانان شصت دام و از خورد سالان سی و شش دام زیاده نطلبند [1]

" The officials of government commonaly and the inhabitants of the city perticularly impress the weak, poor and old women and orphans of tender age, for the collection of safforn without any

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1. Kanboh, Ṣālih, Muḥammad, 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Vol.I. Pt.II. pp544-545

wages. The holy order was issued that infuture none of this class be molested and the labourers must be paid wages from the government treasury. Further, it was the custom in the past that two Dams were levied on each Kharwār of rice, and in these days four dams have been fixed. It was ordered that nothing should be taken for this. Another, that in every village, two sheeps were received on every 400 Kharwār of shālī in accordance with the previous practice, but owing to the cruelty of Ṣubadārs sixty-six Dāms, which is equalt to the cost of three sheeps were received from the subject inplace of each sheep. It was ordered that it should be done according to the established custom of the past and the hand of tyranny should be drawn back."

"" More over, 75 Dāms have been levied on each boat-man, whether young or old, or a boy, as poll-tax. It was ordered, that from then onward, the established procedure of the past should be adopted and innovations in this respect too, be ceased and should not levy more than 12 Dams on an old man and 60 Dams on a young man and 36 Dams on a boy."

Ibrāhīm Khān who took over as governor of Kashmīr after Ẓafar Khān, is known as ʿAlī Mardān Khān. He was orignally an Irānian."He was credited with the possession of Philospher's stone writes Lawrance, " and it was believed that it was through this that he was enabled to build splended Sara'is on the Pīr Panjāl route to India.[1]" In his time there was a severe famine in Kashmīr

1. Lawrance, Walter, The Valley of Kashmir., p 195.

and he distinguished himself by the energy with which he imported grain from the Panjāb.

The Emperor was also keenly interested in the material advancement and well being of the people of Kashmīr. And when a severe famine broke out in the days of Tarbiyat Khān, the Emperor appointed capable officers to organise relief measures. Tarbiyat Khān being unable to cope with the task was removed.

'Abdul Hamīd writes under the occurences of the year 1051 A.H. (1642 A.D).

چون در فصل خریف این سال در کشمیر از کثرت امطار بی گاه و فرط طغیان بسیاری از
مزارع خراب گردید و غلات فراوان آب برد و رعایای آن دیار ببلای غذا و صعوبت
قحط مبتلا گشتند ... ... و چون تربیت خان باحوال شوریدگان این واقعه و محنت
رسیدگان این نازله چنانچه بایست بنارست پرداخت و نارضامندی آفت زدگان این
حادثه بعرض باریافتگان درگاه خلائق پناه رسید صوبه داری کشمیر از تغیر او بظفر خان مقرر شد[1]

" In the Kharīf crops this year (1051 A.H.) owing to heavy rains and floods in Kashmīr most of the crops were destroyed and the food-grains washed away by the water. The subjects of that country suffered from the scarcity of foodgrains and troubles of famine. .... And as Tarbiyat Khān could not deliver the confused persons from this calamity and the sufferers of this difficulty from that state, as was liked, the distress of these sufferers reached those admitted in the court, the asylum for the people, the governorship of Kashmīr was transferred from him and

1. Lāhorī, 'Abdul Hamīd, Bādshāhnāmah, Vol. II. pp 282-283.

Ẓafar Khān was appointed.

Thousands of rupees were given in the relief fund and ration was distributed free among the sufferers. Lāhorī writes:

بادشاه گیهان ...... مبلغ یک لک روپیه از خزانه مبرات باناث و ذکور و صغیر و کبیر این
جماعه فلک زده که زیاده از سی هزار کس در پای جهروکه درشن فراهم آمده بودند مرحمت نموده حکم فرمودند
که تا این جماعه در دارالسلطنة باشند هر روز ده جا طعام مبلغ دویست روپیه از سرکار فیض آثار بایشان
میداده باشند. و مبلغ سی هزار روپیه دیگر نزد تربیت خان ناظم صوبه فرستادند تا بگروه بی استطاعتی
که نیروی حرکت و تردد نداشته باشند قسمت کنند و نیز حکم شد که روزی طعام صد روپیه
در مواضع پنجگانه صرف این جماعه پریشان روزگار نمایند[1]

" The king of the world bestowed one lac rupees from the charitable treasury on the females and males, the young and the old of this class that had been overtaken by the calamity and were more than thirty thousands in number who had gathered under the 'Jharoka Darshan'. He ordered that as long as this class remains in the metriopolis, food worth 200 rupees be distributed among them at ten places from the blessed treasury. Another 30 thousand rupees were sent to Tarbiyat Khān the governor of that province so that it might be distributed among that class of indigents who had no power of moving and striving, and it was also ordered that every day food of one hundred rupees should be distributed at five places to this worried class."

GARDENS: Shāh Jahān had a fine taste for gardens. Almost all his buildings contained beautiful gardens, or "Terrestrial Paradises," as they have been styled. The gardens in Kashmīr were the most voluptous of their class in the Moghal empire. Some of

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1. Lāhorī, Abdul Hamid, Bādshāhnāmah, Vol. II. p 282.

them have survived to our times and they do not fail to attract our attention. Lāhorī has given a list of the gardens of Kashmīr made by the Emperor and his governors.

Bagh-i-Nūr-Afshān was built by Nūr Mahal the beloved wife of the Emperor. Names of a few gardens are given below.

1. Bāgh-i-Ṣafā.
2. Bāgh-i-Shāh Ābād.
3. Bāgh-i-Murād.
4. Bāgh-i-Nishāṭ.
5. Bāgh-i-Nasīm.
6. Bāgh-i-Ilāhī.

ILLNESS : IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH OF SHAHJAHAN

In 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D) Shāh Jahān suddenly fell ill. The report of the serious ill-ness of the Emperor bred great consternation in the empire, and dark clouds began to gather on the horizon. For the moment the question which engrossed common attention was as to who would be the next successor. Ālamgīr Aurangzaib came out successful in the struggle. He put his father into imprisonment who died as a captive at Agra, after an imprisonment of 7 years and 10 months, " On Monday night, the 23rd January, A.D. 1666, 26th Rajab, A.H. 1076., and was buried in the Tāj close to his wife's tomb.[1] "

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1. Beal, Thomas, William Biographical Dictionary. p 363.

AURANGZAIB ĀLAMGĪR

ACCESSION OF AURANGZAIB :

Aurangzaib was possessed of sterling merits. From the age of sixteen onwards he passed his life amidst the toils and trials of government. His cool courage his unflinching determination, his dogged perseverance won him the admiration, if not always the devotion, of his contemporaries. He was as brave on the field of battle as he was prudent and practical in the more peaceful art of government. He could truly evaluate the characters of men, and know well how and where to use them. Aurangzaib's conduct during the war of succession and exact-co-ordination of forces, and quick-eyed generalship in the field. When to these factors, we add the previous war experience of his troops and their training is concerted actions under his eyes as well as his royal gift of judging the character of men at sight and chosing worthy and faithful agents, we can easily understand his unbroken success in this war against three rivals of equal rank and resources, non of whom was a coward or imbecile. After removing his rivals from his way, Aurangzaib ascended the throne of his father in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) and deffered the formal coronation to a future date.[1] He assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar

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1. Kāzim, Muhammad, Ālamgīr Nāmah . pp 152, 153, and 155.

روز مبارک جمعه غرهٔ ذی قعده سال هزار و شصت هجری بر تخت سلطنت و شاهنشاهی
و سریر فرماندهی و گیتی پناهی جلوس اجلال نموده پایه افزای اورنگ و سرفرازی بخش
دیهیم گردیدند ....اکثر مراتب و مراسمی که لوازمهٔ سریر آرای است
بجلوس ثانی حواله نموده بودند.

Muhayy-ud-Dīn Muhammad Aurangzaib Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

Aurangzaib celebrated his grand coronation on the 24th Ramzān, 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) in the first month of his second year at Dehlī, with prolonged rejoicings.[1]

HIS VISITS TO KASHMIR

Aurangzaib during his long reign of half century visited Kashmīr for the first and the last time in 1073 A.H (1663 A.D.) He became seriously ill in the summer of 1072 A.H.(1662 A.D.) Owing to keeping fasts continuously for one month in the month of Ramzān. He ate little and devoted much time to prayer and public business. He had a severe attack of fever and at times his life was in danger.[2] He recovered in the end of 1072 A.H. (1622 A.D.) and made up his mind to leave for Kashmīr for "the change of air and to avoid the hot winds of approaching summer, for fear of relapse.[3] The second reason for

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1. Kāzim, Muhammad , 'Ālamgīr Nāmah , pp 361-362

روز فرخنده یکشنبه بیست و چهارم ماه مبارک رمضان سال هزار و شصت هجری خاقان سپهر سریر
مهر افسر شهنشاه عالمگیر عدل پرور بر اورنگ حشمت و جلال و سریر عظمت و استقلال جلوس اجلال فرمودند

2. Ibid. pp 746-747.

از قلت غذا و التزام سحر و اقدام بعبادت شاقه عنصر مقدس را کلال رنج و تعب رسیده لاجرم پس از
انصرام صیام و وقوع جشن مبارک بنا بر تقدم این اسباب و علل آثار گرانی در بدن همایون و مقدمهٔ
انحرافی در مزاج وهاج ظاهر شد...... چون روز سیوم آن سوء المزاج ازدیاد پذیرفته تبی بر پیکر
مقدس طاری ..... و روز دیگر حرارت تب اشتداد یافته بود ..... و آخر روز حکیم محمد امین و حکیم محمد مهدی
..... معالجه و مداوا پرداختند و آن شب کمال گرانی در پیکر کرامت پرور بهم رسیده از استیلای گرمی تب لب آن
آفتاب در تاب بودند و گاهی مدهوشی رو میداد...... در آن شب از شدت عارضه رنگ از چهرهٔ دولت پریده بود
و نیرو از بازوی اقبال رمیده مزاج عافیت تغیر داشت و طبع خرمی کدر و سلطنت بر خویشتن می لرزید و مملکت از تزلزل فتنه می ترسید

3. Bernier, Francis, Bernier's Travels, p 60.

his visit to Kashmīr was that his sister Roshan Ārā who was desirious of visiting the delightful country persuaded him to prepare for his progress. Bernier writes:

"Neverthless, we have seen political reasons yielded to considerations of health, and the advice of physicians or rather to the intrigues of Roshan Ārā Baigum, who eagerly desired to enjoy a greater latitude of freedom."[1]

He made preparations and in the words of Bernier, "the Emperor set out, on the 6th December, at 3 O 'clock P.M. a day and hour pronounced prospitious by the astrologers for the commencement of so important an expedition, and on his way repaired to Shāh-lāmār, his court seat, a delightful residence distant about two leagues from hence, where he remained six days to allow time for his reinue to prepare for a journey, which may embrace a period of a year and a half."[2] Moreover, "the Emperor took with him , not only thirty five thousand cavalry, or there about .... and about ten thousand infantry, but also corps of artillory."[3]

Aurangzaib left Dehlī and moved towards Lāhore, at which city he arrived by slow marches. " The journey," writes Bernier, " from Dehlī to Lāhore is usually not more than fifteen or sixteen days,

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1. Bernier, Francis, Berniers Travels, p 60
2. Ibid, p. 60.
3. Ibid.p 60-61.

the distance being only one hundered and twenty leagues yet we have been almost two months on the road.[1]

Aurangzaib reached Kashmir on the first of Ziqadah, 1073 A.H.[2] (1664 A.D.) Bernier gives the following description of his royal visit. He writes:-

From the time of our arrival, here all the poets, both Kashmiris and Moghuls, have strived to outvie each other in composing verses in its praise for presentation to Aurangzaib, who graciously accepts and rewards such performances."[3]

It is a matter of interest to note here that a robe of honour and Rs 2,000 were bestowed upon Muhsin Fani. Kazim writes:

بشیخ محسن کشیری خلعت، دوهزار روپیه و بچندی از شعرا و سازنده‌های کشمیری سه هزار روپیه و بزمرهٔ نغمه سنجان هند که ملازم رکاب نصرت مآب بودند سه هزار روپیه انعام شد[4]

" A robe of honour and Rs 2,000 were bestowed upon Muhsin Kashmiri and Rs 3,000 on a few other Kashmiri singers and poets and the Indian singer who were accompanying the victorious cavalcade were given, Rs 3,000 as gratuity."

" The beauty, the cool and salubrious air of that country," writes Dow, " induced him to relax his mind for a short time from business. He wandered over the charming valley after a variety of pleasures, and he soon recovered that vigour of constitution which his attention to public business, as well as his late

1. Benier, Francis, Bernier's Travels , p 60-61.
2. Kazim, Muhammad, Alamgir Namah , p 826.

غره ذی قعده ...... شهنشاه روزگار ادائی روز از موضع بهت چنار سوار سفینهٔ اقبال گشته بباغ رأسهای روی توجه گلشن کشمیر دادند

3. Bernier, Francis, Bernier's Travels, p 114.
4. Kazim, Muhammad, Alamgir Namah, p 833.

sickness, had greatly inspired.[1]"

The Emperor's experience of the journy was not, however, a happy one. In the Pīr Panjāl pass, an elephant carrying the ladies stepped back and forced fifteen animals behind him over the precipice. Three or four women were killed. Some elephants rolled down to the bottom of a Khad or ravine. A number of men were injured rather seriously. Bernier writes:

" These diverting sights were, however, attended with a singular occurance which happened when the king ascended the mountain of Pyrpunghal, which is the loftiest of all, and from whence is seen at an immense distance, the country of Kashmir. On that day, I say, whilst the king was ascending , followed by a train of elephants, upon which were seated the females . The foremost of these animals, taking fright at the sight of such a long and steep ascent, suddenly started, and fell back upon the next, causing it to fall on a third, so that fifteen in succession were atonce precipitated down the precipice. This unfortunated catastrophe occasioned the death of three or four of the women, and more would have perished had the precipice been steeper. The fifteen elephants were left for dead on the spot; for when once these huge and unwieldy animals fall under their weight burthens, they never rise again.[2]"

"The progress of the prince", writes Dow, " did not obstruct

1. Dow, Alexander, The History of Hi-ndustan, Vol. III. p 373.
2. Bernier, Francis, Bernier's Travels. pp 121-122-
Musta 'id Khan also writes this incident as follows:

دراثنای عبور کوه پیرپنجال دشت تال فیل جلو که یکی ز نوزده از پیش برگشته چون بلای ناگهان و لسان گرد باد پیچان

رو به عقب گذاشت و طرفه هرج مرج با انس زن جوان در آن تنگنای دست داد چند ماده فیل سرکار با دشت بار بردار

مردم از صدمه آن کوه روان نجار هلاک افتاد و در معرض تلف فی سه گر از استخوان فیلان اثری نمودار نماند تا با انسان چه رسد

the necessary bussiness of the state. Attending by all his officers the decisions of each department were carried from the camp to every cornor of the empire. Express stood ready on horse back at every stage, and the imperial mandate were dispatched to the various provinces as soon as they were reald in the Tent of audience. The nobles, as was customary in the capital, attended daily the presence and appeals were discussed every morning as regularly as when the Emperor remainded at Dehlī. The petioners followed the court, and a small allowance from the public treasury was assigned to them as a compensation for their additional expenses in attending the imperial camp."[1]

Aurang-Zaib left Kashmīr on the 22nd of Muharram. Musta'id Khān writes in Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī :

بعد نشاط اندوز شدن از سیر جمیع اماکن کشمیر ببیست و دوم محرم ازان نزهت آباد

بصوب دار السلطنه لاهور نهضت فرمودند[2]

" After gathering pleasure from all the places of Kashmīr by way of excursion, he on 22nd of Muharram, marched from that pleasant place to the capital of Lāhore."

The number of Governors appointed by Aurangzaib Ālamgīr was fourteen, of whom Ibrāhīm Khān held the appointment thrice. He was made governor of Kashmīr in the year 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) viz. in the second year of Aurangzaib's regime. In 1088 A.H. (1678 A.D.) he was again appointed the Governor of Kashmīr and was suspended for backing

GOVERNORS OF KASHMIR

1. Dow, Alexander, The History of Hindustān, Vol. III. p 373.
2. Sāqi, Muhammad, Musta'id Khān, Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī, p 47.
Kāzim also gives the same date . He writes:-
ببیست و دوم محرم ......موکب جاه و جلال ازان خطه فردوس مثال نهضت نمود
(عالمگیرنامه ص ۸۲۵)

the Shia's in sectarian feuds.[1] He was, however, again appointed governor of Kashmir in 1111 A.H. (1700 A.D.) "as the climate of Kashmir suits him most."[2]

The other fortunate governor was Saif Khan who was sent twice, once in the year 1073 A.H. (1663 A.D.) and for the second time in 1079 A.H.(1669 A.D.) ie. in the 12th year of Aurangzaib's reign.[3]

Nothing escaped 'Alamgir's vigilant eye. He did not hesitate to introduce effective measures to improve the condition of the people. In Aurangzaib's reign the Moghal Subadars had not a free hand in Kashmir. The subjects were treated mildly and justly. Islam Khan, Mubariz Khan, Iftikhar Khan, Abu Nasr Khan, Hifz Ullah Khan, governors one after the other acted in an impartial manner, and did their best in personally dealing out justice and looking after the people.

Fire, famine, earthquake and flood, each occuring at intervals inflicted considerable hardships on the people including loss of property. In those days, it was difficult adequately to cope with these calamities in the nick of time. Neverthless steps were promptly taken to alleviate misery when ever it was possible to do so.

When Qawwam-ud-Din was Subedar (1086 A.H.- 1675 A.D.) of Kashmir most part of the city was burnt to ashes, says A'zam in Vaqi'at-i-Kashmir :

درآخر زمان قوام الدین بروایت مشهوره واقعهٔ آتش کلان که معروف بآتش گاو داره است بظهور آمد اکثر شهر

1. Shah Navaz Khan, Maasir-ul-Umra , Vol. I. p 299.
2. Ibid. p 299.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. pp 482-483.

بباد فنا رفت[1]

" In the end of Qavvām-ud-Dīn 's regime the incident of "Ātish-i-Kalān", which is known as Kawdarah fire took place and most of the city burnt to ashes."

Ibrāhīm Khān was governor of Kashmīr for the second time 1089-1097 A.H. (1678-1686 A.D.) when unprecedented floods and earthquake caused inconsiderable hardships and loss to the inhabitants of the valley.

این مرتبه در عهد ابراهیم خان در کشمیر واقعات غریبه و حادثات عجیبه رو داد یکی سیلاب که بطغیان آب خانهای مردم را برباد داد و بخاک یکسان ساخت عالمی را برباد داد میگویند که عمارات مردم مثل کشتیها در میان آب چرخ میزد و گرداب سان سرگردان میرفت ...... بسال دیگر حادثهٔ زلزله احوال مردم متزلزل ماند زیاده بر یک ماه این حادثهٔ جانکاه در عمارت شهر وارد بود[2]

" In the regime of Ibrāhīm Khān , this time strange incidents and wonderful accidents took place in Kashmīr. One was the flood which destroyed the houses of the people with water and reduced them to dust. People were ruined. It is said that the houses of the people like boats revolved in the water and like whirlpool went on revolving. Next year, the accident of the earthquake made people's condition instable, and this pathetic condition continued in the buildings of the city."

Sectarian fights between the Shī'a's and the Sunnīs were not uncommon in those days. About these fights Dr. Ṣūfī writes:

" It was particularly so in Kashmīr where Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 264

2. Ibid, Ms., f. 267

'Irāqī's successful propagation of Shī'te doctrines had proved fruitful. The minds of both Shī'as and Sunnīs were, therefore, in a state of frenzy. Morevoer, as frsh converts the Shī'as must have been very zealous, at times fanatical. The chaks, who were Shī'as by faith, had lost their domination only recently. The aggrieved minds of the Shī'as looked upon this fact both as personal and religious grievence. It is, therefore, not surprising that riots were not unusual.[1]"

AURANGZAIB'S DEATH.

Aurangzaib died on the 28th of Zilqādah 1118 A.H. (1707 A.D) after saying his morning prayers. Khāfī Khān writes:

روز جمعه که بیست و هشتم ذی القعده ..... هزار و صد و هیجده هجری ..... بعد
ادای نماز صبح ..... پاس روز بر آمده ازین دار فنا بروضه جنان شتافت [2]

" On Friday, 28th Zilqādah 1118 A.H. he after saying his morning prayers, an hour after sunrise he ran from this perishable house to the garden of paradise."

He was interred in the court of the mausolem of Shaikh Ziā-ud-Dīn, in Khulabad, eight kos from the city of Aurangabad.

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1. Sūfi, Muhayy-ud-Dīn, Dr. Kāshir, Vol. I. 0
2. Khāfī Khān, Muhammad Hāshim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Vol II, p 459

LATTER MOGHALS

" The death of Ālamgīr," writes Dr. Ṣūfī, " was followed by a short and sharp contest for the throne which ended in the death of two of his sons and three of his grand sons in the field."[1]

Mu'azzim Shāh Ālam, the eldest surviving son of Aurangzaib was at Jamrūd, near Peshāwar, when on 22nd March, 1707 A.D.'1118AH he heard of his father's death and set out for Āgra, crowning himself as Bahādur Shāh at the bridge of Shāh Daula, 24 miles north of Lāhore. Meantime A'zam Shāh after hastening to his father's camp at Ahmad Nagar had ascended the throne on 24th March. But, in their fights, A'zam lost the day and lost his life too in June. The reason of this defeat was as stated by A'zam that a wind storm coerced the arrows etc., coming from A'zam's side to reach their target. On the contrary it helped Mu'azzam Shāh's army, so he was successful in inflicting defeat upon his brother, who was wounded in the battle field.[2]

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1. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D., Kashir , Vol. I. p. 286.
2. A'zam, Muhammad, Vaqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, fol. 231 a & 231 b.

و قریب باغ دهره محاربه دو برادر اتفاق افتاد. اگرچه بظاهر غلبه از اطراف اعظم شاه بود اما

آخر روز بادی عظیم از جانب لشکر معظم شاه وزید و کارزاری مردم اعظم شاه معکوس شد چه تیر و تفنگی
که بجانب معظم شاه می زدند بسبب باد مخالف باز بر آنها می آمد تا در اندک ساعتی بباد
فنا رفتند و فتح و نصرت با دولیای دولت معظم شاه ارزانی شده هژدهم ربیع الاول
اعظم شاه در عین کارزار بزخمهای بسیار کشته شد

Luṭf Ullah Kashmīrī[1] said the following chronogram at the coronation of Mu'azzam Shāh.

قدسیان تہنیت سال جلوس ؛ لبشه مرشد کامل گفتند
عرصهٔ جشن شہنشاہی را ؛ محفل خلد مشاکل گفتند
سال تاریخ ہمایون سعید ؛ جشن شاہنشہ عادل گفتند[1]

Kām Bakhsh, who had crowned himself at Bījāpur was disposed of some four miles out side Haider Abad Daccan, on Janury 13, 1709 (1120 A.H.) Bahādur Shāh then reigned till February 1712 A.D.(1123A.H.) and died on the 27th of that month.

At the time of Bahādur Shāh's death all his four sons Jahāndār Shāh, Azīm-ush-Shān , Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh were with him in Lahore. All of them had a desire to get the throne, hence the war was inevitable. The brothers fought. Ultimately Jahāndār Shāh was victorious. But he gave himself up to pleasure; and was soon over powered by Farrukh Siyar, the son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, who enthroned himself in January, 171 3 A.D.(1124 A.H.) and ruled till 1719 A.D. (1130 A.H.) when the Sayyid brothers ('Abdullah and Ḥussain 'Alī) intrigued. They strangled Farrukh siyar in April 1719 A.D.(1130 A.H.) Rafī'-ud-Darajāt a youth of twenty was set upon the throne but was a consumptive and therefore, was made to give room to his elder brother, Rafī'-ud-Daulā on 4th June, 1719 AD (1130 A.H.). He lived within the fort almost a prisoner of the Sayyid Brothers when Roshan Akhter the son of Jahān Shāh(the fourth son of Bahādur Shāh) was crowned under the title of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh on 28th September, 1719 A.D. (1131 A.H.).

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr. Ms, fol. 231 b.

During Muḥammad Shāh's time the Sayyid Brothers set up Prince Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, a brother of Rafīʿ-ud-Darajāt and Rafīʿ-ud-Daula on 14th October, 1720. A coin was actually struck in Ibrāhīm's name. But he was arrested and carried before Muhammad Shāh who received him royally, and kept him under watch and ward. Nādir Shāh then appeared on the scene. His invasion of India naturally weakened Moghal authority and Dehlī experienced a terrible massacre. But Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion was repelled near Mānpur, 10 miles north west of Sarhind, by Prince Aḥmad Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh in 1748 A.D. (1160 A.H.)

On the death by dropsy of Muḥammad Shāh, Prince Aḥmad ascended the throne of Dehlī on 29th April, 1748 (1160 A.H.) as Mujāhid-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur. In 1751 A.D. (1163 A.H.) Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī demanded and obtained the cession of Panjāb and Multān from Aḥmad Shāh the Moghal ruler of Dehlī. The acquisition of the Panjāb enabled the Durrānī to take Kashmīr in 1752 A.D. (1164 A.H.) in the course of his third invasion of India.

The fovernors under Shāh ʿĀlam, Aurangzaib ʿĀlamgīr's son, had begun to send representatives in their place to rule the country. The practice acquired considerable vogue in later years. Amānat Khān and Musharraf Khān were both representatives of Khwāja ʿInāyat Ullah who had been appointed to succeed Navāzish Khān Rūmī. Other than this, there is very little of importance to chronicle in the brief reign of Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh Avval, who was terminated in 1712 A.D. (1123 A.H.).

The only noteable incident which took place in Kashmīr at this time was the revolt of Rājā Muzaffar Khān Bambā in 1124 A.H.(1713) and his taken possession of Darvā and Karnava (modern Karnah)

both fiefs of the Ṣubadār of Kashmīr. ʿInāyat -Ullah Khān the governor was unable to reduce him to subjection owing to the death of Emperor Jahāndār Shāh in 1124 A.H.(1713 A.D.). This task was, however, performed by ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān in the reign of the next ruler, Farrukh Sīyar. The same Subadar also punished Abul Fateh the Zamīndār of Pūnchh. But ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān did not prove to be a good governor. He was recalled for levying unjust taxes.

Farrukh Sīyar's mother, Ṣāḥiba Nisvān, was a Kashmirian lady. Her brother Khawājah ʿInāyat Ullah had the title of Shā'istah Khān[1]. When Farrukh Siyar's marriage to the daughter of Ranjīt Singh of Jodhpur took place in 1715 A.D. (1126 A.H.) Shā' istah Khān was sent to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur to Dehlī.

ʿInāyat Ullah rose to the rank of 4,000 and was made Imperial Revenue Minister in April 1717 A.D.(1128 A.H.).He tried to purge the administration of the abuses that had recently crept into it and to restore the regulations and discipline of Aurangzaib's time.[1] This raised him a host of enemies.

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1. William Arvan. InterMoghals, pp 144 & 304.

2. The modern Review of Callcutta December, 1931. p 611.

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh ascended the throne of Dehlī in 1719 A.D. (1130 A.H.) A youth of 17, Muḥammad Shāh was extremely handsome, large of limbs and strong. But his sedentary life of inactivity and sexual excess soon impaired his constitution, and he became a confirmed invalid by the time he was only 40. The evil was aggravated by his taking opium, and this drug habit made him weak and emaciated till at last it became impossible for him to move from his place. "As the fires of youthful passions burnt themselves out in Muḥammad Shāh," says the author of Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin , " a deep melancholy settled on him, and towards the end of his life he loved to frequent the society of Faqīrs and to hold long converse with them."[1] Though he neglected his public duties, "he was free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty, nor did he lack considerations for others." He showed courage, when instead of fleeing to Bengal as advised by his friends, he voluntarily went into Nādir Shāh's captivity in order to serve his people and capital from the horrors of vilent assault and forcible subjugation to incensed victors.

It cannot be denied that the Emperor's personal character up to now had largely accounted for good administration in distant provinces. But Muḥammad Shāh and his nobles abondoned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure. Aurangzaib 'Alamgīr had left

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1. Tabāṭabā'ī, Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin , Vol. III. p 870.

و چون جوان و عیش طلب بود اوقات را با لهو و لعب گذرانید و سلطنت زیاده تر سستی گرفت لیکن
تسلط نادر شاه معاودت او از هند بر سلطان و اعانت او مستظهر گشته بیشتر از پیشتر آسایش
طلب گشت و چون آتش حدت جوانی فرو نشسته شکسته خاطر بیابانی گرفته بود. در اواخر عمر
بصحبت فقرا خوش بود با ایشان می نشست و سخنان معقول را خوب می فهمید.

a completely settled empire at his death, says Colonel Alexander Dow. Its disintegration commenced in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh A.D. 1719-1748 A.D.(1130-1160 A.H.) who is said to have once thrown an urgent report of a important conspiracy into a barrel of wine as useless bother.

این دفتر بی معنی غرق می ناب اولی

Muḥammad Shāh did not recover from the effects of his orgy till two days after.

Muḥammad Shāh, however never gave consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundation of the Mughal monarchy were really rotten, but Muḥammad Shāh by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Babar's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left. Muḥammad Shāh died in 1748 A.D. (1160 A.H.) having been on throne for 29years.

In Muḥammad Shāh's reign, the history of Kashmīr presents little else but a record of local riots and internecine struggles under him Kashmīr entered upon a new phase of political life. The ṣubadārs completely abstained from ruling their provinces in person as already mentioned, and deputed trusted agents answerable to them for good conduct and administration.

Mullā 'Abdun Nabī Muḥtavī Khān or Maḥbūb Khān, who was given the title of Dīn Dār Khān by his followers, had risen on account of his learning and having the post of Shaikh -ul-Islām of Kashmīr in the time of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. Mullā 'Abdun Nabī Muḥtavī Khān or Maḥbūb Khān is mentioned in the Maāṣir-ul-Umrā

as one of the learned man of the time and as selfish in obtaining his object under the clock of advancing the cause of Islām. The Mullā was also a big land lord. "A case of corruption by Pandit revenue clerks demanding gratification from the agents of Mulla Muhtavī was brought to his notice. Order for the the corrupt clerical staff was issued. Pandat Majlis Rāī Sharaf Shāhī or the royal cashier reported these restrictions to Shāhpur Khān Mīr Bakhsh of Kashmīr. This Mīr Bakhsh was a shī'a. It appears that disputes developed. Pandits and Shī'as joined hands to oppose the Sheikh-ul-Islām. Roits ensued. Mullā Muhatavī Khān was murdered by a fraction of the Shīās.[1]"

Khāfī Khān has given a detailed account of circumstances prevailing in Kashmīr under the year 1132 A.H.[2] An order was issued by which the Hindus were prohibited to use the turban, to ride, to wear the 'Tilak' or the vermillion mark on the fore-head and even they were not allowed to go for a walk in the garden, and to take bath on certain days.

Maulvī Maqbul Ahmad Samadnī in an article writes a few incidents of Kashmīr. He confirms this by quoting a few verses from a Masnavī, the name of which he has not given.

1. Sūfī G.M.D. Kashir, Vol. I. p
2. Khāfī Khān, Muhammad Hāshim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Vol. II. p 867

درین اوان از سوانح کشمیر بظهور پیوست که محبوب خان عرف عبدالنبی خان کشمیری که از
مدت با حضور آمد و شد داشت نظر بر انقلاب و فتنه روزگار جمعی از مسلمانان هنگامه طلب را با
خود رفیق ساخته نزد میر احمد خان نائب صوبه و قاضی رفته بوسیله بعضی روایات شرعی
تکلیف نمود که هنود را از سوار شدن اسپ و پوشیدن جامه و بستن چیره و زیراق و رفتن بسیر سبزه و باغ و غسل
ایام مخصوص مانع آیند

We take the liberty of quoting the same here.

حریف میگسار صدق آهنگ ∴ چنین زد شیشهٔ این قصه بر سنگ
که از کفار آن جا محتوی خان ∴ به تقصیری شد از دل دشمن جان
منادی کرد یکسر اینکه دستار ∴ فرود آرند از سرهای کفار
دگر بر اسپ ننشینند آنها ∴ نشان قشقه شویند از جبینها
ز پا هم کفش چرمین دور سازند ∴ نه قشقه با دل رنجور سازند
مقرر شد کلاه از بهر کفار ∴ فتاد از بام طشت شان ز دستار
که هم گاه گاهی می دهد دست ∴ لباس بر ز ماهی می دهد دست

It has already been stated that the Hindūs were forbidden to go for picnics etc. One day Majlis Rāi, an influencial Hindū, went for picnic with a few friends. Mahbub Khan attacked them. Majlis Rāi took to his heels and went to the house of Mīr Aḥmad Khān. Maḥbūb Khān along with other Muslims went to the Muḥalles of Hindūs and after looting their houses put them on fire. A number of Hindus were put to death also. Some mischief-makers surrounded the house of Mīr Aḥmad Khān and humilated the Hindūs. Next day the Muslims assembled in the congregational mosque. They suspended Mīr Aḥmad Khān and appointed Muḥtavī Khān in his stead. Khāfī Khān has written in detail.[2]

1. Ma'ārif, Vol. 49. No: 3. p 202.
2. Khāfī Khān, Muḥammad Hāshim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Vol, II. p 868/869

روزی مجلس رای نام از هنود معتبر کشمیر با جمعی سیر سبزه و باغ رفته طعام به برهمنان می خورد. محبوب خان که ده دوازده هزار مسلمان
با خود فراهم آورده بود غافل بر آنها رسیده شروع بزدن و لبستن و کشتن نمود و مجلس رای با چند نفر گریخته خود را به امیر احمد خان
رسانید. محبوب خان بر همه جماعه بر سر خانهٔ مجلس رای و محله هنود آمده تاراج نمودن و آتش دادن خانها پرداخت و
جمعی از هنود و مسلمانان هر که به ممانعت می آمد کشته و زخمی میگردید. همچنان بر سر خانهٔ میر احمد خان آمده اطراف خانه
فرو گرفتند و آغاز بزدن و انداختن سنگ و خشت و تیر و تفنگ نمودند...... بار دیگر بر سر خانه امیر احمد خان آمده مجلس رای
را با جمعی که پناه آنجا برده بود بخفت تمام کشیده گرفته گوش و بینی آنها بریده و ختنه کرده بلکه قطع آلت تناسل بعضی نموده
مقید ساختند و روز دیگر باهمان هنگامه در مسجد جامع فراهم آمده میر احمد خان را از نیابت صوبه معزول ساخته بانی فتنه و فساد
[illegible]

In short army was sent to control these riots. Hindūs and Shī'as had already joined their hands. Mahbūb Khān (Muhtavī Khān) when did not find any place of safety, he went to the house of Khawājah Ábdullah Khān Mīr Bakhshī. The host showed a cold shoulder and left the house with pretext that he had an urgent piece of work. The result was obvious . Muhtavī Khān lost his life This unhappy news enraged the Sunnīs who attacked at the house of Mīr Bakhshī, and looted the valuables.

پس از یک چند خان صدق تخمیر ؛ دل خود جمع کرد از اہل تزویر

برای دیدن بخشی روان شد ؛ اجل در پردہ با او ہم عنان شد

چو بود از زمرۂ اتراک بخشی ؛ سکون در قتل خان انگاشت بخشی

پس شست چشم از دہر پوشید ؛ قبای ہستیش صد پارہ گردید

پس از یک لحظہ خلق شورش انگیز ؛ شدند آتش صفت پر سو جلو ریز

زدند آتش بجان و مان بخشی ؛ مسلم جبت کین جان بخشی

نمودندش سگان بی اعتدالی ؛ ز روبہ بازی قوم شغالی

دگر بر حضرت قاضی دویدند ؛ چو آتش یک نفس آنجا رسیدند

بجرم بی گناہی خانہ اش را ؛ کشیدند آتش و کردند یغما [1]

Muhtavī Khān's two sons were also put to death.[2] Mullā Sharaf-ud-Dīn stepped into the shoes of his father and kept up the trouble. The Moghal viceroy of Lahore Abdus Samad Saif-ud-Daulā Bahādur Dalair Jang was appointed to extinguish this fire of riots.

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1. Ma'ārif, Vol. 49. No. 3. p 206.
2. Kāfī Khān, Muhammad Hāshim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb , Vol.II.p 870.

Saif ud- Daulā put the leader to death and hanged fifty insurgents He also removed the restrictions imposed by the former Shaikh-ul-Islām Mulla Muhtavī Khān against the Pandits and the Hindus.

In 1135 A.H.(1724 A.D.) 'Ināyat Khān was re-appointed governor of Kashmīr, third time but died after a few months. 'Aqīdat Khān the next governor elected and appointed Mīr Fīroz-ud- Dīn Navāb Abul Barkat Khān Fīroz Jang to give him his full subsequent title, his Na ib, but he proved a failure. Āghūr Khān succeeded 'Aqīdat Khān in 1127 A.D. (1138 A.H.) Aghur himself came to Kashmīr but begain to oppress the people. The people became so incensed against Āghūr for his oppression that they finnaly chased him out. He escaped to Bāramulā where he received orders of his dismissal. Fakhr-ud-Daulā Bahādur and Ata'at Ullah known as 'Ināyat Ullah Khān Kashmīrī succeeded one after the other.

Abul Barkat, who had been removed from the office of the Na ib appeared, on release from Dehlī, as the champion of popular cause in time of fires, floods, earth quakes and wind storms and helped them. He rose against the governor, 'Ināyat Ullah Khān the second, conspired with the leading land lords of Punchh, Muhammad Zamān and Valī Muhammad. The governor was killed on the 16th Shavval, 1154 A.H. (1741 A.D.) at the hands of Pandat Dayā Rām, their accomplice. The Moghal Nā'ibs and their deputies fought either with the nabouring chiefs and nobles or with their own masters as was the case of Abul Barkāt when he was the Nā'ib himself.

BEGINNING OF THE TRANSFER FROM MOGHAL TO AFGHAN RULERS

Nādir Shāhs presence in Afghānistān and his subsequent invasion of Hindustān exerted an unfavourable influence on all the provinces particularly Kashmīr, which was not far away from Afghānistān when Nādir Shāh placed the crown of Hindustān on the head of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor bowed and offered the provinces of his empire west of the river Indus from Kashmīr to Sindh. Kashmīr proper, however does not appear to have been annexed by Nādir Shāh But the Tārikh-i-Kabīr by Mullā Khalīl Mirjan Purī and the Tārikh Hasan by pīr Hasan Shāh assert that Fakhr-ud-Daulā obtained order of appointment as Subādār of Kashmīr in 1152 A.H. (1740 A.D.) from Nādir Shāh, and ruled for forty days in Nadir's name and gave currency to Nādir's coins as well. Subsequently, however, Fakhr-ud-Daulā probably on revised orders from Dehlī accepted 'Ināyat Ullah Khān the second as the Subadār of Muhammad Shāh and left Srinagar

Circumstances then combined further to unsettle authority, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ The situation did not improve under Ahmad Shāh who succeeded Muhammad Shāh on the throne of Dehli in 1748 A.D.(1160 a year after Nādir Shāh's death.

Such was the condition of Kashmīr, where in 1747 A.D. (1159 A.H) some of the nobles wrote to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī who had taken the place of Nādir Shāh, to annex Kashmīr. When this letter fell into the hands of Afrāsiyāb, the Moghal pro-counsel these nobles broke out into open revolt and asked Ahmad Shāh, the Moghal Emperor of India to appoint a governor. Consequently Mīr Muqīm Kanth was

appointed as such, as a temporary measures, but he was soon driven out by Abul Qāsim, the son of Abul Barkat.[1]

In 1752 A.D.(1164 A.H.) When Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was at Lāhore preparing for an invasion of Hindustān, Mīr Muqīm and Khawājah Tāhir Dīdah Marī of Kashmīr craved his assistance, there upon Ahmad Shāh Durrānī dispatched Abdullah Khān with a considerable force. After some ineffectual negotiations Abul Qāsim, the Moghal Nazim fought for fifteen days. His commander-in-Chief Gul Khān deserted him, whereupon Abul Qāsim, the last Moghal governor of Kashmīr fled and was taken prisoner. The valley of Kashmīr passed on to Afghāns.

Rājah Kundan Lāl, the author of Mutakhab Tanqīh-ul Akhbār writes that Moghal Emperors reigned in Kashmīr for one hundred and fifty years[2]. It is pointed out here that Kashmīr was conquered by Akbar's army in 995 A.H.(1586 A.D.) and as have been stated by us a few line before the valley of Kashmīr passed on to the Afghāns in 1164 A.H. (1752 A.D.) This shows that Moghals authority prevailed upon Kashmīr for about quarter to two centuries.

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1. Hasan, Shāh, Pīr. Tārikh-i-Hasan, Ms, fol. 287.
2. Kundan Lāl. Ashnī, Mutakhab Tanqīh-ul-Akhbār, p 65.

CHAPTER III

POETS OF AKBAR'S REIGN

1. Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī.
2. Khawajah Habib Ullah Ḥubbī.
3. Maẓharī Kashmīrī.
4. Najmī Kashmīrī.
5. Mullā 'Alī Ṣarfī.
6. Muḥammad Amīn Mustaghnī.
7. Mahdī 'Alī Ladunnī.

Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī

In this chapter I propose to depart from the chronological sequence of events which I have hitherto striven to observe, and to consider together six poets of Akbar's reign. Out of these six, only two of them are by the general consent of the Tazkirah writers (Biographers) amongst the greater masters of verse whom Kashmīr produced. They were contemporary, and since both of them hold important position in the literary world of Kashmīr and achieved their reputation in that monarch's reign, we shall write their biographies and criticism on their poetry in detail. These two poets are Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī who was born in 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.) and died in 1003 A.H. (1595 A.D.) and Mazharī who was born in Kashmīr about the end of the first half of the 10th century of hijra which correspond to the 16th century of christian era and died in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.).

Of these two poets Sarfī is at once the ancient and the celebrated poet of Kashmīr. Ya'qūb though of obscure origin like a large number of his fellow poets, yet is exception to general rule in the matter of obscurity that surrounds their lives. Nothing is known about the lives of many poets of Kashmīr. We are ignorant when they were born and when they died. On the other hand we should congratulate ourselves that our positive knowledge of Ya'qūb is not so limited.

The first biography of Ya'qūb and critical estimate of Ya'qūb's work to be written was that of Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat who was the first to take up the task right earnestly and his re-

researches succeeded in unearthing many really useful facts about Ya'qūb's life. The next important contribution to Ya'qūb's biography is Dr. Ṣūfī's who has given out lines of his life, which embodies the results of his researches.

YA'QŪB'S BIRTH: The year of Ya'qūb's birth is a matter of controversy. Nothing can be definitely said as there are differences between the historians and Tazkirah writers (Biographers). A'zam and Ghūlam Sarvar are of the view that Ya'qūb was born in 908 A.H. (1501 A.D.) A'zam writes:

در ۹۰۸ھ بوجود مسعود آمد[1]

" In 908 A.H. he came into existance."

Ghulām Sarvar in his Khazīnah-tul-Aṣfiya writes:

در ۹۰۸ متولد شد[2]

" He was born in 908 "

But the modern researches reveal that he was born in 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.) Muḥammad Shāh Sa'ādat writes:

سلطان زین العابدین کے پوتے سلطان محمد شاہ کی چوتھی دفعہ تخت نشینی سے چار سال گزرے
تھے کہ ۹۲۸ھ میں مولانا صرفی پیدا ہوئے۔ شیخ حی تاریخ ولادت ہوئی[3]

" Four years had passed when Sultān Muḥammad Shāh the grand son of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn ascended the throne for the fourth time, ie. in 928 A.H., Maulānā Ṣarfī was born. Sheikh Ḥayy became the chronogram denoting the birth."

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Vāqi'āt -i-Kashmīr, Ms, p.169
2. Ghulām Sarvar, Khazīnatul Aṣfiya, p 974.
3. Sa'ādat, Muḥammad Shāh, Muftī, Ḥayāt-i-Ṣarfī, p 11.

Similarly Dr. Ṣūfī with reference to Pīr Ḥasan Shāh's history of Kashmīr and Fatahāt-i-Kubrāviya gives 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.) as the year of Ya'qūb's birth. He writes in Kāshīr :

" Pīr Ḥasan Shāh, a historian of Kashmīr says that the reported date of Shaikh Ya'qūb's birth is 928 A.H. (1521 A.C.) The Fatahāt-i-Kubrāviya written in 1163 A.H. (1749 A.C.) also gives the same date.[1]"

We have already expressed the views of the scholars regarding the year of Ya'qūb's birth. There is a difference of twenty years in the years given by them in their respective works. Some say that he was born in 908 A.H.(1501 A.D) while the others are of the opinion that his birth took place in 928 A.H. (1521 A.D). In order to know the correct year of his birth it would be of interest to discuss in the following pages the available evidences, and in the light of that discussion we will try to form our judgement.

Before we proceed with our discussions on the subject it should be remembered that Ya'qūb was a genius and precocious child as he was particularly selected by his father for education.

بتعلیم خود بنده را کرد خاص ∴ ز تشویش استاد و مکتب خلاص[2]

From this it is evident that his father realising that in his son lay the promise of future greatness, took pains to have the boy properly educated. He got his education from Mullā Razī and Ḥāfiẓ Basīr. The later who was his last teacher in the motherland breathed his last in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D),[3] so if we take it for

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1. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D. Kāshīr, Vol. I. p 359
2. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 10
3. see pp 192-193 infra.

granted that he was born in 908 A.H., then it cannot be expected that he remained his pupil even upto the age of 38, because we come to know from his statement that he, after having completed his education made up his mind to seek some one for spiritual guidance and he heard that the 'Pīr of Khawārizm' would be very helpful to him. He says:

شنیدم که چون پیر خوارزم کس ÷ ندارد درین رهبری دسترس
مسافر شدم از وطن بهر او ÷ نهادم بسوی سمرقند رو [1]

Shaikh Husain of Khawārizm died in 856 or 958 A.H.(1548-50A.D so he (Ya'qūb) would have been about 40 years when he made up his mind to go to Samarqand. We are told by A'zam that his parents and teacher prohibited him when they came to know of his intention.[2] What may be the reason, a man at the age of 40 is considered an experienced one who can think over the ins and outs of the matters so his parents and teacher's act of passing advice to him in this respect cannot be justified.

Leaving aside all this when we divert our attention towards his political life we cannot but infer that his year of birth cannot be 908 A.H. (1501 A.D.), but it is 928 A.H.(1521 A.D.). History tells us that Akbar attacked Kashmir in 994-95 A.H.(1585-86A.D) According to Abul Fazl's statement Ya qub fought against the enimies of Akbar and was wounded.[3] At that time Ya'qūb would have been of 85 or 86 years of age, if we accept 908 A.H. as the year of his birth. From a man of such an age it can not be expected that he can take an active part in the battle field. While on the

1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī , p 11.
2. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p 169.
3. Abul Fazl, Allāmī, AkbarNāmah, Vol. III. pp. 480, 496, 481,503, 504,505,

contrary a man of the age between sixty and seventy can be expected to do so provided he has a sound health and physique. All this leads to the conjecture that he was born in 928 A.H (1521 A.D.)

YA'QŪB'S CLAN

Ya'qūb was the second son of the seven sons of Mīr Hasan Ganā'ī, the son of Mīr Muhammad 'Alī. The great grand father of Ya'qūb was Mīr Bāyazīd Ganā'ī 'Āsmī, who possessed a rank of honour in the court of the famous king of Kashmīr, Zain ul-'Ābdīn by name. The Ganā'īs of Āsmī clan traces their decendant from 'Āsam, a son of Caliph 'Umar Fārūq the great.

According to the statement of Fauq Bāyazīd 'Āsmī was the first who entered Kashmīr and was awarded the title of 'Ganā'ī' because he was a brilliant writer and calligrpher. This Bāyazīd was from the posterity of Hazrat 'Āsam who was the son of Hazrat 'Umar the third Caliph (May God bless him).[1]

So far as the title of 'Ganā'ī' is concerned it was due to the fact that those people who had good telent in writing letters were known as 'Ganā'ī'. Sa'ādat writes:

گنائی ...... سنسکرت زبان کا لفظ ہے
گن قلم کو کہتے ہیں اور گنائی قلمزن یعنی منشی کو کہا جاتا ہے [2]

" Ganā'ī is a word of Sanskrit language. 'Gan' means 'pen' and 'Ganā'ī' means 'one who writes with the pen,' ie. 'Munshī' "

Khawājah Muhammad A'zam defines it as follows.

گنائی آنوقت نویسنده را می گفتند ازمنشی گرفته تا پٹواری همین لقب بود [3]

1. Fauq, Muhammad-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr, p 324-325
2. Sa'ādat, Muhammad Shāh, Hayāt-i-Sarfī, p. 7.
3. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p 97.

"Ganā'ī in those days meant the writer. From Muftī to Patwārī this was the title."

From this statement it is obvious that Ya'qūb's family was one of the educated families of the age. Ya'qūb's father was a learned man and also a well to do person. Ya'qūb Ṣarfī writes:

بکار جهان بوده است از ملوک ÷ براه خدا ایش قدم در سلوک
بمعنی و صورت فضیلت شعار ÷ دلش گنج اسرار پروردگار
بلفظ تقی از صفت دینوری ÷ بسیر سرشتش دولت معنوی
علومی که کسبیست آموخته ÷ کمالات دینی هم آموخته [1]

Hasan, the father of Ya'qūb had seven sons and our poet was second of the seven as he himself says:

همه هفت تن بود او را پسر ÷ چو هفت اختر آسمان جلوه گر
مرا زان میان رتبهٔ حد وسط ÷ کلان تر ز من یک یک کس فقط
کمالش بهر فن و دانش کمال ÷ کمالاتش افزون ز حد مقال
ز من خورد تر آن لطیف لطیف ÷ که نام وی آمد محمد شریف
ازو خورد تر شاه نوروز نام ÷ بکسب کمالات عالی مقام
پس از وی محمد که آمد بمن ÷ از آنجمله هم صحبت و هم سخن
براهیم ازو خورد تر آمده ÷ ز اسرار دین با خبر آمده
ازو خورد تر حیدر نیک خو
فرشته خصال و ملک خوی او [2]

Ṣarfī had great love for his younger brother Muḥammad who, too was, like him, a poet. He writes in Maghāzī-un-Nabī:

پس از وی محمد که آمد بمن ÷ از آنجمله هم صحبت و هم سخن

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-uh-Nabī, p 9
2. Ibid, p 10.

بصورت مرا او برادر ولیک ؛ بمعنی مرا اوست فرزند نیک
بشعر و معماست شیرین کلام ؛ براه طریقت سلوکش مدام
پس از من بجای من اوست ولی ؛ نبرد این سعادت جز او هیچ کس[1]

It would not be in coherent to mention that Mīr Muḥammad ʿAlī had two sons, Ḥasan, the father of Yaʿqūb Ṣarfī and Ḥussain. Ḥussain too, was a learned man and possessed good knowledge of the Qurān and was also a poet. He had two sons, Aḥmad Ḥamdī, the poet and ʿAbdul ʿAzīz the caligraphist. About them he writes:

مرا بود عمی ز اہل کمال ؛ بعمرش افزون نه جز یک دو سال
مسمی باسم حسین آمده ؛ مبرا ز هر شین و زین آمده
بسی فاضل و عالم با عمل ؛ بتجوید قرآن عدیم البدل
مهارت بهر علم او را تمام ؛ بشعر و معما بر آورده نام
دو فرزندی از عم ام مانده بود ؛ که هر یک بعلمی ترقی نمود
یکی احمد حمدی آن نامور ؛ بشعر و بجمیع علوم دگر
دوم خوش خط وقت عبد العزیز
بحسن خط اندر زمانه عزیز[2]

Yaʿqūb was an extraordinarily precoccious child who had

YAʿQŪB'S EDUCATION: committed to memory the whole of the holy Qurān at the age of seven. Aʿẓam writes:

در سن هفت سالگی حفظ قرآن کرد[3]

" He committed to memory the whole of the Qurān at the age of seven."

Moreover, he could versify in Persian while he was a child of

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1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb , Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī , p 10.
2. Ibid. p 10.
3. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad , Wāqʿāt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p 169
Ghulām Sarvar writes that he committed the whole of the holy Qurān to memory when he was ten years of age.
در عمر ده سالگی قرآن حفظ نمود
(cf Khazīnah-tul-Aṣfiya p 974.)

eight as the following verse of the Maghāzī-un-Nabī indicates:

چو در سال هشتم نهادم قدم ؛ ز طبعم روان گشت شعر عجم [1]

Ṣarfī's father, as has already been stated, was a man of considerable culture and an accomplished scholar and poet. It was he who first coached him. To him, no doubt, Ṣarfī owes his love o poetry, of which we see indications in his verses.

پدر بسکه مشفق بمن بوده است ؛ مرا علم آداب فرموده است
بتعلیم خود بنده را کرد خاص ؛ ز تشویش استاد مکتب خلاص
چو در سال هشتم نهادم قدم ؛ ز طبعم روان گشت شعر عجم
پدر کرد اصلاح اشعار من
باصلاح بودی مددگار من [2]

The second teacher of his was Muḥammad, who born in Khatlān, got education in Harī, came to Kashmīr and died there.

سپرده است انکه مرا بایکی ؛ که بود است از اولیا بی شکی
محمد ورا نام و آنی لقب ؛ ز جائی گرفته فنون ادب
در ایام جامی بشهر هری ؛ بکسب کمالات بودش سری
بختلانش مولد بکشمیر جای ؛ از انجاست رحلت بدار البقا [3]

From this Mullā Muḥammad ختلانی known as Mullā Ānī who was a pupil of ʿAbdur Raḥmān Jāmī, the most versatile writer of the Timurid period, he studied the art of Taʿmiyah (فن تعمیه) and enigma (معما) and was lead by him towards Ṣūfism in his tender age

فن تعمیه بردم از وی بکار ؛ بنوعی که گشتم در آن نامدار
معما که فکریست نزد خرد ؛ بدیهه همی گفتمی بی مدد
بس صغیرم نکردی نظر ؛ مرا در تصوف شده راهبر [4]

1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqub, Shaikh, Maghāzi-un-Nabi , p 10.
2. Ibid. p 10.
3. Ibid. p 10.
4. Ibid. p. 10

It is said that this Mullā Ānī prophised that Ya'qūb would in course of time, rise to the literary eminence of a second Jāmī. A'zam writes:

از خدمت مولانا آنی شاگرد حضرت عبدالرحمن جامی
استفاده علوم نموده از ایشان مخاطب بجامی ثانی شد[1]

" He in the ~~xxxxxx~~ service of Maulānā Ānī the pupil of Hazrat Ábdur Rahmān Jāmī studied sciences and from him got the title of Jāmī the second."

Maulānā Razzī and Hāfiz Basīr were the next to teach him. Maulānā Razzī who was a scholar and a poet, accomplished in all the sciences of the age taught him the religious Jurisprudence (فقه) and grammar (صرف و نحو). He used to give lectures on every subject, as we are told by Sarfī:

شدم در علوم دگر بهره مند : ز ملا رضی و ز حافظ بصیر
رضی آن لبی شان فضل شگرف : مرا فقه آموخت و نحو و صرف
همی گفت درس جمیع علوم : چه طرز خصوص و چه طور عموم
بهر فن جزو ییش هم صد نمط : ز شعر و معما و انشا و خط
بهر صنعت خط خوش نویس زبان
در انشا نهایت بدیع البیان[2]

[illegible] Mullā Razzī was a teacher in the school at Mahallah Qutb-ud-Dīn Pura and died in 956 A.H. (1549 A.D). The following hemistich gives the year of his death.

میر در سجده جان بحق سپرد[3]

Hāfiz Basīr who was blind died in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D.) Sarfī wrote an elegy, the last line of which runs thus:

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wā-qi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 169.
2. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 10.
3. A'zam, Muhammad, Wā-qi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 127.

آن حافظ علم و ادب بود نظیر از فضل رب ÷ تاریخ فوتش زان سبب شد "عالم تفسیر دان"[1]

The phrase عالم تفسیر دان indicates the year of death viz. 946. It would be a matter of interest to know that he had much regard for this teacher and he gives him preference over his teacher Mullā Razzī.

چه گویم ز حافظ بصیری که بود ÷ خبردار ز اسرار کشف و شهود
رضی و برادر او هزاران هزار ÷ بشاگردیش داشتند افتخار[2]

From the above quoted verses it comes to our mind that differences arose between the teacher and pupil and the personal grievnces got exposition in this manner as otherwise it was of no use to him to degrade his teacher. Moreover, if this was not the case and he only wanted to show the qualifications of his learned teacher whom he loved from the core of his heart, even then it was certainly not good on his part to praise one of his teachers at the risk of the other's reputation.

He studied various sciences from Hāfiz Basīr as he tells us in the following verses.

ازو علم صوفیه آموختم ÷ دقیقات عقلیه اندوختم
فن منطق و اصطلاح کلام ÷ بدیع و بیان و معانی تمام[3]

From, what we have written in the proceeding pages, it can be concluded that he got education from the gnostic and accomplished men of the time. Studying under these scholars of extra-ordinary qualifications, he had, as the later part of his life shows, decided to devote himself to religion and learning and leading a life of self-culture and ascetic piety to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men and also justify his

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms. p 127.
2. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 10.
3. Ibid. pp 10-11-

possession of unique powers. Accordingly the next few years of his life were devoted to an ambitious programme of studies and spiritual education.

It is important to mention here that according to Lāhorī's statement, Ya'qūb Ṣarfī was the first person who had studied various branches of sciences resting on testimony etc., and possessed a high rank in these. Before him, from among the educated people some were caligraphists and a few could versify, but it was during the reign of Akbar that people could talk and write persian and sing persian songs. It was, so far we can think, due to the fact that the court language was Persian, and thus it was necessary for the inhabitants of Kashmīr to have deep study of Persian language inorder to get some position in the court of the king or the governor, or in case of troubles may have the power of expressing the grievences to the higher authorities in Persian. Lāhorī writes:

اگرچه دران چندی که اکثر علوم متعارفه درس داگوینده بودند اما علوم متداوله
شیوع تمام نداشت . برخی خط نسخ و تعلیق نیکو می نوشتند و بعضی زبان
شعر داشتند بعد از آنکه در عهد دولت حضرت عرش آشیانی کشائش
یافت اکثر ساکنانش اکتساب مراسم اهلیت ولوازم آدمیت نموده شائستگی
ظاهر ساختند و فارسی گفتن و خط خوش نوشتن و نظم فارسی سرائیدن رواج
تمام یافت از آنجمله شیخ یعقوب کشمیری است که در اقسام علوم عقلیه ونقلیه
درجه عالی ولعبت بسیاری از واصلان حق رسیده در ریاضات شاقه که طریقه عالیه
علیه صوفیه است کشیده بپایهٔ ارشاد رسیده بود ولب خداوندان استعداد را .

مرا در سمرقند باقی حضور ؛ دل از احمد جندیم پر ز نور

نه در علم ظاهر چو او فاضلی ؛ نه در علم باطن چو او کاملی تا

بتکمیلم آورد در درس خویش ؛ بمن التفاتش ز اصحاب بیش

ببین منایت چو عالم بدید ؛ بدرس علومش شدم مستفید[1]

Similarly in Rome he became the pupil of Muṣṭafā and others and got education from them, and thus gathered a lot of knowledge.

فوائد گرفتم هم از مصطفی ؛ که در روم بود آن سپهر صفا

هم از لطف فضل و دانش سعید ؛ بکسب علوم آمدم مستفید

رسیدم ز ارباب کشف و عیان ؛ بعبد الحق آن قبلهٔ خواجگان

شد از نقشبندیه ام دل عزیز ؛ بنور خدا حاجی پنبه دوز

شد از خواجگی هم دلم بهره مند

که او نیز بود از صف نقشبند[2]

During the course of his stay in India he studied Ḥadīṣ from Malik Zain-ud-Dīn for the first time at Aḥmad Ābād.

ملک زین دین دیدم از عارفان ؛ کمالش برون از حد و اصفهان

ز آل بنی عبد اول مرا ؛ بعلم حدیث و حکم رهنما[3]

Latter on he became the pupil of one Maḥmūd and studied Ḥadīṣ from him.

چگویم ز محمود عرفان شعار ؛ که محمودهٔ هست در روزگار

بمن لطف او سارف تا ب ؛ بعلم حدیثش شده فتح باب[4]

While he was on tour he reached Mecca to perform Ḥajj, There it seems to us, he stayed for a long time inorder to seek knowledge Here he thoroughly studied Ḥadīṣ from Ibn-ul-Ḥajar Makki, ʿAbdul ʿAzīz and Maulvī Ṣādiq Ṭārmī. He writes.

1. Sarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh , Maghāzī-un-Nabī , p 12.
2. Ibid. p 13.
3. Ibid, p 15.
4. ibid, p 16

درآن شهر یعنی امام القری ÷ که هست افضل و اشرف ما ورا
تماری دیدم بی قیل و قال ÷ هم از اهل قال و هم از اهل حال
امامی ملقب با بن الحجر ÷ کمالاتش افزون ز حد بشر
شدم بالی جامع ترمذی ÷ که ارواح پاک هست زان منتدی
بر تصحیح آن درس عبدالعزیز ÷ گزیدیم و خواندیم مشکواة نیز
بر تصحیح مشکواة گشتم سه بار ÷ مشرف به نزد شیوخ کبار
دو شیخی که مذکور الان شدند ÷ که فیاض عقل و دل و جان شدند
سوم مولوی صادق طاری
که او داشته معنی مردمی[1]

From Ḥusain of Marv, he studied Fasus-ul-Hakam . Besides these he received benifits from Shaikh 'Abdullah of Hazar Maut, Muhammad Abū Salmah, Abū Sa'īd, Muhammad 'Alī. He himself writes:

ز اصحاب عرفان اهل شهود ÷ حسن نام شیخی که از مرو بود
گرفتم ازو در فصوص الحکم ÷ بسی فیض انوار سر قدم
دگر شیخ عبدالله فیض بار ÷ که بود از حضرموت فرخ دیار
بانوار فیض الهی مفیض ÷ چو من خلق از صحبتش مستفیض
دل من ز شیخ ولایت مآب ÷ محمد ابوبکر است شد کامیاب
بحال من ناتوان مهربان ÷ ابوسلمه آن مرشد طالبان
دگر شیخ مجذوب حق بوسعود ÷ که او را ز خود جذبه حق ربود
دل از صحبتش نیز شد بهره مند ÷ چه صحبت عجب صحبتی دلپسند
محمد علی آن که مس بود ÷ بنا سیش کیمیای شهود
ز مس وجود محبان حق ÷ زر آورده یعنی که عرفان حق
در فیض بر خلق بگشوده است
خلافت ز پیرامنش بوده است[2]

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī., p 17.
2. Ibid, p 17.

From Mecca he goes to Madīne where he comes across two great Sufis of Yaman, named Shaikh 'Abdul Hamīd and Ḥasan. Besides these he finds Badr Dīn who was considered as a spiritual guide (مرشد) From Shaikh Fateḥ Ullah he studied Fatūhat-i-Makkiya. He says:

بشهر مدینه افاضل لیبی ∴ موفق للعلم و عمل هرکسی
دگر ماه اوج شرف بدردین ∴ براه خدا مرشد السالکین
دگر شیخ عبدالحمید و حسن ∴ ولی مولد هر دو بوده یمن
دگر شیخ فتح الله اندر قبا ∴ ز عرفان بلند کلاش قبا
بفن تصوف عدیم البدل
فتوحات مکیه ام کرده حل [1]

From Ṣarfī's travels it seems to us that he acted upon the following saying of the holy prophet (May peace be upon him)

اطلبوا العلم ولو کان بالصین

"Acquire knowledge even if it is in China."

During the course of his travels he never dawndled but availed himself of all the opportunites. He visited Irāq, Irān, Khorāsān and India and where he found a man of extra ordinary ability he never felt shame to be come his pupil. Thus it can be said with the least fear of contradiction that he was a learned man having great aptitude for knowledge and learning. Even Abul Fazl who was one of the greastest scholars of the age--- a gem of Akbar's court, confesses that Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr, "is a well known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters."

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 18.

Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī obtained higher knowledge under Shaikh Ḥusain of Khawārzam, and received from him permission to guide others. He also studied in Mecca for a long time under the renowned Ibn Ḥajar the great teacher of Ḥadīs. Badāyūnī writes in the third volume of his history known as Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh :

سند حدیث از شیخ ابن حجر داشته[1]

"He got the certificate from Shaikh Ḥajar in Ḥadīs."

T R A V E L S :

After passing years in learning the classics, reading an enormous quantity of Arabic and Persian books and delighting in cumbrous theological and metaphysical treatise he made up his mind to set out for education abroad. He writes in Maghāzī-un-Nabī :

مرا بعد از آن جذبهٔ دست داد ⁂ هوای دگر در سر من فتاد
هوای سلوک ره اہل حال ⁂ رهی برتر از عالم قیل و قال
درین راه چون رهبری خواستم ⁂ کمر در طلب بسته برخاستم
شنیدم که چون پیر خوارزم کس ⁂ ندارد درین رهبری دسترس
مسافر شدم از وطن بهر او
نهادم بسوی سمرقند رو[2]

With this intention of getting spiritual guidance and education he made preparations to leave Kashmīr for Samarqand. His parents and his teacher, taking into view the broken rocky nature of the country and its abundance of forests which had made travelling difficult and unprofitable and to crown all, of his tender age, tried their best to pass on advice to him, but it was not welcomed probably because the young Ya'qūb was anxious and eager to find out for himself, not willing to follow a beaten path mapped out

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1. Badāyūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh , Vol. III.p 142
2. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 11.

for him, because doing so half of the excitement of life journey would have gone. He having in view the saying, "Nothing venture nothing gain," turned aside the advices of his elders and like an adventurer left the sequestered vales of Kashmīr with four other friends to seek the company of Ḥazrat Shaikh Ḥusain Khawārzamī (died 956 or 958 A.H. 1549-1551 A.D.) A'zam informs us in the following words.

لبشارت و امر دریافت خدمت حضرت مخدوم عالم شیخ حسین خوارزمی
بانه عازم ولایت شد منع مخالفت والدین و استاد که بمبالغه بود
سودی نکرد ...... و از راه بانبال با چهار رفیق روانه گشتند[1]

" He getting the happy news and orders from the service of Ḥazrat, Lord of the world, Shiekh Ḥusain of Khawārizm , set out to that country. Prohibtion and forbidding of parents and teachers which were exaggerated , proved futile ....and by the route of Bānihāl, he, [illegible] with four friends[2] proceeded."

It is also pointed out here that in the end of the first half of the tenth century Doghlat the author of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, had attacked Kashmīr. The condition prevailing in India was also turbulent. Humāyūn the Emperor of India was wandering hither and thither with a few of his soldiers. All his efforts to save his throne proved fruitless and it was during those days that he was forced by the circumstances to bid adieu to the country which was conquered by his father Bābar in 925 A.H.(1518 A.D) when he defeated Ibrāhīm Lodhī at Pānī Pat. During those days when the soil of India as well as of Kashmīr had become fertile for sedition and commotion, Ṣarfī's parents and teachers were not wrong

1. Ghānī mentions their names as Shāh Nauroz, Yūsuf Kokā, Būta Ṣūfī and Shaikh Bahrām (Ḥayāt-i-Ṣarfī. p 22.)

to prohibit their child who had, at that time, hardly passed his teens.[1]

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1. Sa'ādat has given an intersting episode regarding his departure for Samarqand. He writes:

اٹھارہ برس کی عمر ہی کوئی عرصہ کہ انتہا درجہ تک آپ نے تحصیل کر کے علمی تبحر میں بڑا نام پیدا کیا تہذیب شائستگی
اور تعلیمات کا اعلیٰ سرمایہ پایا مگر جوانی کا زمانہ تھا جس میں آزاد خیالی کے تحریکات کی فکر والبتہ رہتی ہے اور
ایک مشہور با وقار جاگیردار کے بیٹے تھے ...... والد ماجد نے ان کو زرعی زمینات قدیمی جاگیرات کی نگرانی کا کام
سپرد کیا چنانچہ ایک دن کا ذکر ہے کہ باپ کے ارشاد کے مطابق گاؤں چلے گئے جہاں غیر معتدل نوجوان دوستوں
سے ملے دوستانہ مذاکرہ شروع مجلس سماع میں شامل ہوئے بدعنوان دوستوں کے غیر معتدل حرکات کے اثر سے نہیں بچے
اتنے میں والد ماجد کے کانوں تک خبر پہنچی - خبر پہنچتے ہی غضبناک ہو گئے - فوراً بلا کر سخت تنبیہ کی توبہ استغفار
اور ندامت کا اظہار کیا رات گذری سویرے اٹھ کر خانقاہ معلیٰ کی راہ لی - فجر کی نماز کی دوسری رکعت میں روحانی
جذبہ کی جنبش تکلیف کشش ہوئی آہ اور اللہ کی آواز دیکر گر پڑے محویت بیخودی کا منظر دیکھا لوگ نماز سے
فارغ ہو کر آئے کیا دیکھتے ہیں کہ ان کے پاؤں پر زخم لگ کر خون کے فوارے نکلے ہیں۔ صبح کی نماز سے ظہر کی نماز تک
یہ حالت رہی پھر آہستہ آہستہ عالم ہوش و حواس میں آ گئے حال دیکھا تو بیان یوں کیا کہ فجر کی میں نماز
میں جناب امیر کبیر سید علی ہمدانی۔ سید خلیل محتسب اور مخدوم شیخ حسین خوارزمی کی نورانی روحانیت
جلوہ گر ہوئی جناب امیر کبیر نے اپنے مخلص خلیفہ سید خلیل کو مخاطب ہو کر ارشاد فرمایا کہ "این گریزپا را
پی بریدہ کہ بار دگر نگریزد" سید خلیل نے بھی جناب سیادت پناہ کے ارشاد پر فوراً عمل کر کے
تلوار نکالی۔ میرے پاؤں کو زخم لگائے اور فرمایا کہ آئندہ یہ بندہ خدا کی راہ سے نہ بھاگ سکے گا

(Sa'ādat. Muhammad Shāh, Muftī. Ḥayāt-i-Ṣarfī, pp 17-18

We do not know wherefrom Sa'ādat has taken this episode. If we accept it as correct then the question of prohibition of parents and teacher with regard to Ṣarfī's leaving for Samarqand does not

(continued)

Though it cannot definitely be ascertained as to when he left the valley and how long he remained away from his mother land, yet before proceeding further we should try to fix some period for his leaving his mother land, on the basis of his statement as well as other versions.

We are told by him that after having completed his studies under Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr, he wished to go to Samarqand. Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr died in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D). This leads to the conjecture that he went to Samarqand in 946 A.H.(1539 A.D.) at the latest, We are further told by A zam that he was prohibited by his teacher to leave the land (see p 200 supra). The teacher whose name has not been given by any Tazkirah writers would be Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr, because Ṣarfi as well as his father had much regard for him. It is therefore, just possible that Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr might have prohibited him on his father's

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(Continued from the back page.)

arise as this happening was not less than a miracle. Sa'ādat has also mentioned a few other miracles of his which he showed during the journey, probably to show that he was a ولی الله (firend of God) but these are mere gossips, as we see him taking active part in politics, fighting in the battlee field etc., To crown all Abul Faẓl only calls him an authority in religious matters. Even Badāyūnī, who is his friend does not make mention of any such happening. Hence all that has been said by Sa'ādat is an exaggeration. These are perhaps based upon these words of A'ẓam:

در راه عجائب و غرائب از آنجناب مشهود (واقعات کشمیر ص۱۰۰)

" Many miracles were shown by him in the way."

(Foot note concluded)

instigation as Sa'ādat says:

اخوند ملا بصیر .... نے آپ کے والدین کی تحریک پر مخالفت کی[1]

" The teacher Mullā Baṣīr ...... prohibited him on the instigation of his parents."

Moreover, if we, for the sake of arguments, presume that it was Mullā Razzī (died 956 A.H. - 1549 A.D.)[2] who prohibited him, even then we are justified to think that he went as earlier as 946 A.H. (1539 A.D.) or at least far earlier than 956 A.H. (1549 A.D) because, in the first place as we have already stated, he made up his mind to go to Samarqand after completing his studies under Ḥāfiẓ Baṣīr and secondly he went to Samarqand to study under Hussain of Khawārizm who died in 956 A.H.

Ṣarfī after overpowering all the troubles and difficulties and removing all the obstacles of the way at last reached Samarqand, the dewelling place of Shaikh Ḥussain of Khawārizm. Reaching the door of the Shaikh he did not dare to go in. He sat outside and the Shaikh called him in and himself instructed him.

برملک آمدم زنشاطم قدم ÷ پای زشادی بزمین کم زدم
کوه و بیابان همه را کرده طی ÷ بردرش این بار سر و پا برده پی
دره او بر زگل ولشترن ÷ خاره و خاره آمده در پا کاش
تا شد توفیق مرا رهنما ÷ شد سوی آن قبلهٔ ارض و سما
سر بنهادم بدر خانقاه ÷ روی بدرگاه ملائک پناه
خادم آن درگه کرسی سمات
احمد غزالی و مین الثقات[3]

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*1. Sa'ādat, Muḥammad, Shāh, Muftī, Ḥayāt-i-Ṣarfī, pp 19-20.
2. See page 192 supra.
3. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. fol. 25b.

A'zam writes in Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr:

با رفقا بسمرقند که وطن حضرت شیخ مخدوم بود رسید و بیرون در ایشان نشست و
جرات درون رفتن نکرد و آن حضرت از آن طرف ایشان را طلبیده نوازش نمود
و خلفای هفتگانه که به هفت در متعین بودند بنا بر معتاد که تفویض طالبان بیکی از
آنها می شد حاضر آمدند حضرت مخدوم فرمود که کار این جوان علاحده است ما خود تربیتش می کنیم ۱

" With his friends when he reached Samarqand which was the dewelling place of the Shaikh, he sat out side his door, and did not dare to go in. The said Shaikh on the other side called him in and did favours to him. The seven Khalifas who were deputed on the seven doors, according to the custom, came in as the 'seeker' were handed over to one of them. The Shaikh said, 'this seeker requires a different treatment, we shall ourselves coach him."

The kindness and benevolence of the spiritual guide illuminated his spirit in no time. He himself says, that he got what he aspired in the service of that spiritual guide in a short time. With reasons and arguments he supports his claim and says:

چون با رهبر خود مشرف شدم ÷ ببردم لطیفی مؤلف شدم
باندک زمانی مرادم تمام ÷ میسر شد از خدمت آن امام
درین دعوای من تعجب مکن ÷ بالطاف بنگر تعصب مکن
ز غزالی آمد عین القضات ÷ مراد دل و دانش از خود نجات
شد از پرتوش آفتابی چنان ÷ که روشن شد از وی کران جهان
زمانی که گردید عالم فروز ÷ نبودست جز مدت بیست روز
پس از دوازده روز گاهش تمام ÷ شد از فیض آن مقتدای امام

1. A'zam, Muhammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 170

نعجب من گر مرا نیز پیر
در اندک زمان ساخت روشن ضمیر[2]

He also writes in Maslak-ul-Akhyār :

یار چون در مجلس او یافتم ∴ روی دل از غیر خدا تافتم

چون نظر کرد به من خاکسار ∴ زورقم آمد بمحیط از کنار

آمده زورق بمحیط الحقم ∴ بلکه محیط آمده در زورقم

محو بدریا نشدم قطره وار ∴ بلکه محیط آمد مرا در کنار[1]

After his spiritual education he was ordered to bring wood from the jungle and to serve those who had been seperated from others for forty days. A'zam writes:

بعد تعلیم باطنی فرمودند که از جنگل هیزم آورده باشد - در همین اثنا رو داد خلوت
اربعین در ایام شدت سرما شرما مور بپاک کردن متوضای چله کشان شد و
چندگاه در خدمت حضور مانده داد مجاهده و خدمت داده[2]

" After internal education he ordered that wood be brought from the jungle. In the meantime, in the winter, mortification for forty days in seclusion was imposed, and he was appointed to serve those who had been observing mortification for forty days. He remained for some time in the service of that exalted one, made streneous efforts for internal purification and rendered meritorious services to him."

According to the Ṣūfīs point of view Chillah Kashī (to remain in seclusion for forty days) is most essential because it helps to achieve the goal. Ṣarfī himself says:

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzi-un-Nabī , p 11
2. Ibid, Maslak-ul-Akhyār , Ms. fol. 25 b - 26 a.
3. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p 170.

در روش او چله سالکان ÷ آمده رهبر بسوی لامکان

تیر سلوک از چله گردد روان ÷ بی چله کی تیر رود از کمان

در چله سری است ز رب جلیل ÷ کان نشود مدرک عقل عقیل

هر که کند دولت معنی طلب ÷ خلوت حضوری بود آن را سبب

ورنه شه اهل نبوت چرا
گوشه نشین گشته بغار حرا[1]

Ya'qūb after completing his spiritual education became the spiritual successor of Shaikh Ḥusain of Khawārzam. Badāyūnī writes

خلیفهٔ مخدومی اعظم شیخ حسین خوارزم است قدس الله سره[2]

" He is the Khalifa of the great lord Shaikh Ḥusain of Khawārizm, may God purify his secrets."

The Shaikh was not wrong in undertaking the task of guiding Ya'qūb himself. He had entered so far into the secrecies of his heart and knowing him fuly well had resolved to foster that seminal mind, thinking that none other's influence will excercise upon him

According to A'ẓam's statement, Ya'qūb after having stayed there for some times, acquired higher knowledge under Shaikh of Khawārizm, made streneous efforts for internal purification and offered service to his teacher, he wished to see his parents. In order to give shape to his wishes he returned to his native land, where the' seekers of learning' began to visit him in troops.

A'ẓam writes:

چندگاه در خدمت حضور مانده داد مجاهده و خدمت داده نظر بر ظهور رخصت والدین

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. fol. 23b
2. Badāyūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. III, p 142.

بعد اجازت ارشاد سوی کشمیر شدند و بجرد رسیدن بوطن الوف ارشاد و تعریف خداداد

بر آن جناب فوج فوج سالکین و جوق جوق طالبین باستفاده رجوع شد عالمی مستفید گردید[1]

" He remained for some time in the service of that exalted one, made streneous efforts for self-purification and rendered meritorious services to him. Setting his eyes on the separation of his parents, he, after taking permission for the guidance returned to Kashmīr. No sooner did he reached there than the bands of devoutees and the troops of seekers of learning resorted to take advantage, and a 'world' derived profits."

Sa'ādat confirms it by saying:

اپنے پیر و مرشد سے اجازت حاصل کی سرزمین ہذا کی راہ لی۔ محلہ دیو گجن کی بلندی پر

شیخ سلطان کشمیری کی تعمیر کردہ خانقاہ میں اپنے ایک عرصہ تک اقامت اختیار کی[2]

" He got permission from his spiritual guide, took his way to this land. he stayed for some times in the monastery built by Shaikh Sulṭān Kashmīrī, on the hight of Maḥallah Dev Gajan."

But, on the contrary, Ṣarfī himself does not throw any light on his return to the valley. he informs us only this much, that he lighted the candle of instructions and made the internal darkness of many vanish by the light of God. He writes:

چون روشن ضمیر به روی زمین ∴ شد از پرتوم روشنائی گزین

1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 170

2. Sa'ādat, Muḥammad, Shāh, Muftī, Ḥayāt-i-Ṣarfī, p 28

چو شمع هدایت برافروختم ÷ بسی را بپروانگی سوختم
ولی یافت زان شمع ظلمت زدا ÷ درون های تاریک نور خدا [1]

It is, however, apparent from his statement that he travelled a lot and met a number of people.

دلا پیش ازین بعد ازان نیز هم ÷ بسیر و سیاحت نهادم قدم
سیاحت بعالم بسی کرده ام ÷ ملاقات با هر کسی کرده ام [2]

In the first couplet the words دلا پیش ازین بعد ازان نیز هم also leads us to the conjecture that he travelled a lot before he became the Khalifa(spiritual successor) of Husain of Khawārizm and that would be perhaps the journey which he made when he went to Samarqand for the first time. This also gives us a very little idea that he returned to the valley and guided the people.

How long he stayed in the valley is not known. The contemporary historians are silent on the point. A later historian, A'zam tells us that he once again left Kashmīr at the time when he came to know that Shaikh Ḥussain of Khawārizm is going for Ḥajj. He also made up his mind to go to pilgrimage so that he may also see his spiritual guide.

باستماع خبر توجه حضرت مخدوم بحرمین حرکت غنیمت دانسته و براه خراسان متوجه زیارت هر دو کعبه شده و در راه فتوحات بسیار بصحبت ابرار روزگار حاصل نموده [3]

" " On hearing the news of the Lords attention towards Ḥarmain he thought it proper to move and by way of Khurāsān he set off to see both the Ka'bas and in the way attained much benefits from the pious men of the age."

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī , p 11.
2. Ibid, p 11.
3. A'zam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p 170

This statement of his is not correct, because Sarfi does not tell us the reasons of his leaving the valley for the purposes mentioned by A'ẕam. Morevoer, he performed Hajj when he left the valley, according to his version, for the second time, by way of sea and not by the route of Khurāsān. Here a list of the cities visited and the names of the persons with whom he came into contact would suffice to prove that this travel of his extended to Irān, Afghānistān, Khurāsān and Hindustān. The number of the cities visited by him is 40 and the prominent personalities whom he saw is 79.

S. No:	Name of the city.	Names of the persons.
1.	Kābul	Mīr 'Abdullah, Bū-ul-Ma'āni, Maulvī Khirad, al-mulaqqab ba Mecci, 'Alā ud Dīn, Muhammad lārī.
2.	Badakhshān	Muhammad 'Alī, Muhammad Amin, Na'mat Ullah, Shāh Yūsuf Majzūb,
3.	Balkh	Muhammad, Dost, Ṣāliḥ, Khawājah Khirad, Abul Khair.
4.	Sabzwār	Jalāl Walī Wā'iz, Shaikh Naṣir, Muhammad Kubak, Abul Baqā, Sultan 'Alī, Maulvī Ahmad, Muhammad Amīn, Muhammad Sa'id of Andjān.
5.	Samarqand	Ahmad Jundī, Muṣṭafā, 'Abdul Haq, Hājī Panbah Doz, Darvaish Shaikh, Shaikh Qasim, Sayyid Talib.
6.	Qarākol	Sayyid Walī.
7.	Tāshqand.	Muhammad Husain
8.	Andjān	Amin.
*9.	Yas	Muhammad Qulī
10.	Bukhārā	....

*. From Yas he went to Bukhārā and from there he went to Kat. At Kat he met one 'Abbās. He remained there for forty days.

11. Kat ʿAbbās.

12. Khayirq Shaikh Maqsūd.

Here Ṣarfī remained for forty days in the monastery of the Shaikh.

13. Khawārizm. Ḥājī Muḥammad.

He illuminated his spirit with the light of God in the monastery of Ḥājī Muḥammad. He calls him as his pīr (Spiritual guide)

ہر دو جہان دستگیر من است ٭ کہ بیواسطہ پیر پیر من است [1]

14. Mashhad ....

Here he passed a night in the mausoleum of Imām-i-Raẓā and saw an astonishing incident that a blind woman regained her eye-sight.

15. Ṭūs Shaikh Aḥmad.

16. Herāt Aḥmad, Sayyid Ḥusain.

17. Samnān Muḥammad ʿAlī.

.. Many points of Fasus-ul-Hakam were explained by him to our poet Ṣarfī.

بسی از نکات فصوص الحکم ٭ بوجہ بیان کرد گلکش رقم [2]

18. Kāshān Ḥasan.

19. Qazvīn Sharīf Ṣadr, ʿAbdullah Shustarī, Abul Ḥasan, Ḥasan Baig Dārogheh.

In Qazvīn, through Sharīf ṣadr he saw the king Ṭahmāsp who did favours to him. He says in Maghāzī-un-Nabī:

بقزوین مرا مہربانی نمود ٭ شریف شریفی کہ او صدر بود

بطہماسپ آن شاہ کشورگشا ٭ مرا ساخت آن نامور آشنا

بعالم بسی ملتفت بود شاہ ٭ من از صحبتش جستہ باقی پناہ [3]

1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 13.
2. Ibid. p 14.
3. Ibid, p 14.

Hasan Baig Dāroghah who was a stone hearted official, became his disciple and after that he was inclined towards politeness.

حسن بیگ داروغهٔ پر غضب ٭ مرا معتقد گشته بود این عجب
تعجب ازان سست کمان ترکمان ٭ نبود سست هرگز بکس مهربان
بنزدی که میکرد گاهی چو خس ٭ بمنقل کباب آدمی بود و بس
به پند من از طور خود درگذشت ٭ پشیمان ز رنجاندن خلق گشت [1]

20	Tabrīz	Hers he met a scholar, but he has not mentioned his name.
21	Baghdād	'Abdur Rasūl, 'Abdul Halīm, Abul Vafā.
22	Karbalā	....
24.	Halab	'Alī Majzūb.

From here he returned to India via 'Irāq and Khurāsān. He himself says :

زسیری که ما منعکس کرده ایم ٭ دگر ره سوی هند آورده ایم
رهی را که طی کرده بودیم ما ٭ عراق و خراسان و ما فیها
دگر طی این راه دور و دراز ٭ سوی هند کردیم برگشته باز [2]

In Inida too, he met scholars and other learned men of the age He says:-

درین راه هرجا که بود دست کس ٭ تلاقی ازو داشتم ملتمس [3]

24.	Gujrāt	Sayyid Muhammad Mehdī.
25.	Multān	Here he could not find any person who may be helpful to him.

1. Sarfī Ya'qūb Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 14.
2. Ibid, pp 14-15.
3. Ibid. p. 15.

بملتان ندیدیم صاحبدلی * که از فیض او حل شود مشکلی[1]

26.	Tanna	Sayyid ʿAlī, Shaikh mirak.
27.	Lahore	Mūsā, Abdush Shakūr, Ḥabīb Ullah.
28.	Ludhyānah	ʿAlī (Sayyid)
29.	Sarhind	Majid Dīn

بسرهند دیدیم از عارفین * بعلم اعلم وقت خود مجددین[2]

30.	Ambālah	Jalāl
31.	Pānī Pat	Amīn Ullah, ʿAbdur Razzāq.
32.	Dehlī	ʿAbdul ʿAzīz.
33.	Agrah	....
34.	Jaunpur	....
35	Maiwāt	ʿAbdul Malik, Kamāl.
36.	Nārnaul	Nizām
37.	Ajmair	....
38.	Nāgor	Munawwar
39.	Jodhpūr	Salmān soap maker.
40.	Aḥmad Ābād	Muḥammad [illegible] alias Ghos, Malik Zain-ud Dīn, ʿAli, Sayyid ʿAbdur Rahmān, Maḥmūd, Sayyid Amīn, ʿAbdush Shakūr, ʿAbdur Raūf, Malik Tāj Maḥmūd, Muḥammad Kamāl, Muḥammad Sharīf, ʿAbduṣ Ṣamad, Allah Dād.

This was his first trip, and during this course of journey, he visited 40 cities of Irāq, Irān, Khurāsān and India and saw 79 Scholars, ṣufīs and learned men of the time. It is also obvious from his statement that during his travels he did not ~~swine~~ dawdle but did his best to acquire knowledge.

A perusal of the list also indicates that he did not find even

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 15
2. Ibid, p 15.

a man worth mentioning in Bukhārā, Mashhad, Karbalā, Multān, Āgra, Jaunpur and Ajmair.

Ṣarfī has given details of his travels. In Mashhad as has already been stated, he was surprised to note that a blind woman who was his co-traveler, passed a night with him in the Mausoleum of Ḥazrat Imām Razā and got back her eye-sight. He has given this interesting episode in detail. He writes:

به مشهد شدم مستفیض از امام ÷ علی ابن موسیٰ علیه السلام
امام رضا شاه عالم مدار ÷ غلامش چو معروف چندین هزار
رفیقم دران سیر بوده زنی ÷ زنی که نوشش مرد شیرافگنی
لقب آفتی و بطبع لطیف ÷ شده آفتی بر وضیع و شریف
ولی بود اعمیٰ و معیوب عمی ÷ نبودلیکن مانع ز فیض خدا
بسی بود خوشگوی در شاعری ÷ نبودی درین فن فن ساحری
من و او در گنبد پر صفا ÷ که آنجاست قبر امام هدیٰ
شبی گنبد را بدیم باهم تمام ÷ که خواهیم فیض زجود از امام
ولی او بناگاه سر در سجود ÷ نهاده دران سجده خوابش ربود
موذن زمانیکه در بامداد ÷ ندا چون خروس سحرگاه داد
ازان خواب برخاست بینا شده ÷ بنور بصر چشم او وا شده
دو چشم از غبار عمی صاف و پاک ÷ بکحل الهی غیب سرمه ناک
چون بینا شده آنچنان دیدمش ÷ ز احوال آن خواب پرسیدمش
بگفتا که من خود بدیدم امام ÷ که بود اولیں مرده سرخ فام
من این چشم بر پرده مالیدمی ÷ ز رنجوری خویش نالیدمی
خطاب از ادب کردمی با امام ÷ همی گفتمی دم بدم یا امام
شدم باز بیدار بینا دو چشم ÷ ببین لعادت شده وا دو چشم [1]

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 13.

But it is strange to note that he does not tell about his visit to Kashmīr. Badāyūnī who is his contemporary historian and a friend too, is silent in this respect. He, however, for the second time went abroad by the sea route. Sarfī writes:

شدم با گروهی ز دریا دلان ∴ بکشتی ز دریای عمان روان
چو کردند از انجا روان فلک را ∴ ز آیات حق دیدم آن فلک را
چو افتاد آن کشتی بوالعجب ∴ ز دریای هندی به بحر عرب
بنزدیک ساحل رسید ست و من ∴ برون آمدم زان فلک یمن[1]

Here again a list of the cities visited and the names of the persons with whom he came in contact in those cities is given below.

S.No.	Name of the city.	Name of the person
1.	Qanqāzah	ʿAlī, Ibrāhīm, ʿAbdul Hamīd. (The first two persons were strangers there.)
2.	Hazr Maut	There he did not find any Sūfī but the number of theologians and Muhaddis was great.
3.	Zabid	ʿAbdur Rahmān. (Through this gentleman he received benefits from the saints of Yaman. He got an

amulet from one ʿAbdur Rahmān which proved very useful to him.

From Yaman he went to Mecca for Hajj. He was on foot and at times he travelled forty miles. He says:

زمستی به پیمودم آن راه چنان ∴ که چل میل رفتم در اندک زمان
لباسی که نادوخته در برم ∴ در آن راه بود ست از آن می برم[2]

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1. Sarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 16.
2. Ibid, p 16.

In Mecca he met the following persons.

1. Ibn ul Hajar Meccī.
2. 'Abdul 'Azīz
3. Maulvī Ṭāriq Ṭārmī.
4. Ḥasan of Marv.
5. Shaikh 'Abdullah of Ḥazr Maut.
6. Muḥammad.
7. Abū Salmah.
8. Abū Sa'ūd.
9. Muḥammad 'Alī
10. 'Alī Lur.
11. Shaikh Yūsuf.
12. Shaikh Usman.
13. Shaikh Marzukī.

From Mecca he goes to Medīna where he comes across two great Sufis of Yaman, namely Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥamīd and Ḥasan. Besides these, he finds Badr-ud-Dīn, who was a spiritual guide and Shaikh Fateḥ Ullah, from whom he studied Fatūḥāt-i-Makkiyah .

These were the details of his second journey. From here we do not know, when he went back to his country as he tells nothing about his return journey. From here he turns his attention towards the subject of the book saying:

زمین حرم کان ام القریٰ ست ٭ بہ لبنان قدس ست ازان راہ راست
خداوردش از غایت احتیاط ٭ بتحریم بعضی مباحات خاص[1]

About his stay in Harmain A'zam, with reference to Samrāt-ul-Ashjār, writes in his history:

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-unNabī, p 18

وتحصیل سند احادیث بروایت مختلفه از خدمت زبدة المحدثین شیخ ابن حجر وغیره در حرمین و یافتن
جبهٔ مبارک حضرت امام الامة حضرت ابو حنیفه کوفی رح در بغداد و صحبت شیخ المشائخ شیخ سلیم چشتی
واجازت طریقهٔ ایشان و عطیات دیگر تفصیل آن در ثمرات الاشجار است بهزاران مکرمت و رحمت حضرت الهی بکشمیر رسید

" According to different narrations, he got the certificate of ḥadīs̱ from the cream of narrators Shaikh Ibn-i-Ḥajar etc., in Ḥarmain and in Baghdād the holy cloak of the Imām of nation Ḥaẕrat Abū Ḥanīfah. He enjoyed the company of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī and got permission of their way of teaching and received other gifts, the details of which are available in S̱amrāt-ul-Ashjār. He reached Kashmīr with many favours and dignity."

It is pointed out here that our learned poet has not mentioned the name of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī in Maghāzi-un-Nabī, while he has given names of many Sufis with whom he came in contact.

About his return from his second journey we cannot definitely mention the year but depending upon A'ẕam's statement we can say that it was perhaps after 978 A.H.(1570 A.D.) when Kashmīr was under the sway of Chaks. A'ẕam's statement indicates that Kashmīr was at that time a venue of torture, misery and death for those who lived there. He writes:

دران وقت بسبب شورش والیان اینجا که بفساد مذهب ملک و دولت را برباد دادند
کشمیر محل حوادث و آفات شده بود حضرت ایشان متوجه شده بظاهر و باطن سعی
موفور نمود، ملک را بمردم اکبر پادشاه تفویض فرمود، و یعقوب خان چک

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1. A'ẕam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 170
2. Ibid, p 170

کہ از راہ شقاوت ذاتی مصدر امور نا مشروع شدہ بود لبزا رسید

" In those days due to the sedition of the rulers of that place who created heresy in the religion and had destroyed the country and the government, Kashmīr had become the place of accidents and calamities. Hazrat-i-Āshān (Sarfī) paid heed to it and by the internal and external endeavours and help he handed over the country to the soldiers of the king Akbar. Ya'qūb Khān Chak who owing to his personal misfortune, had become the source of heresy, -- received due punishment."

A cursury study of the histo y of Kashmīr indicates that after Hussin Chak's death misrule followed which reached its climax during the regime of Yūsuf Shāh A.H. 978-987 (A.D. 1570-1579) and A.H. (988-994 (1579-1580 A.D.) who was a voluptuous ruler leading a life of ease and pleasure. It was the period of shameful rapacity of the rulers which compelled many Kashmīrīs to take active part in politics inorder to relieve Kashmīr and her inhabitants from the clutches of barbarism which was hitting the people with ferocity. This would be the period when Sarfī would have decided to relinquish his academic and cultural pursuits to help his country men in their struggle to releave themselves from the cruel hands of their ruler. He thus entered upon a political

1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, p 170.

career of intense activity, and it was through his efforts and persuations that Akbar attacked Kashmīr and by his efforts Akbar's forces did not suffer from much trouble and Kashmīr was subjugated by Akbar's soldiers.

SARFĪ'S POLITICAL CAREER:

About Ṣarfī's political career AkbarNāmah of Abul Fazl is the only contemporary source which throws some light on the point. The other noteable history is that of Muhammad A'zam's Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr. From a critical study of his life, it is obvious that he was a spiritual guide and thus weilded great influence over the people of the Valley hundereds of whom became his disciples (Murids). It may also be pointed out here that Ya'qūb's influence had impressed Akbar too. He was sent on the compaign of Kashmīr in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) with a few other " strenuous and brave men" when Akbar's envoy (which was sent to Kashmīr to call upon Yūsuf Shāh the ruler of the valley, inorder to inform him that 'the welfare of his as well as of his country lies in the fact that either he himself should come to the court or should send his son to the lofty threshold) returned unsuccesful, Akbar dispatched forces under the charge of Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Shāhī, Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī etc., Abūl Fazl write

بنا برآن چون فرستادگان از کشمیر بازگردیدند و نخوت فروشی و نکوهیده کاری او برگذاردند
شاهنشاه دیده‌ور بهم دی میرزا شاهرخ بهادر .... و بسیاری از احدیان لشکر گزیدگی
میرزا علی اکبرشاهی و شیخ یعقوب کشمیری و حیدر چک و دیگر مبارزان کارطلب
را دستوری دادند و امین الدین به بخشی‌گری اختصاص یافت ۱

1. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III. P. 480

" Accordingly when the envoys returned from Kashmīr and represented the arrogance and wickedness of the Ruler, His Majesty, on 9th Dai (20th December 1585) dispatched Mirzā Shāhrukh Bahādur ... . and many other Ahdīs under the charge of Mirzā ʿAlī Akbar Shāhī Shaikh Yaʿqūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Chak and other strenuous and brave men. Amīn-ud-Dīn was made Bakhshī."

Though Yūsuf Shāh forsake fighting and presented himself before the militry officers of Akbar's army yet the fire of the battle could not remain extinguished for long. Yaʿqūb Shāh, his son became the ruler of the valley. He was a prejudice and thus harshly treated the Sunnīs with the result that the prominant personalities petioned Akbar for help. Our poet Yaʿqūb was so over confident of his influence in the valley that he wrote to Akbar that, "the grandees of that country will not swerve from our views, and if a few of the landholders be sent with Panjāb troops, it is probable that country will come to His Majesty's hand without a contest."[1]

This over confidence was due to the fact that at the time of Yūsuf's submission, peace was made by the efforts of Yaʿqūb Kashmīrī our poet. This fact has also been stated by Abul Fazl. He writes

درین اثنا بلبن سوائی شیخ یعقوب کشمیری زمینداران کرنا آمده دیدند و قرار یافت که از نگاه
ایشان فوجی درون کشمیر در آید کشمیریان لابگری پیش گرفتند و حرف آشتی برگذاردند[1]

" At this time the land holders of Karnā were induced by the

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1. Abul Fazl, ʿAllāmī, Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III. p 496.
درین هنگام حیدر چک و شیخ یعقوب کشمیری چنان برگزاردند که بزرگان آن ملک از ره دید ما
سرباز نکشند اگر لختی بومی سپاه همراه شوند بهانا بی آویزش بدست در آید

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p 481

address of Shiakh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī to come forward and make submission. It was agreed that a force should enter Kashmīr through their villages. Upon this the Kashmīrīs came forward with entreat--ies and propsed peace."

After sending the said application to Akbar's court both Haidar Chak and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī began to wait for assistance.

آن دو کشمیری نزد بهمبر بانتظار کمک نشستند[1]

" The two Kashmīrīs waited near Bhimber in expectation of assistance."

In short when Akbar sent his forces for the conquest of Kashmīr, we find that in Rājwarī Behrām Nā'yik, Ismā'il Nā'yik and Shankī Charwār who were the chief conductors of the passes, came to the commander of Akbar's forces and they offered good wishes for the conquest of the country. They represented that the head of the country were looking forward to the arrival of the army, so Ya'qūb and Jai Tawāchībāshī and Shair and Salīm were sent forward with some Musketeers. Ab-ul Fazl writes:

شیخ یعقوب و جی تواچی باشی و شیر و سلیم را با برخی بندوقچیان پیش فرستادند و
شنکی چاردر همراه شد فیروزی سپاه نیز از پی راهگرای آمد چون بر تل کبرتل
بر آمدند عالمی دیگر پیدا گشت .... درین اثنا چندی تفنگ اندازان که همراه
جی رفته بودند) زخمی باروت پیوستند و از فر یکبارگی کشمیریان آگهی بخشیدند
...... درین میان محمد لند و دلاور خان و بهادر خان و جمعی سران کشمیر پیوستند
و به دیزش در آمدند. شیخ یعقوب بدو زخم از پا در آمد و نزدیک بود که قالب تهی
کند آشنای دستیاره رهائی شد[2]

1. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmī, AkbarNāmah , Vol. III. p 496
2. Ibid, pp 503-504.

" Ya'qūb and Jai Tawāchībāshī, and Shēr and Salīm were sent forward with some musketeers. Shankī Charwār accompanied them, and the main body of the army followed afterwards. When they got to the top of the Kapartal Kotal a different state of things appeared .... At this time some musketeers who had gone forward with Jai, arrived in the camp in a wounded condition and reported the treachery of the Kashmīrīs. Mean while Muhammad Land, Dilāvar Khān Bahadur Khān, and a number of Kashmīrīs leaders arrived and proceeded to give battle. Shaikh Ya'qūb had two wounds and fell and nearly died. His friends saved him."

The reason was that "the Kashmīrīs made Husain Chak their leader and turned their attention to fighting. Meanwhile Shams Chak arrived and they set aside the new ruler and joined him. They sent a force to the pass with the design of fighting and it was from it that the injury happened to Shaikh Ya'qūb and Jai." [1]

MEANS OF LIVLIHOOD: Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī belonged to a well to do family. His forefathers were influential men being educated persons had connections with the courts of the rulers. Thus they were fief holders and had cultivated land in the valley. Sarfī, it seems to us depended upon the income of those lands. What were the other sources of income, it cannot be

1. Abul Fazl, 'Allāmi, Akbar Nāmah, Vol. III. p 505.

حسین چک را کلانی برداشته روبه پیکار نهادند ...... درین میان شمس چک پیوست
و مرزبان نو را از کار باز داشته باو گرویدند و آویزش و پیکار گروهی را بگریوه فرستادند
و ازینان بشیخ یعقوب و جی آن گزند رسید

definitely said. He was attached to the court of Akbar far earlier than Kashmīr came under Akbar's sway. What rank he had at that time we cannot say, but it is definite that he had been one of the trust worthy servants and was sent to Kashmīr in 993 A.H.(1585 A.D) when Kashmīr was attacked by Akbar's army for the first time under the command of Amīn-ud-Dīn. At least this much is known that he was a man of position and was liked by Humāyūn and Akbar. Badāyūnī writes:-

وہم پادشاه مغفرت پناه وہم شاہنشاہی را نسبت باوی اعتقاد غریب بود بشرف
صحبت اختصاص داشته ومنظور نظر شفقت اثر گشته معزز ومکرم ومحترم بود ۱

" Boths the deceased king and the present Emperor trusted him very much. He was dignified with their company and became the favourite of the sight having kind effects and was dignified, respectful and esteemed."

He, as we know, travelled a lot, and made acquaintance with

HIS FRIENDS: many persons but so far as his friendship is concerned, it was with a very small number of persons. The most favourite friends of his were Shaikh Faizī and ʿAbdul Qādir Badāyūnī With the later he had very good relations and both were so to speak bosom friends loving each ~~loving each~~ other from the core of their heart.

When the Shaikh obtained permission to depart from Lāhore to Kashmīr, he wrote a letter from the other side of the river Rāvī to Mullā ʿAbdul Qādir Badāyūnī which the latter has reproduced in his history. We here quote the relevant extract of the same. He writes:

1. Badāyūnī, ʿAbdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. III. p142

امید که از حاشیهٔ خاطر فیض مآثر نسیاً منسیاً نخواهند ساخت و بعادت شیمهٔ کریمه
حفظ الغیب خواهند پرداخت و اگر حاجت بکاغذ کشمیری برای مسودات باشد اعلام
نمایند تا بنده از کشمیر مسودهٔ تفسیر خود فرستد که نقوش آن از کاغذ بشستن
چنان می رود که هیچ اثری از سیاهی نماند چنانچه تجربه کرده شد[1]

" I hope you will not entirely efsce the memor-y of me from the margin of your heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you have any need of Kashmīrī paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copies of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of ink will remain, as you yourself have seen."

The Shaikh on reaching Kashmīr, sent another letter to Badāyūnī, which was the last that he wrote to him.[2] Here too, we quote the relevent extract of the same.

امید که هرگاه در خسخانهٔ خواب فراغت در نیمروز بر فرش حصیر سرد تر از هوای کشمیر
بتجرع برف آب گرم می بوده باشند استماع نکات شریفه و مقالات لطیفه می نموده
باشند یاد اسیر محنت حرمان خواهند کرد ؎

ای بنزم وصل حاضر عاشقان را دستگیر
زانکه دست حاضران از غائبان کوتاه نیست

...... ابیات اظهار مغزی که بر طرز جدید آصف خانی بنده کمینه این جا گفته
مسوده آن از فقیر گم شده غالباً ملازمان از آن مسوده نقل گرفته بوده باشند التماس
آنکه نقل از نسخهٔ خود فرستند[3]

1. Badāyūni, Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, Vol. III.p 144
2. Ibid, p 144. وچون بکشمیر رفت رقعهٔ دیگر از آنجا فرستاده که ختمی بود
3. Ibid, p 144-145.

" I hope that when ever you sit in Nawāb Azizī's apartment of fragrant grass (خسخانه) on the floor, with its matting cooler than the breeze of Kashmīr, in the mid-day heat of summer , drinking the water which though originally warm, has been cooled with ice and listening to the sublime talk and witty conversation you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment.

ای بنزم وصل حاضر غائبان را دستگیر :: زانکه دست حاضران از غائبان کوتاه نیست

I have lost the copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Āsaf Khānī's style, explaining that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft, if so I pray you to send me a copy of your copy."

The letter vindicates how much love he had for Badāyūnī, and the love of Badāyūnī for him is also apparent from the fact that he has twice mentioned his name in his history, once at page 142 and for the second time at page 259. He praises him much.

HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN :

Ya qub got himself married in 953 A.H. (1546 A.D.) when he was of twenty five years of age. A son named Yūsuf was born but he died in early youth, writes Dr. Ṣūfī in his Kāshir.[1] This gentleman has not pointed out his source of information. We have, however, come to know from the study of his Masnavī 'Vāmiq Azrā' that Ya'qūb Sarfī had a son named Muhammad Yūsuf who was more than twenty years of age when he (Sarfī) wrote this Masnavī. In the said Masnavī he writes under the caption : در نعمت فرزند دلبند

الا ای میوه دل نور دیده :: مسرت بخش جان غم رسیده

گل باغ لشکلم قرة العین :: عروس همتم را زینت و زین

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1. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D. Kāshir , Vol. II. p

محمد یوسف نام است خواهم ∴ که باشد صورت و معنیت باهم

ز فضل ایزدت خواهم موید ∴ بحسن یوسف و خلق محمد

کنون از بیست بگذشتست سالت

سزد کسب فضائل بر کمالت [1]

It is appropriate to point out here that Ṣarfī wrote this Maṣnavī in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.). He writes the chronogram which reads: بچشم شیخ صرفی دیده لائق ∴ که تاریخش بود "معشوق و عاشق" [2]

The phrase معشوق و عاشق gives the requisite year which is 993 A.H.

Taking into view these facts we can easily derive the conclusion that Muḥammad Yūsuf was born before 973 A.H. (1566A.D.) and was living at the time when Ṣarfī wrote his "Vāmiq ʿAzrā" in the year 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.)

HIS DEATH: Shaikh Yaʿqūb Ṣarfī died on Thursday the 12th Ziqaʿdah in the year 1003 A.H. (1595 A.D.) eight years after the commencement of the Moghal rule in Kashmir. Badāyūnī writes:

در تاریخ دوازدهم ذیقعده سنه ثلث و الف (۱۰۰۳) از حبس عالم و قید رسته طائر

روح قدس آشیان او بعالم اطلاق پرواز نمود و "شیخ امم" تاریخ یافته شد [3]

" On the 12th of Ziqaʿdah in the year 1003 the bird of the soul of the holy nest after having been released from the incarceration of the world flew to the world of liberty. Shaikh-i-Umam was found out as the chronogram."

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1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Vāmiq ʿAzrā, p 133.
2. Ibid, p 138
3. Badāyūnī, ʿAbdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol, III. p 145

Dr. Ṣūfī, with reference to Fat̲h̲āt-i-Kubrāviya (Ms) page 425 writes the following verses of Shaikh Habīb Ullah Naw-Shahrī, in which the chronogram فخر الانام gives the date of his demise.

شاه یعقوب قطب و مرشد ره ؛ قدس الله ربنا روحه

کرده روشن دل مریدان چون ؛ بود بر چرخ فیض بخش مه

سوی عرش برین عروج نمود ؛ بر براق اجل چو شد ناگه

چشم ظاهر اگرچه محروم است ؛ دیدهٔ باطنم برو آگه

آری آری ولی نخواهد مرد ؛ هوحی یکون فی الجنة

چون فنا فی الله آمده وصفش ؛ شده موصوف از بقا بالله

گفت حبی لسال تاریخش ؛ ... و هفتاد سال از آن شه

سبب "فخر الانام" تاریخش

گر فنا شد ز بنده تو بخشش [1]

On hearing the death of Ṣarfī Badāyūnī exclaimed:

یاران رفتند و ره کعبه گرفتند ؛ ما مست قدم بر در خمار بماندیم

زانکه مقصود نشد فهم حدیثی ؛ لا دین و لا دنیا بیکار بماندیم

Ya'qūb remains was buried in Zīnah Kadal and his tomb attracts visitors and is known as Ziārat-i-Ishān [2].

About his works Badāyūnī imparts the following information in his history.

SARFĪ'S WORKS :

خمسه تمام کرده و رسائل متعدد در معما نوشته و رباعیات مع شرح

در لقوحت دارد ...... و در ایام که شنزدیک بود تفسیری نوشت که آیتی است

از کلامات او [3]

1-Ṣufī. Dr. M.D. Kāshīr, Vol. II. p
2. Badāyūni, Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. III. p 145
3. Ibid, Vol. III. p 142.

" He finished a Khamsah or quintent and wrote a few treatise in enigma and mystic quatrains with explanation .... A little before his death he was writing commentary on the holy Qurān which is a sign of his perfect genius."

From the above it is obvious that he wrote a few treatises on mysticism, a Khāmsah or quintent, a commentry on the holy Qurān which was one of the most wonderful productions of his great genius. His friend Badāyūnī, an historian of Akbar's reign has not given the names of the books or Masnavis that make the Khamsah written by him in reply of the famous Khamsah of Nizāmī (died A.D. 1203) . According to Pir Hasan Shāh the Khamsah in question comprises the following Masnavis.

1. Vāmiq ʿAzrā
2. Maslik-ul-Akhyār
3. Maghāzī-un-Nabī.
4. Lailā Majnūn.
5. Maqāmāt-i-Murshid.

Out of these five Masnavis only Maslik-ul- Akhyār and Maghāzī-un-Nabī, are preserved in the Panjāb University Library. A manuscript copy of his Masnavī Vāmiq ʿAzrā is available in the Public Library, Lāhore. These books will be discused in detail in the following pages in order to bring to light ~~to light~~ the many sided vigour of his genius. Out of the remaining two Lailā Majnūn would be containing the familiar story of lovers that belonged to families bitterly at enmity with each other and so firmly determin in their opposition to wedding that the lovers only find union in death. The other Masnavī known as Maqāmāt-i-Murshid also seems to be a mystical Masnavī telling about the position or rank of the

murshid or spirtual guide.

Beside these works he arranged a Dīvān a copy of which is preserved in the Panjab Public Library, Lāhore.

Before we proceed with the Masnavī, it seems necessary to write something about his two mystical treatise known as Ravā'iḥ and Risālah-i-Tasavvaf. They contain both prose and poetry. First we take up Ravā'iḥ.

RAVĀ'IḤ: This Ravā'iḥ is a small treatise of 70 pages having quatrains on the mysticism of Ṣūfis with a commentary. It was written by Ya'qūb Ṣarfī in imitation of Lavā'iḥ of Jāmī as he himself says:-

این مجاله الیست برسنن لوایح مسمی بروایح مشتمل برائحه چند[1]

" It is a manual hastily written on the lines of Lavā'iḥ, and is known as Ravā'iḥ which comprises a few Rā'iḥ."

He gives the following reasons for writing this treatise, though he does not think himself the proper person to take up this task. He writes:

اگرچه این فقیر ازان حقیرتر است که در اظهار اسرار خفیه توحید که مستفاد از انفاس
نفیسهٔ اصحاب مواجید است جرأت نماید در ابراز و ارادات سینهٔ عنبرینه که
مستفاد از مواهب لدنیهٔ لاریبه است زبان کشاید اما چون بنابر استیلای لوایح
جذبات سبحانیه که محجوب روایح الماحات هدایته بود مغلوب الحال و مسلوب الاختیار
گشته درین باب تا سرخود و زبان طعن و ملامت برین مفقود الشعور بمقتضای
فحوای المغلوب معذور نخواهند گشود[2]

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Ravā'iḥ, p 5
2. Ibid, p 70

He wrote this treatise in 976 A.H.(1568 A.D.). The year of completion comes out of the following chronogram.

روائح از لوائح کم معنی ∴ بنام مولانا پیش آمد روائح

چو جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت ∴ روائح شد بلی پیش از لوائح

۹۷۶

It begins with the praise of God, and the holy prophet. Then comes the supplication in which he solicits the favour of God for ignoring his sins and faults. After this comes the introduction in which he tells us that he has tried to immitate the Lawā'iḥ of Jāmī. The orignal book begins after an introduction and we find the first 'Rā'iḥ' having its caption in Arabic. ان الله مع الذین اتقو والذین هم محسنون It deals with التقا (Virtuousness). In this the author defines متقی (The virtuous) etc. He directs that the man should take refuge in the delicate names of God from his oppressive names.

The book is of small size containing forty 'Rā'iḥ'. Each 'Ra ih' deals with new subject connected with Ṣūfism. Here is a list of 'Rā'iḥ' along with proper captions would suffice. It must also be pointed out that the author has not given any heading. His heading in each case is 'Rā'iḥ' (رائح). These captions have been suggested by us taking into consideration the subject matter of the 'Rā'iḥ' concerned.

۱. ان الله مع الذین اتقوا والذین هم محسنون

۲. مقصود احسان . ۳. معیت حق سبحانه و تعالی و اقسام آن

۴. مراد از انقطاع از عالم که موجب اتصال بحق تعالی و معظم است

۵. ادراک ذات من حیثه محال است

۶. تعین ثانی که مرتبه دوم از مراتب تنزل است

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Rawā'iḥ, p 70.

۷۔ تجلیات وجود حق بصفات متعدده و تعینات متکثره حقائق اسما است و صور آن
حقائق را در علم الٰهی کلیه کانت او جزئیه اعیان ثابته می نامند

۸۔ تعریف اعیان ثابته

۹۔ تعین ثالث مرتبهٔ ارواح است که آنرا عالم غیبت و عالم علوی و عالم ملکوت می گویند

۱۰۔ بحث بر مراتب کلیه تنزلات (۱۱) مرتبه انسان کامل

۱۲۔ حقیقت نوعیه انسانیه

۱۳۔ اسمای الٰهی مر انسان کامل را بمنزلهٔ قوای روحانیه و جسمانیه است

۱۴۔ حکم الٰهیه در ایجاد انسان کامل

15۔ انسان کامل اصلی و خلیفة الله حقیقی خاتم النبیین است

۱۶۔ حضرت محمد پیش از ایجاد اجسام انسانیه بر مسند سیادت و سریر نبوت متمکن بود

۱۷۔ مظهر حقیقت محمدی و مظهر حقیقت جبریلی

۱۸۔ علمی که موجب وراثت انبیای کرام است علیهم الصلوٰة و السلام

۱۹۔ احکام کونیه (۲۰) حضور اکرم خاتم النبیین است

۲۱۔ هر کدام از انبیای متقدمین استفاضه از حقیقت خاتم النبیین کرده بود

22۔ جماعتی از اولیای که مسمی باوتاد اند چهارتن اند

23۔ قلب که بیت الله سماست و امامت کبری مراد او راست

24۔ قوت نبوت بحسب قوت ولایت است

25۔ اقسام ولایت (26) عبارت از لقا چیست

27۔ حصول دولت فنا و وصول سعادت لقا منوط با قتباس انوار هدایت از مشکوٰة
ولایت ارباب جمعیت است ۔

28- صاحب مقام رفیع و مرتبهٔ منیع که مخاطب بسورهٔ الم نشرح لک صدرک افتاد

Note:- This Ra'ki is in Arabic.

29- سالک با صفا زودتر بمقصد خویش واصل گردد

30- طالب صادق کما ینبغی حق صحبت را گزارد

31- طالب را باید که تقلید اصحاب ارشاد در امور بشری بی اذن و امر ایشان نکند

32- احترازی لذات صوری و تمتعات ظاهری در مباشرت نساست که استیفای شهوت

نفسانی از آن مقصود اهل هوا است.

33- طالب که بدرجهٔ کمال نرسیده است او را تجرع مرارات و مجاهدات و تحمل اثقال ریاضات

مواظبت باید نمود

34- مراد از رنج کشیدن و مقصود از مجاهده ورزیدن چیست (35) کیفیت

36. سفر رجوعی بسیر عروجی معتبر است و بتصفیه باطن میسر

37- انسان کامل جامع جمیع مراتب است (38) جزئیات تجلی را نهایت نیست

39- ظهور نور تجلی روحانی. (40) اتم و اکمل تجلیات حق را سبحانه بیچون و چگونه مشاهده کردن است

Ya'qūb Ṣarfī has written this treatise in Persian and has tried to strengthen his views by the help of Rubā'is and quotations from the holy Qurān and sayings of the holy prophet (may peace of God be upon him) and by the sayings of the scholars. It is because of this that frequent phrases of Arabic catch our sight here and there. In some cases there are lengthy quotations of arabic.

The style is like those of persian scholars who were lovers of intricate words play and pedantic allusions. In it we find bombastic words and intricate phrases which help us to conclude that Ṣarfī had a mind to make his writing obsecure so that only those may be able to understand who are at home in Arabic and Persian languages.

RISĀLAH-i-TASAVVAF

Ya'qūb Ṣarfī who was a great mystic and had met many Ṣūfīs during his life time, as he travelled a lot, wrote this treatise in prose and poetry on the instigation of one of his friend Maulvī Ayyūb by name who too was a mystic. He himself imparts in detail the reasons of writing this treatise and other valuable information as well, in the introductory pages. He writes:

این سطری چند است بعضی منثور و بعضی منظوم بقلم نیاز مسطور و بخامه ایجاز مرقوم در بیان
بعضی از اذکار و مراقبات که در اثنای اسفار از صاحب دلان ذوالاعتبار باین فقیر حقیر
خاکسار یعنی گوشه نشین زاویه مسکنت و فقیری یعقوب صرفی بن حسن کشمیری اصلح الله تعالی
شانها و صار بها مما شانها رسیده و این فقیر کثیر التقصیر اکثر آنرا بجد و اهتمام تمام ورزیده
و هر یکی را خاصیتی و تاثیری دیگر در اضمحلال آثار امکانی و کشف حقائق معانی در خور حال و بقدر
استعداد دیده امیدواری چنانست که فیوض و برکات آن مراقبات و اذکار شامل حال و سائر
اخوان طریقت شعار خصوصاً باعث این سطور پر قصور و موجب انشاء این کلام بی نظام
اعز اخوان صوری و ارشد برادران معنوی مولوی ایوب آن همره و همراز من در طریق حق شعاری
همره و همساز من وفقه الله تعالی للعروج الی معارج الحقیقة والاستقامة علی التحلی
بآداب الطریقة متوقع از مکارم اخلاق احباب وفاق آنکه خللی که درین رقیمه سبقه یابند

بذیل علیه فرو پوشند و در صفت عیب جوئی که از اعاظم اوصاف ردیه است نکوشند هرچند
کلام صرفی بی سامان باشد بیهوده و مهمل و سراسر هذیان امید که اصلاح کنند اهل کمال بی آنکه بعیب او گشایند زبان!

The manual begins with a prayer which contains seven verses in all. Following is its opening verse:

مرا یاد تو قوت جان باد ⁂ بذکر تو دلم رطب اللسان باد

After the prayer comes the 'Introduction' which tells us the reasons of writing this treatise. This introduction has already been quoted.

The whole book is divided into ten chapters (Faṣl). These chapters are both in prose and poetry. In prose Arabic paragraphs containing Ḥadīs̤ and the sayings of Ṣūfīs and scholars occur hither and thither. It purely deals with mysticism. eg. اکل حلال
Under this caption Ṣarfī writes:

عزیز من رکن اعظم در فروع اکل حلال است. پوشیده نماند که بعد از حصول ماکول حلال طیب طاهر غیر
مشتبه باید که از سیر خوردن مجتنب باشد و هرچه خورد در وقت جوع صادق بخورد و آرزو نخورد
و پرهیز کند از طعامی که موافق سنت نبود و بر تقدیر حلیت از طعام اهل بدعت اجتناب باید و اگر
که بشرف مقتدای رسیده باشند مثل مشائخ و قضاة و علما را با وجود لقمه حلال در خانه حکام و
عوان خوردن نیکو نخواهد بود و از ماکولات امثال این مردم احتراز باید نمود و منها نفی الخواطر باید
که هر خطره که بخاطر گذرد "دینیه" کانت او "دنیویه" در نفی آن حتی الامکان سعی بلیغ بجای آرد
که ذکری که مقارن وساوس و هواجس باشد نفعی ندارد. عزیز من طریقها که برای نفی خواطر است
بر انواع است و بهترین و موثرترین آن همه احضار صورت شیخ است چنانکه بعضی از محققان چنین فرموده
اند که مراع چاره در دفع خواطر صورت شیخ است پس نوع دگر آنکه سه نوبت لا قوت بزند چنانکه

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Risālah-i-Taṣavvuf, Ms. foll: 2 a & 2 b
I have intentionally neglected its translation as it was difficult to restore its charm.
2. Ibid. fol. 1 a

از دماغ چیزی می راند و خود را خالی سازد بعد از آن اشتغال بذکر نماید و اگر همچنان خواطر موجود کند بعد از تخلیه بطریق مذکور سه بار گوید استغفر الله من جمیع ما کره الله قولاً و فعلاً و خاطراً و سامعاً و ناظراً ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله - و دل را بزبان درین استغفار موافق دارد - نوعی دیگر آنکه اگر باسم یا فتاح بجهت معنی در دل مشغول کند امید است که خواطر منتفی گردد . . . . . . وغیره.[1]

From the above example it is evident that the treatise under review consists of sermons. Ṣarfī has also written a few charms to avoid troubles which may cause hinderences in the progress of a sufi eg. to avoid laziness in asceticism he writes:

اگر کسی را در زهد کاهلی می آید بجهت دفع کاهلی دو ابیات شش کرت این اسم بخواند کاهلی دور شود و اینست . بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم . کلکا بحق بحق جبار الذی خضع کل جبار بجبروتیه یا کل شئ[2]

There is also another treatise attached to this one which is named as رساله عقیده محبوبیان ' Treatise on the faith of mystics'. It contains 24 pages. It begins from folio 73 a and ends at folio 84 b.

So far as the style or diction of this manual is concerned, it is simple and concise. One does not feel any necessity of consulting dictionary while studying it, as it is void of intricate phrases etc., which are seen in the 'Introduction'.

A manuscript copy of this treatise is preserved in the Panjāb University Library. Its call No: is I.C iv 58. It is in two different hand writing, but the name of the scribe in both cases is not given.

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Risālah-i-Taṣawwuf, Ms. Foll. 22a-23a
2. Ibid, fol. 69 b.

Ṣarfī's Khamsah or quintent

We have already mentioned the names of the Maṣnavis which comprise his Khamsah or quintent. In the following pages we shall deal with the three Maṣnavīs namely Vāmiq ʿAzrā, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, and Maslak-ul-Akhyār. We have not been able to lay hands on the other two Maṣnavīs namely Leilā Majnūn and Maqāmāt-i-Murshid.

Ṣarfī wrote Vāmiq ʿAzrā in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) viz the year when he wrote his mystical maṣnavī Maslak-ul-Akhyār, about which we will discuss in detail in these pages. About the completion of this love story Ṣarfī writes:

بحمد الله که شد نامه مرتب ؛ بترتیب خوش و در مهذب

بختم نامه عرفی دیده لائق ؛ که تاریخش بود معشوق و عاشق [1]

The phrase Maʿshūq-o-ʿĀshiq gives the year of its completion which is 993.

The love story of Vāmiq and ʿAzrā was written by him perhaps in reply of Niẓāmī's first romance Khusraw Shīrīn composed by the later 'a year or two after the Makhzan-ul-Asrār'[2] Now if we presume that he followed the foot prints of Niẓāmī and composed Maṣnavī according to his order of writing then it would be necessary for us to think that his mystical maṣnavī Maslak-ul-Akhyār was written by him in the early months of the year 993 A.H. as the following verses of Maslak-ul Akhyār bring to light the name of

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1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Vāmiq ʿAzrā, p 138
2. Levy, Reuben, Persian Literature, an Introduction , p 46

the book as well as the year of its completion.

شکر خدا عزوجل مدام ؛ ساخته این سلک جواهر تمام
سلک الاخبار چو کردم رقم ؛ نام رساله شد و تاریخ هم[1]

This shows that Ṣarfī wrote two Masnavīs in one and the same year. It does not matter much, which of the two Masnavīs was composed first but this fact, however, leads us to the conjecture that how seminal his mind was.

The third Masnavī which is known as Maghāzī-un-Nabī was perhaps written by him in reply to Nizāmis Iskandar Nāmah (Book of Alexander). Ṣarfī wrote this Masnavī in 1000 A.H. (1592 A.D) as he himself says in the end of the book.

بحمد الله این نامه اتمام یافت ؛ بترتیب دلخواه انجام یافت
چو کردم طلب سال فتح الکتاب ؛ مرا گفت پیر خرد در جواب
طلب گر تو خواهان این مطلبی
ز حرف دوم از مغازی النبی[2]

In the verses quoted above the second hemistich of the third verse gives the chronogram. In that hemistich too, we have to count the value of the second letter of Maghāzī-un-Nabī which is ' غ ' and has one thousand (1,000) as its numrical value.

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms, fol, 71 b.

2. Ibid, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 157.

VĀMIQ ʿAZRĀ

This romance attracted the attention of the poets of the East especially of Irān and Turky in the 10th century of Hijrā, i.e. the period in which our learned poet lived. During this century Muhammad La-mʿī bin ʿUsmān Broswī (937-38 or 40 A.H. 1530-31 or 32 A.D.) wrote a few romantic Masnavis in which Vāmiq ʿAzrā was the one containing 3,000 verses which according to the author of Kashf-uz-Zanūn was a translation of ʿUnsarī's Vāmiq ʿAzrā . Similarly Bahishtī who according to Qamūs -ul-Islām was a poet during the reign of Bāyazīd II (886-918 A.H.) He wrote the romantic story of Vāmiq ʿAzrā which according to Gib was a translation of ʿUnsarī's or Fasīhī's Vāmiq ʿAzrā.

Leaving aside the poets other than of Irān we divert our attention towards the Persian poets. First comes the name of Qatīlī of Bukhārā who was a poet in the court of Sultān Abdul ʿAziz Uzbuk (939-946 A.H.) He was as has been told by the author of Nishtar-i-ʿIshq from Bukhārā. A copy of his Vāmiq ʿAzrā is available in the library at Rāmpur and a copy is also preserved in the British Museum. Kamāl-ud-Dīn or Jamāl-ud-Dīn Zamīrī (d. 973 A.H.) who was a poet during the reign of Shāh Tahmasp (930-984 A.H.- 1524-1576 A.D.) wrote Vāmiq ʿAzrā , but that is now not traceable any where.

Muhammad ʿAlī Astarābādī having his nom de plume QISMATĪ, who

was a friend of Khawājah Husain Sanā'ī (d. 996 A.H.) wrote a Masnavī Vāmiq 'Azrā. This gentleman came to Inida, stayed in Deccan and according to Groundress died there. Then comes Shu'ib Joshqānī who according to Tazkirah-i-Nasr Ābādī, wrote Vāmiq 'Azrā. Its copy is available in the Library of Aqa i Malik at Tehrān. In the last comes Sulhī, who was, according to the version of Ārzū contemporary of Taqi Ohdi (d. 1031 A.H.)He came to Maldah and wrote Vāmiq 'Azrā during the reign of Akbar. A copy of this Masnavī is preserved in the Library at Rāmpūr and in the British Museum. No definite year of Sulhī's writing the Masnavī is available but it is probable that he wrote his Masnavī between 1,000-1,007 A.H. As he is contemporary to Sarfi and both have written this romantic story in the close of the tenth century see we will try to discuss both the Masnavīs in detail in the following pages.

From the above facts it is obvious that the romantic story of Vāmiq 'Azrā was very famous during the tenth century, so it seems probable that our learned poet Ya'qūb Sarfī taking into view the interest of the people in it wrote Vāmiq 'Azrā. It is also possible that he might have made up his mind to write this Masnavī in reply to those poets who were contemporaneous one and had written this romantic story.

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1. This is in brief the hostory of the story Vāmiq 'Azrā written by Dr. Maulvī Muhammad Shafī.
(cf . Oriental College Magzine (suppliment, Aug + Nov: 1954 + Feb. 1955

It would not be out of point to mention here that each and every poet has written this feeble according to his own imagination. There is a lot of difference among the versions of these poets; eg. according to Lamaʿī's Masnavī Wāmiq was the son of Taimūs the king of China while his mother was a daughter of the king of Tūrān, ʿAzrā who was the daughter of the king of Tus, on hearing about Wāmiq's manliness, valour and other good qualities fell in love with him and sent him her portrait. On seeing ʿAzrā's portrait Wāmiq also fell in love with her and accompanying his foster brother left his native land in search of his beloved. Both reaching Koh Alburz paid a visit to Lahijān the king of fairīs and after confronting many difficulties Wāmiq reached Ṭūs and got himself married with ʿAzrā.

But according to Qatīlī, the story runs thus:

Wāmiq was the son of the governor of Yaman. Once he dreamed that a star came down from the heaven and rotated round him. It was interprated that a princess will fall in love with him. Wāmiq persuaded his friend Shīdā by name to go in search of her. Shīdā cast lots and came to know that she belonged to Ṭā'if, so he set off to that side. In his way he was made captive by the dacoits. In their incarceration, there was a physician. Both consulted each other and by a medicine made the theives senseless and thus they escaped and ran towards Ṭā'if.

The ruler of Hijāz lived in Taif during the summer season. His daughter ʿAzrā dreamed twice that a messenger from Yaman came and informed her about a handsome youth and told her that he was the same young man whom she was searching. When she woke up from her slumber, ʿAzrā's father hearing about Shīdā and the physician

sent some one for them. The maid servant when saw Shīdā she told ʿAzrā that he was the gentleman who she saw in her dream. On ʿAzrā's inquiry Shīdā and the physician went away to bring Vāmiq. During this period the dacoits with the help of the king of Baghdād defeated the king of Ṭā'if. On the other side Shīdā and the physician came before Vāmiq and told him about ʿAzrā, and asked him to leave for Ṭā'if.

When Shīdā left for Ṭā'if, in compliance with the wishes of Vāmiq, Vāmiq was obliged to get education from a mobid, so when Shīdā came back Vāmiq told his teacher what Shīdā had said about ʿAzrā who repeated the same to his father with the result that Vāmiq was put behind the bars, while Shīdā and the physician concealed themselves to avoid imprisonment. Vāmiq, however, sent Rabīʿah to Shīdā requesting him to make efforts for his release. He achieved his goal by the help of Shīdā and the physician and all the four left for Ṭāif. But as ill-luck would have it they lost the way and were obliged to stay with the Head-man of the village whose daughter fell in love with Vāmiq. Leaving Rabīʿah with the Head-man they proceeded further but were arrested in an island of ladies. The queen of the island lost her life in love of Vā-miq and the people resolved to put him(Vāmiq) to death in punishment there of but by the grace of God he was saved and reached Ṭā if.

On the other side the king of Baghdād defeated the dacoits and put them to sword. One of them promised to bring for him the daughter of the king of Ṭāif. So one day when ʿAzrā was strolling in the garden, that dacoit did the needful. At last that dacoit lost his life by a good plan of ʿAzrā and she after much trouble reached Ṭā'if and saw Vāmiq there.

In the meantime Vāmiq heard of his father's death. He went to his native land and was now the undisputed king of his country. He, however, could not forget ʿAzrā. The king of Ṭā'if and that of Baghdād fought each other and Wāmiq helped the king of Ṭā'if. The king of Ṭā'if promised him that he will give the hand of his daughter in marriage to him. He fulfilled his promise. After marriage Wāmiq went back to his country. Now the Headman sent his daughter in company of Rabīʿh to Vāmiq. On account of ʿAzrā's anger, Wāmiq kept her outside the city. The girl could not bear this torture and died. A little after this ʿAzrā also died and Vāmiq denounced the world and died a little latter.

These two stories indicate different versions of the poets. Similar is the case with the other poets. All of them have related a different story.

Now we turn our attention to the story of Vāmiq and ʿAzrā written by our learned poet Yaʿqūb Ṣarfī and Ṣulḥī his contemporary. We shall be very brief in this respect.

Here is the story of Vāmiq ʿAzrā written by Ṣulḥī.

Vāmiq was the son of an Arab king. He was born by the prayers of a saint. In his youth he fell in love with a girl who proved faithless to him. One night he saw a handsome girl in his dream and fell in love with her. When the father heard about it he tried to console him but of no avail. Vāmiq now became a wanderer. At last in the company of a merchant Muqīm by name he went to Kashmīr where he saw ʿAzrā whose features were like those of his sweetheart whome he had seen in his dream. In short ʿAzrā promised that she will remain faithful to him. She directed him to become a gardener in her garden. He did so and thus got opportunities to

se.her. 'Azrā's mother came to know and married her with her cousin who divorced her on account of her indifferent treatment. The parents now put her in imprisonment. Vāmiq died in the garden in expectation of seeing her. 'Azrā when came to garden she found her lover dead. She also died in grief and sorrow.

Ṣarfī's too is a tragedy. Here is the story.

VAMIQ 'AZRA BY ṢARFĪ KASHMIRI

There was a king in Yaman whose territory extended from Yaman to Rome but unfortunately he had no son. He was in search of a saint by whose prayers he may get a child. He used to serve every traveller that happened to enter his territory and inquired from him whether he knew a saint. At last a traveller told him about a saint who was living in a city far far away from his country. The king making his brother as his assistent left the capital and proceeded to the city in the guise of poors.

After crossing the deserts where there were lions, serpents and ants etc., in great number. He after confronting many troubles reached the city and presented himself before the saint. With great humiliation he told him the reasons of his visit. That saint did kind to him and allowed him to remain in one of the rooms of his monastry. After a week he gave him this happy news that God will bestow upon him a son.

At the time of departing, the saint gave him his cloak and directed him to keep the son in the cloak when he takes birth. By this, the saint wanted to infuse love in the nature of newly born baby. The king after receiving the cloak set off and reached his country with joy.

At last the day came when his wife gave birth to a son whose was named as Vāmiq. This Vāmiq was of an amorous disposition even in childhood.

One day Wāmiq went out for hunting and reached the boundries of Rome where he found a city named Maqībā. From there he went to another city known as Ishtīqā where he saw a girl named ʿAzrā in a window and fell in love with her. On the other side ʿAzrā also began to love him. Vāmiq and his companions failed to trace ~~xxxxxxxt~~ out her name. Similarly ʿAzrā's love for Vāmiq also remained a secret. But Wāmiq was so over head and ears in love with ʿAzrā that he could not conceal his love for long and was directed by his companions to leave for the capital.

Vāmiq returned to the capital but his health began to deteriorate day by day on account of his love with ʿAzrā. When the father came to know that Vāmiq had fallen in love with the daughter of the governor of the city of Ishtīqā he consulted his ministers about it and it was decided that one of the wisest companions of his (Vāmiq) may be sent to Ishtīqā who may get information about the girl and her family so that the hand of the girl may be asked in marriage. But at the same time the king of Yaman requested the king of Syria that he wanted to get Vāmiq married with his daughter The king of Syria accepted it and sent his daughter with dowery to the court of the king of Yaman. But Vāmiq, who was in love with ʿAzrā paid no attention towards the bride.

However, the man who had been sent to Ishtīqā returned and told that girl's name was ʿAzrā, her father's Suhail, and her mother's Shuhlā. The king of Yaman sent his messenger to ʿAzrā's

father and requested the hand of his daughter. Suhail refused. The king of Yaman could not pocket this insult and attacked the city of Ishtiqā, but was defeated and lost his life in the battle feild. Wāmiq's cousin sat on the throne and he (Wāmiq) left for Ishtiqā. The people thought that he had gone mad. Wāmiq reached Ishtiqā. Suhail came to know of it. He decided to put Wāmiq to sword, but he changed his mind and thought it proper to put him into imprisonment. The superintendent of the jail dreamed that Wāmiq presented to him pure sugar and he ate that. By this dream, love for Wāmiq found its way in his heart, so he released him.

Wāmiq used to remain whole the day long in the valley of the mountain and the whole night in the beloved's street. Once Wāmiq was weeping, when a man passed near him. Seeing his pitiable condition he felt bitterly for him and heard the whole of his story. He also told him that his name was Mausul and was a neighbourer of ʿAzrā, and when ʿAzrā used to study in the school he was her teacher. He promised him that he would inform ʿAzrā about his condition. Mauṣūl told ʿAzrā about Wāmiq and on hearing this she also laid his heart open before him. Mauṣūl said to her that he could make her able to see Wāmiq once so that she could talk to him herself.

Under the direction of Mausul she became ill. The royal physician could not cure her, Mauṣūl told her mother Shuhlā that only one person could cure her, but that gentleman would not like to visit the royal pallace, so she should arrange to send ʿAzrā with him. By this trick Mauṣūl along with ʿAzrā went to Wāmiq place and the lovers met. At the time of departing ʿAzrā said to Wāmiq that he should leave for Yaman and persuade his cousin for attacking Maqībā. He will, by the grace of God, inflict defeat on the

Maqibians and then they will be able to achieve their goal. In compliance with sweetheart's wishes Wāmiq left for Yaman.

Wāmiq came to Yaman but the inhabitants of the city could not recognise him. Even his friends refused to accept him as Wāmiq and told him that Wāmiq had died since long. He left the city and went to jungle. One day his cousin happened to pass to that side. When he saw Wāmiq in that condition, he sent for the physician who told him that he was a lover. He also told Wāmiq in his ears that he would be able to achieve his goal by the help of the king. As the king had not recognised him he asked for his name. Wāmiq told him the whole story. The king accepted the story as true only at the time when an old man confirmed it. When the king was satisfied he did him much favour and made him his counseller.

One day the king of Yaman consulted his favourites as to how he could help his cousin. All of them said unonimously that the king should attack the city of Ishtiqā.

The forces of Yaman proceeded to the mountain of Maqība. When Suhail came to know of it, he wrote to Bahma, the king of Yaman that he should leave this idea otherwise he will meet the same fate which his uncle met. In short Suhail was defeated and arrested and was brought before Bahman who told him frankly that he could be made the ruler of Maqība, if he was inclined to give the hand of his daughter in marriage to Wāmiq. Suhail replied that he did not know any thing about 'Azrā and Shuhla. God knows what happened to them.

An investigation was made. Shuhlā was brought before Suhail, but about 'Azrā it came to light that one Qamar arrested her and went to Yaman. Maqība was restored to Suhail.

On the other side Qamar on seeing ʿAzrā had fallen in love with her, but witnessing her chastity he was convinced that she would ever decline to marry him. Thus he began to live aloof from her.

Vāmiq and Bahman tried their best to find out the clue of ʿAzrā but their efforts proved fruitless and this had a reverse effect upon Vāmiq. On the other side Qamar t hought it wise on his part to hand over ʿAzrā to the parents who may persuade her and by their advice she may show his inclination to get herself married with him. Qamar in order to give shape to his plan left for Ightīqā along with ʿAzrā and they happened to pass through a jungle where Vāmiq was wandering in search of ʿAzrā. On seeing ʿAzrā Vāmiq pursued them and all the three reached Ightīqā. Qamar handed ʿAzrā over to her parents and laid his heart open to them. Suhail said," Marriage depends upon ʿAzrā's willingness. If she is willing I have no objection." ʿAzrā refused the proposal.

ʿAzrā told Vāmiq that he should request the king of Yaman who may ask for her hand in marriage for him. Vāmiq went to Yaman, and told the whole story to Bahman the king, who wrote a letter to Suhail who replied that a pious man be sent so that ʿAzrā may be sent along with him to the capital where she may remain as Bahman's wife.

In short, ʿAzrā was sent by her parents to Yaman. Vāmiq came to know of it and attached himself to that caravan, but Suhail did not allow him to go near ʿAzrā and determind to put him to death. The messenger of the king of Yaman forbid him. ʿAzrā reached Yaman. Bahman when saw her fell in love with her. Vāmiq again left the city and began to wander in the jungle. Bahman requested ʿAzrā but

she refused to become his wife and declared that she would prefer death than to become his wife.

The king of Yaman sent for Suhail and asked him that he would return whole of his country to him if he succeeds in bringing about ʿAzrā to accept him as her husband. Suhail did so but ʿAzrā flatly refused, and was imprisoned.

Bahman, the king of Yaman tried to satisfy his lust forcibly but ʿAzrā cried in such a manner that the king of Yaman fell ill. The physicians endevaours failed to cure him. The king appologised. He, however, made up his mind to kill Wāmiq. He engaged a man to search Wāmiq who was wandering in the jungle. He directed him to poison him, if and when he found him.

The man came across Wāmiq and mixed poison in honey, but the cup fell from the hands of Wāmiq. The cow ate the honey which had fallen on the ground and died there and then. On seeing this Wāmiq refrained from his company. One night that naughty fellow tried to stab Wāmiq but his attempt proved futile.

Bahman once saw a saint in his dream. He was the same saint by whose prayer Wāmiq was born. He warned him (Bahman). Bahman repented and promised not to harm Wāmiq in future. He brought him from the jungle and married him with ʿAzrā. He also gave him(Wāmiq) one half of his country. He also returned the territory of Maqībā and the city of Ishtiqā to Suhail, the father of ʿAzrā.

After this it so happened that a war broke out between the king of Yeman and Ḥabsh, in which Bahman was killed. Wāmiq became the king of the whole of the country.

In those days the prince of Rome Ashīr by name heard about Wāmiq and determined to see him. He sent a messenger with gifts and

a letter in which he requested that he was anxious to see him. Vāmiq replied favourably. It was decided that both should see each other at Maqībā. On this occasion, when Ashīr saw ʿAzrā he fell in love with her. He owing to this fear that Wamiq might know this secret and put him to death, resolved to clear his way by killing him ie. Vāmiq. One day Vāmiq came in the field to play polo. Ashīr attack--ed him with his soldiers and put him to death. On hearing this the forces of Suhail and Wamiq attacked Ashir and put him to sword. ʿA-zrā came to know of Vāmiq's death and could not stand this grief, so she committed suicide by stabing herself. After this accident Suhail became the king of both Maqībā and Yaman. He con-structed a tomb of Vāmiq and ʿAzrā in Maqībā.

This is the story related by Sarfī in 132 pages. It is opor-tune to mention here that Sarfī in the end of this Masnavī reveals to us that he wrote this Masnavī in a few days and at time when the circumstances were not favourable. Moreover, he wrote the Khamsah according to his own sweetwill, while Nizāmī and Khusrew composed their Khamsah in compliance with the wishes of their patrons, who were ready to reward particulary pleasing work with valuable gifts "Had they been in my position," says Sarfī, "they would not have been able to write a hemistich even." Sarfī writes:-

بحمدالله که بعد از اندک ایام ؛ رسیده نامهٔ ثانی باتمام
عجائب قصهٔ خوش داستانی ؛ مرتب گشته در فرخنده آنی
مداد و خامهٔ کاهزا نوشته ؛ بآب خضر و مشک تر سرشته

بحرفش سخن برجسته پنهان ؛ لطافات است آری آب حیوان
عبارات لطیف و معنی خوش ؛ ادای نازک و تقریر دلکش
لطایفی را که هرگز هیچ گردی ؛ بدل ننشسته بود از گرم و سردی
شبان وقت از جان بنده او را ؛ نشاط و عشرت باینده او را
مرادات جهانش بود حاصل ؛ دلش در فکر شعرش بود مائل
بآن جمعیت خاطر که او داشت ؛ بخمسه فکر معنی زای بگماشت
بجای خمسه گر میخواست خمسین ؛ برآوردی ز غیب از روی تمکین
اگرچه بود خسرو خادم شاه ؛ ولیکن خدمتش بر حسب دلخواه
توجه شاه را بر وی بغایت ؛ که بید التفتش از اول ولایت
چو طبع او ز الطاف شاه بشگفت ؛ جواب خمسه گفت و لیک نکو گفت
علی شیر آن عدیم المثل دوران ؛ مرید و خادم او از دل و جان
بهر جائی که شاهی بود در دهر ؛ خراسان و عراق و ماوراء النهر
همه دانسته حب آن صفاکیش ؛ بدنیا و بدین سرمایهٔ خویش
بدین حالت سخن او رنگ پرداخت ؛ جواب خمسه هم در فن آن ساخت
اگر بودندی آن صاحب کمالان ؛ بعصر ما چنین آشفته حالان
نماندی طبع ایشان راست هرگز ؛ ز سعی شعری بودند عاجز
گر از فیضان شاه جنبند گردی ؛ وز الفاظ اتفاقاً باز بردی
از آن گرد آیینه روشن دلان را ؛ صفا اندیشگان و عاقلان را
نشسته زنگ بر آئینهٔ دل ؛ بدی تالیف یک مصراع مشکل

کنون بنگر هجوم غم بعالم : نگاه منصفانه کن بعالم
بعالم از سر انصاف بنگر : خدا را از سر الطاف بنگر
که اندوه و بلا و محنت و غم : همه گشته نصیب من بعالم
بلای کاید از ایام پرفن : بیاید جز به محنت خانهٔ من
بگفتم با وجود این چنین حال : گهرهائی سزای تاج اقبال
بحمدالله که آن درهای تابان : بترتیب آمده در رشتهٔ جان
بحمدالله که شد نامه مرتب : بترتیب خوش و طرز مهذب
فلک با من موافق حق موافق : بشرح قصهٔ عذرا و وامق
از ایشان طرفه ثمری رو نموده : که هر یک عاشق و معشوق بود
ز هر یک نقطهٔ توحید ظاهر : ز شرح آن زبان قال قاصر
بطور معرفت کاینجا یکی هست : چه معشوق و چه عاشق هر یکی هست
بچشم شیخ عرفی دید لایق : که تاریخش بود معشوق و عاشق
۹۹۳
بر اهل عشق نظمم باد مقبول : قبولش از خدا پیوسته مسئول
قبولش حق دهد در هر دو عالم : بمقبولیتش دارم مسلم
درین نظم ار تقصیری آمد : اگر عبرت دگر تغییری آمد

خدایا عفو کن تقصیر عرفی
بامداد دعای پیر عرفی

We now copy here the captions of Sarfi's Vamiq 'Azra along with the opening lines :-

2-4 ۱- مناجات

خداوندا حجاب از پیش بگشای ؛ بمشتاقان جمال خویش بنمای

4-8 2- مناجات حضرت باری

بنام نادر قیوم و بیچون ؛ تعالی شانه الله یقولون

8-10 3- در بیان احوال سیارگان و پرستندگان آنها

بدان حرفی که خاصیات انجم ؛ بود در اختیار ذات ادگم

10-12 4- مناجات بدرگاه قاضی الحاجات

الهی جرم ما زاندازه بیرون ؛ ز معلومات و مخفیات افزون

12-14 5- در نعت سید المرسلین

محمد کابتدائی آفرینش ؛ بذاتش بود نزد اهل بینش

نبی او بود آندم ختم یاسین ؛ که آدم بود بین الما والطین

14-16 6- در صفت معراج

شبی شکین تر از زلف نکویان ؛ سواد او خط خورشید رویان

16-18 7- در منقبت پیر خود

زهی پیری که پیران طریقت ؛ مرید اند او را در حقیقت

کمال الدین حسین آن مرشد حق ؛ که حق او بود ارشاد مطلق

8 - در تعریف عشق حقیقی 18-24

دلا آگه ز اسرار الهی ⁂ نگردد هیچ کس هرگز کماهی

9 - خطاب بساقی کوثر 24-27

بیا ساقی بیار آن دختر رز ⁂ که عقدش بست با زاهد عجوز

10 - آغاز داستان وامق 27-30

دلا روی کن سوی فیاض مطلق ⁂ که فیضش دائما عام است الحق

شهی پیش از من و تو در یمن بود ⁂ ز فیضش شهره چون در عدن بود

11 - داستان ترک تاج و تخت کردن بادشاه در آمدن بلباس گدا 30-40

سپاس بیقیاس آن مفضلی را ⁂ که او آسان کند هر مشکلی را

12 - داستان تولد شهزادهٔ وامق و نشاط و بخشش شاه یمن 40-44

چو شب پیچیده در هم فرش مشکین ⁂ بجای سنبل آمد برگ نسرین

13 - داستان داد عیش و عشرت دادن بادشاه از نشاط فرزند دلبند 44-53

چو شد بر تخت زر خورشید پیدا ⁂ بتخت زر بر آمد شاه والا

14 - داستان بر آمدن شهزادهٔ وامق بشکار و عاشق شدن بر عذرا 53-58

دلا نوش فلک در نیش مهر است ⁂ شرنگ آمیخته در شهد زهر است

15 - روانه نمودن بادشاه جاسوس دانا بسوی شهر مقیبا و استسقا 58-68

شنیدم از سخن گوی سخن دان ⁂ که چون شد حال وامق بس پریشان

16 - داستان پرورش شاه یمن بشورش مقیبا و حالات آن ایام 68-71

دریغا ای فلک از تو دریغا ⁂ ز غدر تو جهان پر شور و غوغا

17 - داستان آوارگی وامق در بیابان بیچارگی و اضطراب او در آنحالت 71-77

دبیر دقت حال وامق زار :: رقم کرده چنین بر لوح اخبار

که چون عمزادهٔ وامق قوی شد :: بناش تخت و تاج خسروی شد

18 - داستان ملاقات وامق با شهزاده بهمن عمزادهٔ خود و شرح حالات 77-84

دلا خوش باش کامد صبغة الله :: که باشد سوی مقصود همراه

19 - بهره یاب شدن وامق بصحبت شاه بهمن 84-86

ببین آخر چه ایزد خواست ای دل :: که وامق را شود مقصود حاصل

20 - داستان کنکاش نمودن بهمن در باب مهم اشتها 86-87

خوشا وقتی فقیری نامرادی :: که کار بستهٔ اش یابد گشادی

21 - لشکر کشیدن شاه یمن جانب کوه مقیبا 87-90

بیا ای خامهٔ اعجوبه آثار :: ز راوی آنچه بشنیدیم بنگار

22 - داستان مقابله شاه بهمن با سهیل و شکست افتادن بر سهیل 90-93

زهی گردن شکن گردن کشان را :: بملک تن تصرف داده جان را

23 - گرفتار شدن عذرا در دست قمر نامی از احساد و وقائع آن ایام 93-94

خوش آن بلبل که در بندی افتاد :: نگاری همچو عذرای پری زاد

24 - آوردن قمر تیک سیر عذرا را و ملاقات وامق و عذرا در صحرای بی سروپا 94-104

شنیدم آنکه عذرا را درین شهر :: نشد پیدا ز تفتیش شد دهر

25 - بیزدان فرستادن شاه یمن عذرا را و پند دادن سهیل شهلاد عذرا را 104-110

دلا نفسی که او اماره بد خوست :: سوی ناحق بسی مائل ز هر سوست

ز حق گفتن شود رنجور ناشاد :: بلی الحق مر گفت استاد

26. در امان ماندن وامق آشفته از زهر و خنجر قاتل بیدادگر بیاوری داور دادگر — 110-113

خداوندی که پیدا کرد عالم ⁂ خداوند خداوندان عالم

ز آفت چون نگهدارد کسی را ⁂ نسوزد آتش سوزان خسی را

27. آوردن بهمن وامق را از صحرا و سرافراز ساختن بوصال عذرا — 114-118

نکو روزی و نیکو روزگاری ⁂ که غمناکی بیابد غمگساری

ز یار و سر با دلداری آید ⁂ بغمگینان از او غمخواری آید

28. شطرنج باختن عذرا و وامق و شهزاده بهمن باهم نشاط کردن — 119-121

شب عیدی که ماه نو بر آمد ⁂ بآئین مدت روزی سر آمد

بقصر وامق آمد شاه بهمن ⁂ بتاج و خلعت شاهی مزین

29. مقابله کردن شاه بهمن با پادشاه حبش و کشته شدن بهمن از دست حبشیان — 121-123

فلک از حقه بازی هر زمانی ⁂ شود از بازیش بازی بجانی

30. کامران شدن شهزادهٔ وامق بسلطنت یمن و بوصل عذرا — 123-127

خداوندی که نور پاک ذاتش ⁂ عیان گشته ز مرآت صفاتش

31. ملاقات کردن شهزادهٔ عشیر با شهزاده وامق و بیان آن حالات — 127-132

رحیمی کز کمال رحمت اوست ⁂ که در یابد وصال دوست با دوست

چو باهم دوستداران را رساند ⁂ بر ایشان گوهر رحمت فشاند

MASLAK-UL- AKHYĀR

This book as the name suggests, was written by Ṣarfī Kashmirī in reply to Nizāmī's Makhzan-ul-Isrār or "Treasure house of secrets," which is according to levy, "a collection of ethical and religious maxims in the Masnavi form."[1] Ṣarfī himself writes that in writing this Masnavī, he has followed the foot prints of Nizāmī, Khusraw and Jāmī. He says:

صرفی اگر سفته در ناب نظم : پیروی کرده ارباب نظم
همت این طائفه اش گشته یار : زان شده در فن سخن سحرکار
یافته از بحر نظامی نمی : ساخته سیراب ازان عالمی
جرعه خسرو زره معنوی است : حاصل ازان جد گیتی خسرویست
جرعه کش ساغر جامی شده : ساقی این بزم گرامی شده
چون خود ازین باده رسیده بکام : داده برندان دگر جام جام[2]

Ṣarfī wrote this Masnavī in 993 A.H. (1584 A.D.) about two years before the conquest of Kashmīr by Akbar the great. A caption at folio 71 b and the verses under it denote this. He writes:-

در ختم این رساله که مسمی بمسلک الاخیار است که این عبارت هم نام است وهم تاریخ اختتام[3]

The year of finishing this treatise which is named as Maslak-ul-Akhyār, the name itself suggests the requisite year. The chronogram

1. Levy, Reuben, Persian literature, an introduction, p46
2. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ulakhyār, Ms. fol. 29 b.
3. Ibid, fol. 71 b.

is available in the following two verses:-

شکر خدا عزوجل مدام : ساخته این سلک جواهر نظام
مسلک الاخیار چو کردم رقم : نام رساله شد و تاریخ هم[1]

As we have already stated above, Ṣarfī has followed the foot-prints of Niẓāmī, so it would be better to compare him with Niẓāmī. We shall however be very brief as it is not in the scope of our subject. Niẓāmī's Maṣnavī Makhzan-ul-Isrār, contains besides praise of God and the Prophet a Qaṣīdah in praise of the king, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Behrām Shāh which is conventional in its style. Niẓāmī writes:-

شاه فلک تاج سلیمان نگین : مفخر آفاق ملک فخر دین
نسبت داودی خود کرده چست : بر شرف نام سلیمان درست
رایت اسحاق ازو عالی است : منزلش اگر بیت سماعیلی است
یکدله شش جهت و هفت گاه : نقطه ز دائره بهرام شاه
آنکه از بهرامی او وقت زور : گور بود بهرهٔ بهرام گور
سرور شاهان بتوانا تری : نام زد دهر بدانا تری
خاص کن ملک جهان بر عموم : هم ملک ارمن و هم شاه روم
سلطنت اورنگ و خلافت سریر : روم ستاننده و ابخاز گیر
عالم و عادل تر اهل وجود : محسن و مکرم تر ابنای جود
دور فلک دولت او اختر است : ملک صدف خاک درش گوهر است[2]

But on the contrary, in Maslak-ul-Akhyār, there is not even a single line of mercenary flattery which leads us to the conclusion that he was certainly no professional panegyrist. He himself writes

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. fol: 71 b.
2. Niẓāmī Ganjvī, Niẓām-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ilyās, Makhzan-ul-Isrār, pp 34-35

in this Maṣnavī:-

چون غنی از عالمیانم چرا ؛ مدح سلاطین بود آئین ما
نی کسی را مدح گویم نه قدح ؛ شکر خدا فارغم از قدح و مدح
وای بر آن شاعرک هرزه گو ؛ ریخته بر خاک طمع آبرو
گاه کند مدح ظلوم وجهول ؛ گاه شود مردود خدا و رسول
گاه نهد نام لئیمی کریم ؛ گاه کریمی شود از وی لئیم
چشم طمع دوخته بر مال غیر ؛ ملک خود انگاشته اموال غیر
شکر خدا عمر نداند که من ؛ حق طلب و حق شنوم در سخن [1]

Ṣarfī on the other hand has praised the renowned spiritual guide Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī, but in that too he has pointed out his ways of educating the beginers and in the end he writes a few verses in his praise. He says:-

گر دو صد راه سوی مطلب است ؛ راه امام همدان اقرب است
وه چه نکو راهی و خوش راهبری ؛ رهبر ما در ره دین حیدری
همچو علی دانش و بانیش ؛ زان لقب آمد علی ثانیش
چون بعلی نسبتش آمد تمام ؛ هم بحسب هم بنسب هم بنام
از ره تعلیم نباشد عجب ؛ گر علی ثانیش آمد لقب [2]

In the beginning of this eulogium he has reproached the proud erudite persons saying that the knowledge which causes arrogance, pride and haughtiness is of no value. He writes:-

ای شده مغرور بناموس علم ؛ غلغله انداخته از کوس علم
علم نه آنست که بر تن زند ؛ علم همانست که بر دل زند
علم که بر تن زند آن بارست ؛ علم که بر دل زند آن یارست

1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, fol. 80 a & 80 b.

2. Ibid 24 a.

علم تو معلوم که خود تا کجاست ÷ از سر بینی تو تا پشت پاست

علم که شد موجب کبر و غرور ÷ ظلمت جان و دلت آمد نه نور

علم تو چون حادث و در فناست ÷ فخر بدین علم نمودن خطاست [1]

Let us now take up a few of those subjects which have been treated by both the poets in their respective work. Both the Masnavis begin with the praise of God. Nizāmī writes:-

هست کلید در گنج حکیم ÷ بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

فاتحهٔ فکرت و ختم سخن ÷ نام خدایست برو ختم کن

پیش وجود همه آیندگان ÷ بیش بقای همه پایندگان

سابقه سالار جهان قدم ÷ مرسله پیوند گلوی قلم

پرده گشای فلک پرده دار ÷ پردگی پرده شناسان کار

مبدع هر چشمه که جودیش هست ÷ مخترع هر چه وجودیش هست

لعل طراز کمر آفتاب ÷ حله گر خاک و حلی بند آب

پرورش آموز درون پروران ÷ روز برآرندهٔ روزی خوران

اول و آخر بوجود و صفات ÷ هست کن و نیست کن کاینات

اول او اول بی ابتداست ÷ آخر او آخر بی انتهاست

مهره کش رشتهٔ یکتای عقل ÷ روشنی دیدهٔ بینای عقل

داغ نه ناصیه داران پاک ÷ تاج ده تخت نشینان خاک

خام کن پختهٔ تدبیرها ÷ عذر پذیرندهٔ تقصیرها [2]

Sarfī writes:-

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ÷ سر خط منشور عطای عمیم

1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms, fol. 23 a

2. Nizamī Ganjvī, Nizām-ud-Dīn Muhammad Ilyās, Makhzan-ul-Isrār, pp2/3

مطلع انوار جمال احد ÷ مخزن اسرار ازل تا ابد

خط سبز رخ آمال را ÷ نقش نگین خاتم اقبال را

جسر خط شوق ببغداد عشق ÷ سلّم کاخ فرح آباد عشق

پیشرو لشکر آیات حق ÷ تا فلک افراخته رایات حق

سکه و سیم و زر بازار قدس ÷ صیرفی درهم و دینار قدس

عقد لآلی لکلام قدیم ÷ سلک جواهر بنظام قدیم

تازه ترین توشهٔ لشت بقا ÷ توشه ده راه حریم صفا

هر که ازین توشه بود توشه اش ÷ سنبله طالع آن توشه کش [1]

In supplication to God Nizāmī writes:-

ای همه هستی ز تو پیدا شده ÷ خاک ضعیف از تو توانا شده

زیر نشین علمت کائنات ÷ ما بتو قائم چو تو قائم بذات

هستی تو صورت پیوند نی ÷ تو بکس و کس بتو مانند نی

جز تو فلک را خم چوگان که داد ÷ دیگ جسد را نمک جان که داد

پرده برانداز و برون ای فرد ÷ گر منم آن پرده بهم در نورد

عجز فلک را بفلک وانمای ÷ عقد جهان را ز جهان برگشای

نسخ کن این آیت ایام را ÷ مسخ کن این صورت اجرام را

حرف زبان را بقلم باز ده ÷ وام زمین را بعدم باز ده

کرسی شش گوشه بهم در شکن ÷ منبر نه پایه بهم در فکن

دانه کن این عقد شب افروز را ÷ پر شکن این مرغ شب و روز را

تا بتو اقرار خدائی دهند ÷ بر عدم خویش گواهی دهند [2]

1. Sarfi, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms, fol. 1 b

2. Nizāmī Ganjvī, Nizāmuddīn Muhammad Ilyās, Makhzan-ul-Isrār, pp7-10

Ṣarfī writes:

ای منفرد بوجوب وجود ÷ وی متعالی ز جهات و حدود

غیر تو مسبوق بوصف عدم ÷ کیست قدم بر تقدمت در قدم

ای بتو وابسته همه کائنات ÷ اول و آخر تو بذات صفات

اول وین هست بدایت ترا ÷ آخری وین هست نهایت ترا

باطنی اما بنقاب ظهور ÷ گر ببطون هست ظهورت چه دور

هستی اشیا همه از تست و بس ÷ اسم و مسمی همه از تست و بس

سلسله کون ز تست از نخست ÷ باز رجوع همه آخر به تست

این همه معدوم و تو موجود و بس ÷ این همه محتاج و ترا جود و بس!

Similarly in another prayer Niẓāmī says:-

ای ز ازل بوده و نابوده ما ÷ وی بابد زنده و فرسوده ما

حلقه زن درخانه فردش تو ایم ÷ چون در حلقه بگوش تو ایم

از پی تست این همه امید و بیم ÷ هم تو ببخشای و ببخش ای کریم

چارهٔ ما ساز که بی یاوریم ÷ گر تو برانی بکه رو آوریم

داغ تو داریم و سگ داغدار ÷ می بپذیرند شبان در شکار

هم تو پذیری که ز باغ تو ایم ÷ قمری طوق و سگ داغ تو ایم

چون قلم از سخن خام خویش ÷ هم تو به بخشای بالطاف خویش

پیش تو گر بی سر و پا آمدیم ÷ هم بامید تو خدا آمدیم

یار شو ای مونس غمخوارگان ÷ چاره کن ای چارهٔ بیچارگان

قافله شد واپسی ما ببین ÷ ای کس ما بی کسی ما ببین

بر که پناهیم توئی بی نظیر ÷ در که گریزیم توئی دستگیر[2]

*1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms, fol, 6 a.

2. Niẓāmī Genjvī, Niẓāmuddīn Muhammad Ilyās, Makhzan-ul-Isrār pp11-12

Sarfī has written a prayer thus:

ای ز وجود تو وجود همه ÷ وی ز ظهور تو نمود همه

هستی تو جز بسر خویش نیست ÷ هستی ما عارضی بیش نیست

غیر تو هر جا که وجودی نمود ÷ هست نمودی که ندارد وجود

ذات وجود تو برای از جهات ÷ نیست وجود تو مگر عین ذات

وجهک باقی ابداً لایزال ÷ غیرک لایقبل الا الزوال

ذاتِ تو باقی و صفات تو هم ÷ ذات و صفاتم همه عین عدم

بر قد قدس تو قبای بقا ÷ دامن تو پاک ز گرد فنا

نامده پنهان ز تو احوال من ÷ ای ز من آگاه تر از حال من

بر من و بیچارگی من نگر ÷ دیده و دانسته ز من درگذر

دوزخی را کن از اهل نعیم ÷ اینک یا رب غفور الرحیم

با من اگر عدل تو باشد بجای ÷ وای بر احوال من ای وای وای

جای من آن روز که دوزخ بود ÷ وآن همه پرآتش و پرتیغ بود[1]

More quotations can be given but we are of the opinion that these will suffice to form an idea about the poetical elevation of both the poets. A comperitive study of these and other verses will indicate that the salient features of these verses and poems are strained metaphors and far fetched similies. The poets have tried to cultivate ingenuity, substitute philosophical subtleties and logical hair splitting for the expression of their feelings and employed their vast out-of-the-way learning, giving slightest regard to propriety.

This Masnavī of Sarfī is for the most part meditative and religious in character. To compare Sarfī with Nizāmī, as a Masnavī

1. Sarfi, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. foll. 11 b-12 a.

writer seems absurd------ they are poles apart, so far as the similies, metaphors and ingenuity is concerned. The vocablaristic magnificence is evident from Nizāmī's work. In his Masnavī, one may point to a phrase, a whole verse here and there which seems to reach the summit of poetical achievement. In line after line, verse after verse, one finds the same glow and gusto, the same sense of sustained power. Doubtlessly there is no match for Nizāmī's creative energy. Nizāmī's mastery of these is complete. He attains at once to perfection and embodies all the grace and dignity of which a Persian was capable, thus achieving a beauty of which no poet with the exception of Khusrow and Jāmī, and occessionally Sarfī had formed the dimest conception. Poet after poet quarried in the rich ore of Nizāmī's vocabulary and drew thence not only actual words and phrases, many of which in time became stereotyped, but also models in accordance with which our poet try sometimes to form new words, but more frequently to shape new expression of a certain type for himself.

Leaving aside this comparison, and turning our attention to the intrinsic value of the Maslak-ulAkhyār, we deem it essential to point out that Sarfī has written this Masnavī for the benefit of the common man while Nizāmī's Makhzan-ul-Isrār is meant for kings and dignitaries.

Maslak-ul-akhyār comprises, besides a good deal of introductory matter and doxologies, twenty Maslaks or "ways" or [illegible] "Principles", each of which deals with some theological or eithical topics, first discussed in the abstract, and then illustrated by an apologue. Let us discuss in a nutshell what Sarfī has written in this Masnavī:

Ṣarfī does not consider the heart as a piece of meat which palpitates on the left side under the chest. It is something different.

ای که از ماهیت دل غافلی ∴ چند کنی دعوی صاحبدلی
دل که درو جا کند ذوالجلال ∴ هست نه عضوی که تو کردی خیال
دل نبود آنچه بود در یسار ∴ بلکه برین شش جهت او را چه کار
دل نبود پیش ذوالمعرفت ∴ آنچه بشکل است صنوبر صفت
آنچه بصورت چو صنوبر بود ∴ همچو صنوبر بتی از بر بود
دل بود نزدیک تو یک قطره خون ∴ آید از آن قطره حیلی برون [1]

Then what is a heart? Ṣarfī tells us that :-

مطلع انوار الٰهی دل است ∴ مخزن اسرار الٰهی دل است
برزخ اعلیٰ دل عالی همم ∴ جامع اوصاف حدوث و قدم
دل که بود خم شراب قدم ∴ آمده زین خم قدحی جام جم
دل که به از آئینهٔ اسکندر است ∴ صافتر از صفحهٔ ماه و خور است
آئینهٔ دل که گرفتست زنگ ∴ با همگی وسعت خود گشته تنگ [2]

In order to remove this rust one should comply with the instructions of a (Pīr) or Spiritual guide.

مصقلهٔ دل بود فیض پیر ∴ یابی ازین فیض صفای ضمیر
مجلس پیر است غنیمت بسی ∴ خیز و بت از خود برهاند کسی [3]

After defining the heart Ṣarfī tells us that the ways and means

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ulakhyār, Ms, fol 30 a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 30 a - 30 b.
3. Ibid, ms. fol. 30 b.

of clearing the rust from the mirror of the heart. He informs us that the "Black heart" viz. a heart which is under the control of carnal soul is a dead one, and no body can live with a dead heart.

دل که سیاه است بجز مرده چیست ∴ کس بجهان با دل مرده نزیست
هر که دلش مرده و افسرده است ∴ گرچه تنش زنده بود مرده است [1]

To make the heart glitter, it is necessary to comply with the orders of the holy prophet (May peace be with him). This will enable the seeker to bring the carnal soul under control.

لعل سیما نفسش درفشان ∴ گشت بمن کامی ز دل خود بجان
نفست اگر با تو مسخر شود ∴ زنده دل از مرده ات از سر شود
تا نرود ظلمت آب و گلت ∴ نور الهی نکشد در دلت [2]

Now the question arises as to how this carnal soul can be controlled. He tells us:-

آه زبون چون کنم او را زبون ∴ چون شوم از بندگی آزاد چون
آری اگر لطف تو یارم بود ∴ وز تو مددگاری کارم بود [3]

After gaining control over the carnal soul the seeker is bound to remain with his spiritual guide, both spiritually and physically for all times the 'Murshid' (or Spiritual guide) will purify his disciple's self and lead him on the way to God, if and when satisfied that the disciple has gained control over his carnal soul; then he does his job, purifies his disciple's self and leads him on the way to God.

1. Sarfi, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. fol. 31 a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 31 b.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 31 b.

هنزه درون رفت و ملطفم نواخت ؛ قالب و نفسم همه را پاک ساخت

بس گذرم داد در اطوارِ دل ؛ ساخت خبردارم از اسرارِ دل[1]

It is an irony of fate, that the people never refrain from taunting such person, but he should pay no heed to sarcastic remarks of the common men and attach himself to his guide who will take him from فی الله to مع الله . Sarfī from here, enumerates the ways which the seeker is bound to adopt to reach the destination. They are twenty in number. He after every Maslak (Way or principle) relates a story to explain his verdict. We shall be very brief in this respect.

1. In the Maslak-i-awwal (the first way) he tells the difference between the slumber of common men (عوام) and favourities (خواص). He states that the inner eyes of the favourities never sleep. This helps them to see the sun in an atom.

ای مه و سال از پی غفلت خراب ؛ وی همه روز و شب جست خواب

نفس گهر در دهنت ریخته ؛ باده و افیون بهم آمیخته

خواب خواص است نه همچو عوام ؛ دیده بخواب و دل شان لاینام

دیدهٔ دل گر بگشای زخواب ؛ ذره یکی بینی و صد آفتاب

نی غلطم بلکه اگر چشم دل ؛ پاک کنی از رمد آب و گل

گرم بود ذره بیرون از حساب ؛ بینی از آنها همه یک آفتاب

بل همه ذرات زمین و سپهر ؛ در نظر پاک بود عین مهر[2]

1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. fol. 33 b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 35 a & 35 b.

2. The second path is that of 'Penitence' (توبه) which helps the seeker in purifying the self. Ṣarfī prohibits from woman, wine and music. Here his poetical talent is also obvious. A few verses will suffice to serve as examples.

ای دل تو تیره و تار از گناه : روی تو از تیرگی دل سیاه
از پی انگور نکردی نفور : نیست ترا ذوق شراب طهور
جام سیه نیست بکف بلکه هست : طشت پر از آتش دوزخ بدست
زمزمهٔ چنگ و رباب گوش : پنبهٔ غفلت زده در گوش هوش
گوش لعبت نی و طنبور چند : غافلی از غلغلهٔ صور چند
چند بشاهد هوس خلوت : چند بروئیش نظر شهوت
فرق دو گیسوش چو کهکشان : در شب تار آمده بر آسمان
گیسوی او چند بدست آوری : مار سیه در بر خود پروری
ناش چگویم که ترا اشتیاق : چیست بزیر کمرش تالساق
عاشقی نفس تو در دین خطاست : وه که بدین تو خلل زین خطاست
باز گشا دیده و بنگر بحق : روی دل از غیر حق آور بحق
عقل که در ملک بدل عامل است : از پی ادراک حق و باطل است
شیوهٔ تو معصیت کردگار : لطف وی از شیوهٔ تو شرمسار
آه ندانم که بروز حساب : زآنچه بپرسند چگوئی جواب
گر سپری راه رضائیش نکوست : توبه کنی زآنچه نه مرضی اوست
توبه جز این نیست که گریان شوی : از عمل خویش پشیمان شوی
آتش عصیان چو بر آرد علم : آب بر آتش زند اشک ندم [1]

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. foll. 35 a to 40a.

To explain his verdict he relates the story of Sarī and Junaid and there he tells from the mouth of Junaid that:-

توبه که صابون گناهان بود ⁖ مصقلهٔ آن جان بود

توبهٔ زاهد ز معاصی است لیک ⁖ توبهٔ عارف ز عملهای نیک

توبه که اسباب نجات آمده ⁖ موجب تطهیر عصات آمده[1]

3. Sincerity(اخلاص) is the third passage which leads the seeker to his goal. Sincerity is most essential. Here it is what Sarfī says in this respect:

ای بره عشق سلوک هوس ⁖ توشهٔ این راه بود اخلاص و بس

توسن اخلاص براق ره است ⁖ بلکه ز همراهی او کوته است

مرکبت آنم که بود این براق ⁖ بگذری از شش طبق و نه رواق

فیض ربا آمده و فیض ده ⁖ هر نفسی فیض دگر به ز به

فیض عظیمی که رسد خاص را ⁖ می طلبد گوهر اخلاص را تا

این دو صفت عاشق یکدیگراند ⁖ هرچه توان گفت ازان برتراند

تا نرهی از خودی خود تمام ⁖ آمده مخلص بتو گفتن حرام

صاحب اخلاص خلاص از خود است ⁖ فارغ از اندیشهٔ نیک و بد است[2]

4. The fourth essential track is introspection (محاسبه) of deeds. This means that a man should have a critical eye on his deeds. He should not loose sight of حاسبوا قبل ان تحاسبوا. In other words we may ~~xxx~~ emphasise that the seeker of God should never forget the day of judgement:

روز حساب آمدنی دان یقین ⁖ باش در اندیشهٔ روزی چنین

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. fol.41 b.
2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 42 b to 44b.

بیشتر از اندکش کن حساب : هرچه تو گوئی ز خطا و صواب
هر نفسی کز تو برآید نگر : تا بچه معروف شد از خیر و شر
توبه کن از شر و بگو شکر خیر : در ره اخیار کن آلله سیر
داخل ابن الوقت باشی اگر : هر نفس آید ز تو خیر دگر
خیر تو حاضر بخدا بودن است : وز همه اشغال جدا بودن است[1]

5. The seeker should always think over the signs of God as has been directed by God in the Holy Qurān. eg.

یبین الله لکم الایات لعلکم تتفکرون ۝ ینبت لکم به الزرع والزیتون والنخیل والاعناب ومن کل الثمرات ان فی ذالک لآیات لقوم یتفکرون ۝ وسخر لکم الیل والنهار والشمس والقمر والنجوم مسخرات بامره ان فی ذالک لآیات لقوم یعقلونه

To remain busy in eating and drinking is nothing but to nourish the body and to rust the mirror of the soul.

روز و شب فکرت شراب و طعام : تا برسد نفس لئیمت بکام
نفس تو هرگز نشود کامیاب : تا نکند دینی و دینت خراب
پرورش تن کنی ای خود پرست : لذت حیوانیت آید بدست
روح تو از جسم تو آید به تنگ : گیرد از و آئینه روح زنگ[2]

To hanker after various delicious commodities is for nothing but to satisfy the carnal soul. It should be borne in mind that

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1. Sarrī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms, fol.46 a.
2. Ibid, Ms. foll 47 b & 48 a.

this will snatch away from you the "Inner light" God has bestowed upon you the wisdom only to think over the matters. This thinking will certainly lead you from the created (مصنوع) to the creater (صانع) ie. God. The seeker should then think over the attributes of God (صفات حق) and names of God (اسمای حق). This will lead him to the celestial light.

بس که در حرص گشاید دلت : بر ز هوای هوس آید دلت

چون مژهٔ حرص تو در جان رود : از دل تو لذت ایمان رود

ملک حکیم ازلی بهر آن : داد ترا مدرکهٔ خرده دان

فکر در اصناف خلائق کنی : خوض در اعیان و حقائق کنی

صنع الهی بجهان بنگری : راه ز مصنوع بصانع بری

فکر کن آنگاه بمعنای حق : پس بصفات حق و اسمای حق

پرتو اسما و فروغ صفات : رهبری آید بسوی نور ذات[1]

To explain his verdict he speaks from the mouth of Imām Ghazālī and says:

کار خواص است تفکر بذات : ذات منزه ز مکان و جهات

اهل شهود نه مراد از خواص : فکر بذات است باین زمره خاص

گر دل از آن فیض شود پر ز نور : بهره توان برد ز نور حضور

پاکیش از وادی گفت و شنود : روی دل آور بمقام شهود

منزلت آن دم که شود این مقام : برتر از آن نیز نهد یک دو گام

گر بروی بیشتر که اندکی : شاهد و مشهود نماید یکی[2]

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. foll. 47 b & 48 a.
2. Ibid. Ms. fol. 48 a.

6. The sixth step to the goal is politeness (تواضع). This means that the seeker of God should not cause distress to any body, even to those who ill-treat him. He should, on the contrary pray for the person who has persecuted him. Ṣarfī writes:

ای که تکبر بود آئین تو ∴ نخوت دنیای دنی دین تو
خاک نشینان تواضع پسند ∴ پای تکبر شکنند قدر بلند
اصل وجود تو چو از خاک هست ∴ خاک صفت در ره حق باش پست
شعله صفت نفست اگر سرکش است ∴ اصل تو ابلیس وش از آتش است
مایه ابلیس چو در اصل تست ∴ نسبت تو نسبت آدم درست
پاک چو نفست ز رذائل شود ∴ روح تو جاروب مزابل شود
خاک چو آمد متواضع صفت ∴ لاله و گل آید از آن در کفت
بر تو کسی گرچه ترفع کند ∴ نفس تو آن به که تواضع کند
آنکه بدشنام تو بگشاد لب
غیر دعایش مکن تو روز و شب

He explains this by relating the story of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī that once a singer broke the rebeck which he had in his hand, by hitting Bāyazīd on his head, who instead of taking revenge not only prayed for him but also gave him the cost of that rebeck.

روزی از آن صومعه کش جای بود ∴ جانب بازار توجه نمود
مطربکی آمده از باده مست ∴ بر سرش انداخت رباب و شکست
قطب جهان در قدم او فتاد ∴ روی تضرع بره او نهاد
داد بدستش درم سیم ناب ∴ گفت که اینست بهای رباب

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. foll. 49 a to 50a.

حیف رباب که شکست از سرم ÷ رنجه تراشد کف دست از سرم

معذرتش کرد و تواضع نمود ÷ لب بدعای دو جهانش گشود

اصل تواضع بحقیقت فنا ست ÷ نفی خود و ترک همه ماسوا است[1]

7. Resignation to God's will (رضا).

A man always makes complaint against the vicissitudes of life or adverse fortune. He is always unhappy and ever discontent with his lot. This unhappiness and dissatisfaction is due to unfavourable circumstances. He, therefore, complains against the universe (دهر) In other words, he is not satisfied with the wishes of God as according to the saying of the Holy prophet, God says "We are the Universe" (انا الدهر). Hence one should feel shame for this deed of his and should repent for it and be content with what is God willing. Ṣarfī emphasis his view by saying:

ای ز خط لوح و قلم بی خبر ÷ وی لشکایت ز قضا و قدر

تنگ ز فریاد تو صحرا و شهر ÷ گه ز فلک نالش تو گه ز دهر

این همه عاید بخداوند است ÷ قول رسول است گواه درست

خالق ارواح و نفوس و عقول ÷ گفت انا الدهر بقول رسول

گر تو انا الدهر شنیدی چرا ÷ طعنهٔ دهر آمده آئین ترا

طعنه و سبش نکنی زینهار ÷ توبه ازان کن ز خدا شرم دار

گر ز قضا شکوه کنی گر ز دهر ÷ شهد نیابی نصیب است زهر

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. fol. 50 b.

چون ز قضا نیست خلاصی محال ؛ راضی از او باش علی کل حال

چیست رضا عمدهٔ ارکان دین ؛ شیمهٔ مرضیهٔ اہل یقین

چیست رضا تخم سعادات تو ؛ افضل اعمال و عبادات تو

گرچه لبی فضل و عطای حق است ؛ برتر از آن جمله رضای حق است[1]

8. The seeker of God should make it a principle to be always thankful to God for his favours and kindness, as God has promised to give more to the thankful persons.

ای بتو لطف و کرم کردگار ؛ برتر از اندازه برون از شمار

بر تو دمادم کرمش لایزال ؛ ناطقه در شرح کرمهاش لال

نعمت او راست فزاینده شکر ؛ ہست در فیض گشاینده شکر

شکر تو نعمت تو ہمسر اند ؛ ہر دو بہم طالب یک دیگر اند

شکر بود نعمت توفیق شکر ؛ فرض بود در رہ تحقیق شکر[2]

9. Reliance upon God is also essential for the inner purification. The man inorder to get some favours from his fellow men, who, by the grace of God, hold some position in this perishable world, goes to them, makes obeisance, uses hypocritical words and with folded hands flatters them and requests them for favourable attitude. He also shows his sincerity and tries his level best in convincing him of his faithfulness and obedience, but that poor fellow forgets that he is as helpless as he himself is. Even a leaf cannot move from its place without the permission of God.

مانده ز بس حرص و طمع صبح و شام ؛ روی بر ارباب خلایق مدام

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. foll. 53a to 54b

کعبهٔ خود ساخته ابواب را ؛ قبلهٔ خود ساخته اسباب را [1]

رازق خود را نشناسی که کیست ؛ ورنه تنگ دلی تو از بهر چیست

گر ندهد او نتواند کسی ؛ آنکه دهد با تو جوی یا خسی

تا ندهد او ندهد پادشاه ؛ گرچه کنی خدمت شه سال و ماه [1]

10. Contentment (قناعت) is also a key to it. Most of our worries will vanish if we are content. We should not be greedy. All the worldly things will remain in the world. Every human being will be burried emptied handed. He should, therefore, not bother to become a millionier. And further, if this desire of his has been fulfilled, he will begin to cherish desires for becoming a multi-millionier, and so on. The only weapon to kill greed is contentment

ای زغم مال دو چشم تو تر ؛ سیم سرشک برخ همچو زر

لیک اگر از کرم گنج سنج ؛ سیم و زر آید بکفت گنج گنج

حرص تو هرگز نشود هیچ کم ؛ بلکه فزاید طمعت دمبدم

گر همه تن خود تو شوی کان زر ؛ حرص ذات کی شود از دل بدر

شدت حرص تو نیابد فتور ؛ سیری مستسقی از آنست دور

مردگی دل بود از حرص و آز ؛ چارهٔ این علت مهلک بساز

داروی آن غیر قناعت مدان ؛ در کتب طب قلوب آمده آن

لفظ قناعت که موافق بجاست ؛ در عدد افتاد از آتش چه باک [2]

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya‘qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. foll. 55a & 55b.
2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 56 b & 57 a.

Sarfī explaining the words contenment (قناعت) writes:-

حلقهٔ قانعش کیلک بر ده سر ∴ آمده عنقای یقین را مقر

نون که بود پای بجز قدم ∴ یونس معنی بودش در شکم

فقر یقین را الف او ستون ∴ یافته در عالم وحدت سکون

عین وی آن چشم خدابین که نور ∴ دارد از اشراق شهود و حضور

دامن دولت بکف دل ز تاش ∴ افسر هر تاجوری زیر پاش [1]

And then says:-

چند طمع باشدت از مال غیر ∴ هست مضمون طمع هیچ تیر

بر در دونان پی یک نان مرو ∴ بارکش منت دونان مشو

بر تن زار تو نشان حصیر ∴ به بود از نقش قبای حریر

موسم دی برگ گلشن شکست ∴ رونق سنجاب سلاطین شکست [2]

11. Sarfī after this deals with the five edicts of Islām and fully expleins their purpo:e. Here is the gist of his views about the preyer (نماز).

این روش اهل حق آیین تو ∴ حب حبیب عربی دین تو

بعد شهادت بخدا و رسول ∴ کامده است اصل اساس اصول

رکن عظیم است درین دین نماز ∴ لیک نماز که بود با نیاز

آب وضویش بود از آب چشم ∴ نی غلطم بلکه بخوناب چشم

کی شود از مضمضه پاکت دهان ∴ غیبت و کذب ار بودت بر زبان [3]

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. fol. 57 b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 57b & 58 a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll. 58 a & 59 b.

He then explains the necessity of performing ablutions(وضو) and then the action of prayer (نماز) philosophically. eg.

پاک بکن بینی خود را چنان ؛ کز چنین دل شنوی بوی جان
شستن بینی چو دهد سود اگر ؛ شیوهٔ خود بینیش آرد اثر
تا دل خود را نکنی شست و شو ؛ شستن رویت نفزاید آبرو
روی تو شد شسته و ظاهر گشته ؛ نور حق از روی تو ظاهر گشت
مسح سر آنست که یابی فراغ ؛ تر شود از دست ترت دماغ
بلکه برآرد ز دماغ ترت ؛ هر هوسی را که بود در سرت

Turning towards the prayer he says:

از پی تحریمه کسی دست بست ؛ کز خودی خویش کشید آنچه هست
راکع خاضع بنظر گرچه کج است ؛ راست بمعنی و بصورت کج است
چون به نماز تو بود بی ریا ؛ روی دل آری بدر کبریا
افضل اوقات تجلی نور ؛ وقت نماز است که بخشد حضور
گر نه حضور است ترا در نماز ؛ نام نماز است برو از مجاز[1]

12. To give Zakāt (زکاة) is the second priciple of Islām. Payment of Zakāt is necessary for a true Muslim. It makes the darkness, spread by the carnal soul, on the heart, vanish. Ṣarfī is right in saying:

ای بحرص و هوا روی تو ؛ در طلب مال تگ و پوی تو
پیش تو محبوب چنانست زر ؛ کامده از جوهر جان دوست تر

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*1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Sheikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. foll. 60b & 61 a.

کس نبرد بهره ز اموال تو ∴ مار تو در گور شود مال تو
گرچه زکاتی که بود رکن دین ∴ بر تو شود فرض ز شرع مبین
گر تو درین باب ز اهل تمیز ∴ بشنوی آیات و احادیث نیز
باور اگرچه بتکلف کنی ∴ در ره تاویل تصرف کنی
اصل حق آزرده ز تاویل تو ∴ فتوی این قوم به تجهیل تو
چیست زکوٰة آنکه از انوار آن ∴ فیض رسانی بدل طالبان
نور الهی بظهور آوری ∴ ظلمت نفس از دل طالب بری[1]

13. Fast (روزه). The third duty of a true Muslim is to keep fasts. The purpose of this may be heard from the learned poet of Kashmīr.

چند شکم پروری و پر خوری ∴ پر خوری از بهر شکم پروری
چون خر کناس ز لبس ناخوشی ∴ خوی گرفتی به نجاست کشی
باش این نکته چو کردی درشت ∴ تو بشکم می کشی و او به پشت
چند نجاست ز پی هم کشی ∴ کم خوری ار پیشه کنی کم کشی
روزه بفرموده خداوندگار ∴ تا عمل کم خوری آری بکار
روزهٔ فرض تو بنزد عوام ∴ ترک جماع است و شراب و طعام
نزد خواص آمده امساک دل ∴ زانچه بود خاصیت آب و گل
ترک خود و نفی همه جز خدا ∴ محض فنا بلکه فنا در فنا[2]

14. The fourth duty of a Muslim is to fight against the misbelievers viz. He should not refrain from holy wars. But the

1. Sarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms, foll. 61 b to 63 a.
2. Ibid. Ms. foll. 63 b to 64 b.

case with the Muslims is contrary to it. They are at dagger drawn with one an other. The duty of a Muslim is to fight against the misbelievers for if he comes out successful he will become a Ghāzī and if he will die, he will become a martyr. This Jihād (جہاد) is also not a great one. The great Jihād (جہاد اکبر) is that you should have no connection with anything except God. Sarfī writes:

ای لقب تو بجہان عسکری ÷ دعوی تو لاف سپاہی گری
بر ہمہ اصحاب شجاعت تباہ ÷ جز بتجارت نکنی ہیچ گاہ
حرب تو با طائفہ مومنان ÷ زمرہ کفار ز تو در امان
جنگ تو با مردم بی دین بود ÷ کار سپاہی گریت این بود
سعی نما سعی کہ غازی شوی ÷ سرور اصحاب مغازی شوی
بالبت شہد شہادت کنند ÷ چاشنی آب حیاتت دہند
این نہ جہادیست کہ اکبر بود ÷ بلکہ غزای کہ اصغر بود
آن بود اکبر کہ زنی تیغ لا ÷ بر خود و بر ہر چہ بود جز خدا
لا کہ نماید سوی الا رہت ÷ از رہ توحید کند آگہت[1]

15. Hajj (حج) is another principle of Islām. Its performance is necessary for those who can afford. But most people put forth pretexts to save themselves from spending money on this holy duty, and if they make up their mind to go to pilgrimage, they go only for the sake of business. The real Hajj lies not in visiting the holy place of Ka'ba, but to know the self. Sarfī writes

نفس خبیثست پی اسقاط حج ÷ میکند انشای لبی از حج
راہ بگوی سخن از خوف راہ ÷ گر چہ نباشد خطری ہیچ گاہ

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh , Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms. foll. 65a to 66a

گه پدر و مادرت آید بیاد ؛ ورز تو گشته دل این هر دو شاد
هر دو ز بد خوی تو اشکبار ؛ هر دو ببینند تو لبس خوار و زار
قصد تو از زلیتن این دو کس ؛ حیله تا کردن حج است و بس
گر چو کنی جانب بطحا گذر ؛ در لبوی یثرب اندر سفر
زین سفرت قصد تجارت بود ؛ نی غرضت حج و زیارت بود
مسجد پیغمبر و قبر رسول ؛ از تو ندارند زیارت قبول
حج و زیارت همه نیکو بود ؛ گر بخدا روی ز هر سو بود
غیر خدایت نبود زین سفر ؛ هیچ مراد دگری در نظر
خانهٔ کعبه ندهد باتو نور ؛ تا نکند صاحب خانه ظهور
تا نکنی کعبهٔ دل را طواف ؛ دعوی حبت نبود جز گزاف
کعبهٔ دل را چو زیارت کنی ؛ خانهٔ توحید عمارت کنی [1]

16. Rememberence and invocation (ذکر) is a polisher for the rust of the mirror of heart. It purifies the whole body with the result that every part of the body seeks God. At the time of invocation the celestial light reflects itself on the heart of the seeker.

شاهد خلوتگه غیب الغیوب ؛ خواست که بنمایدت آن روی خوب
طرح یکی آئینه انداخته ؛ وز دل تو آئینه ساخته
تا رخ ازان آئینه بنمایدت ؛ حسن نهانش بظهور آیدت

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyār, Ms, foll. 67 a to 68b

لیک چون زنگ ست بر آن آئینه :. کی کند رت جلوه در آن آئینه

صیقلهٔ آن نبود غیر ذکر : ذکر بود صیقلهٔ اما لفکر

ذکر دهد تاثیر بقالب کند : قالب تو پاک و صفوت کند

قالبت آندم که پذیرد ادب : بر همه عضو تو شود حق طلب

ذکر دلت را که مصفا کند : حسن ازل از تو هویدا کند

گر دل تو شغل نماید بذکر : بر سر موی تو در آید بذکر

سعی نما سعی بذکر شگرف : کش نبود گوئی از صوت حرف

بر سر یکی ذاکر و مذکور و ذکر :. گرد فارغ شوی از ذکر و فکر[1]

17. To speak no evil and to hear no evil (صمت و سکوت). It is better to keep silence than to back bite or praise the misers and complaining against the gentry of the city. It is worst thing to tell lies. Why should one talk in such a manner that may bring shame in his lot. The traveller on the path of God should always hold his tongue, so that his heart should be in a position to speak with God.

ای چو نبات و شکرت در دهان : افتری و غیبت خلق جهان

شیوهٔ تو مدح لئیمان دهر : پیشهٔ تو قدح کریمان دهر

شعله از آتش کذبت زبان : سوخته زان شعله لبی جان و مان

آمده دروازه سخن را دهان : وز تو دروغ آمده دروازه بان

خود تو فرما که دم گفت و گو : راست چسان بر ره بیاید درو

1. Sarfi, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār , Ms. foll. 69a to 70

تیغ تو بهتر به نیام سکوت ؛ طائر نطق تو بدام سکوت

صمت ز اسباب نجات آمده ؛ باعث رفع درجات آمده

در خبر صادق معجز صفت ؛ آمده مضمون نجی من صمت

شیوهٔ خود ساز اگر باهشی ؛ خامشی و خامشی و خامشی

گوشه نشینان حریم سکوت ؛ یافته اندر حرم قدس قوت

هر سخنی کآمده از لب برون ؛ آمده از ملک تو بیرون کنون

از تخم آن گفته طبیبان چه سود ؛ دست و آب خویش گذر بدل چه سود

لفظ درون چو شود حاصلت ؛ خود تو خمش باشی و گویا دلت

تا چو زبان دل تو واشود ؛ تو بحق و حق بتو گویا شود

دل سخن آموز شود از سکوت ؛ معرفت اندوز شود از سکوت [1]

18. Discontinuation of the company of worldly men (انقطاع از صحبت خلق جهان)
Seclusion is also necessary because one who likes to move in a society and wish to be a social one, cannot refrain from wasting his time in playing, chatting etc. Hence it is impossible for such a man to be a devotee to God. He will not discharge his religious duties properly. Ṣarfī says:

ای دل تو مائل صحبت کسی ؛ صحبت تو گر چه نخواهد کسی

صحبت خلق است مضرت رسان ؛ خاصه مصاحب شدن ناکسان

صحبت لعبت ز نفرها می برد ؛ افتری و غیبت و شطرنج و نرد

گر بمصاحب سخن از دین کنی ؛ آن سخنش باعث نفرین کنی

صحبت این مردم نامردمست ؛ خوار کند ملکه شود گر دست

روی ز مخلوق بخلاق کن ؛ جا بدر رحمت رزاق کن

1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ulAkhyār, Ms, foll. 71a to 72 b

تا نبود خالی از اغیار دل ؛ کی شود آرامگه یار دل

باصره و سامعهٔ تو دو در ؛ باز لعین دلت اندر گذر

قافله بر قافله و خیل خیل ؛ زین دو در اندر دل گردد سیل

بستن این هر دو در آمد محال ؛ تا نشوی گوشه‌نشین ماه و سال

خلوت معنی که بدل خلوت است ؛ مقصد و مقصود از آن عزلت است

عزلت صورت چو رسد بر کمال ؛ خلوت معنی شود حسب حال

مانع وحدت نبود کثرتت ؛ حائل کثرت نشود وحدتت[1]

19. A spiritual guide is most necessary for the seeker of God. But the first and foremost thing is that one should have a real love for God; and the other is that the guide should be a knower of realities. If this is not the case, even the spiritual guide will be helpless. Love for both guide and God is necessary.

ای هوس حق طلبی در سرت ؛ خرقهٔ اصحاب طلب در برت

عشق سزد نی هوس این کار را ؛ عشق سزد طالب دیدار را

توسن عشق ار بودت زیر ران ؛ راه دو صد ساله روی یک دو آن

عشق بود شرط نخستین راه ؛ شرط دوم پیر حقائق پناه

گر نتوانی که شوی مرد عشق ؛ در دل تو نبود درد عشق

پیری چنان ره ننماید ترا ؛ زنگ ز آئینه زداید ترا

رهبری از عشق بود بس عجب ؛ گرچه بود باعث شوق و طلب

عشق ز مطلوب کند آگهت ؛ پیر به مطلوب نماید رهت

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1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyar, Ms. foll. 73a to 74 b

الغرض این هر دو بهم بایدت ؛ تا گهر وصل بدست آیدت

دامن پیرت اگر آید بدست ؛ پیر پرستی کند دست حق پرست

از همه در پیر فنایت نکوست ؛ رو الفنا فی الشیخ آخر از دوست

پیر بمطلوب رساند ترا ؛ از خودی خود برهاند ترا

پیر نه آنست که سالش بزرگ ؛ پیر هم آنست که حالش بزرگ

مظهر اسماء و صفات الله است ؛ آئینه صورت ذات الله است

یافته منشور خلافت ز حق

سینه پر از نور خلافت ز حق[1]

20. The last thing is that the novice should be close to his guide, and at no time he should look down upon him even if he has seen some objectionable deed of his guide. What to say of uttering a word, the disciple should not even dare to think over it in his heart of hearts. If he will do so the relationship will discontinue.

ای طلب حق بذات کرده کار ؛ در طلب او دل تو بیقرار

داعیه این طلبت رحمتی است ؛ بر تو ز حق عز و جل نعمتی است

نعمتی افزون ز حد طول و عرض ؛ بر تو بود شکر گذارش فرض

گردد ازین درد دلت درد ناک ؛ سینهات از تیغ غمش چاک چاک

جهد تو باید لطلب همچنان ؛ تا شوی از درد طلب کامران

معنی جهد آنکه بدست آوری ؛ دامن پیری کند رهبری

دامن پیری چو بدست آیدت ؛ از همه سوی سوی او بایدت

گر ز سر صدق مریدش شوی ؛ گنج ازل را تو کلیدش شوی

ناقه صفت باش از و زیر بار ؛ تو بکشی بار و بپشتش مبار

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1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-Akhyar, Ms. foll.75a to 76a

تا نشود دل بدلش متصل ⁘ فیض روان کی شود از دل بدل
جو چو پیوسته بدریا شود ⁘ تاره دریا سوی او واشود
گر کند از پیر تو امری ظهور ⁘ کان بود از قاعده شرع دور
بلکه بظاهر ز معاصی بود ⁘ صاحب آن مجرم و عاصی بود
قصه موسی و خضر کرده یاد ⁘ لب ز پی طعنه نباید گشاد
تا شود از دل فیاض پیر ⁘ سلسلهٔ فیض نهایت پذیر
گر تو بیاری بزبان اعتراض ⁘ لیک بدل بگذرد آن اعتراض
منقطع از تو شود آن سلسله ⁘ ور تو کنند اهل طریقت گله
سر ز ره خدمت او بر مدار
کار همین است و همین است کار[1]

1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maslak-ul-akhyār, Ms. foll. 77a to 78 b

MAGHĀZĪ-UN-NABĪ

The Maghāzī-un-Nabī, as the name suggests deals with the biography of the prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him) and the battles fought by him from time to time. Ṣarfī wrote this book, perhaps in reply to Niẓāmī's Maṣnavī Iskandar Nāmah(BOok of Alexander) which has for its theme the life of Alexander.
It treats the subject in pure epic style, but with a mystical touch which makes Alexander a prophet as well as a conquerer.

Ṣarfī wrote Maghāzī-un-Nabī in A.H. 1,000 (1592 A.D.) as he himself says at the end of the book.

بحمد الله این نامه اتمام یافت ⁂ بترتیب دلخواه انجام یافت
چو کردم طلب سال ختم الکتاب ⁂ مرا گفت پیر خرد در جواب
طلب گر تو خواهان این مطلبی ⁂ ز حرف دوم از مغازی النبی

In the verses quoted above the second hemistich of the third verse gives the chronogram. As directed in the first hemistich, we have to count the value of the second letter of Maghāzī-unNabī, which is " غ ". Its numrical value is one thousand (1,000)

Ṣarfī also has treated his subject in epic style giving mystical touches only at the end of the book. But these mystical touches have no concern with the orignal text of the subject.

The book begins with the praise of God, then a prayer after which comes the encomium of the prophet Muhammad (May peace

Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 157

be with him). Then follow verses in praise of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī and Khwājah Ḥusain of Khwārizm, respectively, and then comes an account of the "Truth about his own travels". This caption in his own words reads thus:-

در بیان حقائق سفر این بنده و مشرف شدن بدیدار بزرگان رحمهم الله

It is an important caption for it deals with his own biography, which also serves the purpose of introduction, as from here he turns his attention towards the subject of his book. This book is of considerable value for a knowledge of the life of the Holy prophet Muḥammad (May peace be with him). A study of the Masnavi shows that Ṣarfī has made attempts to put in black and white all the available information. He has not neglected even unimportant battle and other incidents of ordinary nature.

The chief characteristics of this Masnavī of Ṣarfī are its wonderful range in subject-matter, its simple and lucid style, and its magnificient diction. The reader will not find even a single instance of intricate word-displays or pedantic allusions, or even an indiscreet display of spiritual pride. Moreover, one fails to find a single line or allusion in questionable taste in the noble poem. It deals with the life of the prophet Muḥammad (May peace be with him) and as historian Ṣarfī has achieved his goal. He has not ommited even unimportant battles or other small incidents. To crown all, it is noteworthy that there is neither Qaṣīdah nor panegyric poem in praise of Akbar or any noble , nor has it been dedicated to any body. He has panegyrised two saints Sayyid ʿAlī Hamdānī and Khwājah Ḥusain of Khwārizm, who was his spiritual guide.

In Maghāzī-un-Nabī, the account of the battles, though for the

most part brief and dry, shows sound knowledge of the chief facts. His statement of the occurrences is fair and free from acrimony and fanaticism.

The theme of the book is Islamic History, commencing with the birth of the holy prophet (May peace be with him) and ending with his death. Most Masnavīs suffer from some grave faults----inordinate length, monotonous metre, constant repetitions, a stereotyped description of characters and scenes; and, above all, lack of historical perspec-tive. Maghāzī-un-Nabī is free from such defects. Sarfī has described the facts as briefly as possible. Although he gives the details of the battles by giving the main causes, facts and results, etc, yet he is so concise that we do not find any other Persian poet in the whole range of Persian Literature who could be said to excel him. He has not wasted his poetical genius in giving desription of characters and scenes. It is because he was not writing a fabulous story. He was writing a biography of the prophet Muhammad (May peace be with him) for whom he had much regard, being one of his humble followers. What he wrote, he wrote as a historian and tried his utmost to fulfill all the essential conditions of a historian, the chief of which is that a historian should write the history of each people according to their own claims and should express no opinion of his own concerning them, either in exaggeration or palliation. Whether they be true or false, he must set them down exactly in accordance with the intention and claim of each people, so that responsibility for exaggeration or palliation, for truth or falsehood, may rest upon their intentions and not upon the historian.

Sarfī expresses his own opinion only when he finds it necessary and unavoidable. Eg., about the birth of Prophet(May peace be with him) he writes:-

تولد نمود است در سال فیل ÷ ولی نیست این قول بی قال و قیل

چهل روز یا پنجه پنج ازان ÷ چو زائید بگذشت شاه جهان

بجز قدوسش بلای چنان ÷ خدا دفع زد از سر مکیان

بیک قول در روز اصحاب فیل ÷ نبی زاده گشتند فیلان دفیل

بقولی چهل سال بگذشت ازان ÷ پس آنگاه زائید شاه جهان

ولی قول اول صحیح است و بس ÷ دو قول دگر نیست مقبول کس

براه تولد بود قیل و قال ÷ ولی نزد اکثر ز اهل کمال

ربیعی که اول بود آن مه است ÷ توان گفتن او را که شهر الله است

ازان دوازده روز بگذشته بود ÷ که او جلوه بر سطح غبرا نمود

سه روز نزد یک بعض است لیک ÷ بدان نزد اصحاب تحقیق نیک

ولی آنچه تحریر شد پیش ازین ÷ که ایام جمع بود زاه یقین

بدان دارد ایما بوجه تمام ÷ که بود است آن ماه ماه صیام

ولیکن تبادیل رفته کبار ÷ نمودند ماه ربیع اختیار

مر روز دوشنبه کزین ماه بود ÷ پس از صبح صادق تولد نمود

From a study of the book it becomes evident that Sarfī did research before writing this masnavī. It is, however, noteworthy

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, <u>Shaikh</u>, <u>Maghāzi-un-Nabi</u>, p 25

that he does not enumerate his sources. He under the caption:

در ذکر برآمدن آنسرور صلی الله علیه وسلم و صدیق اکبر از غار ثور بعد از راحت اصحاب تعاقب بجانب یثرب

writes:

بتحقیق پیوسته کز راه کین ؛ چو برگشته رفتند اعدای دین[1]

Similarly under the heading:-

در ذکر مشرف شدن مدینه و اهل آن بقدوم سرور عالم صلی الله علیه وسلم و نزول آنحضرت و بنای مسجد

he states:-

بعزت رسید از رواة ثقات ؛ که آوازهٔ سرور کائنات

بشهر مدینه فتاد این چنین ؛ که نزدیک آمد شه مرسلین[2]

But in some cases he writes that "he heard so" eg. under the heading:-

ذکر بنا سرور عالم صلی الله علیه وسلم مسجد را و طلبیدن آن سرور فاطمه زهرا و ام کلثوم از مکه شریف

he writes:-

شنیدم که در سال هجرت بنا ؛ نبی کرد مسجد بامر خدا[3]

just read this verse:-

شنیدم که بدطینت و بدکلام ؛ یهودی زنی بود عصماش نام[4]

given by Sarfī under the caption:

در بیان کشتن عمیر بن عدی عصما نام زنی را که سب اهل اسلام میداد

The Maghāzī-un-Nabī as has been said deals with battles and such like incidents. Naturally one comes accross hundreds of names, the heores of the battle as well as other men of importance worth mentioning. The ability to accomodate their names in a verse having metre, like the verses of this book, is a matter of

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 49.
2. Ibid, p 50.
3. Ibid, p 51.
4. Ibid, p 67.

significance, and one can well feel the difficulties of the poet. These names are so fixed in the couplets that one is apt to think that he had great command over the language. There is no dearth of examples in this respect. Each and every page will present its examples, but there are places where we find an abundance of names in a single page. In some cases every verse contains a name. The following couplets will support us.

سنانش چو سوی جهنم شتافت ∴ علم حارث ابن ابی طلحه یافت
به تیری همان روز او نیز جان ∴ سپرد و سست شد سوی دوزخ روان
چو حارث بدوزخ گرفتار شد ∴ کلاب ابن طلحه علمدار شد
زبیر ابن عوام او را بکشت ∴ وکین خدا آن عدو را بکشت
چو او هم ز دنیا بدوزخ گذشت ∴ جلاس ابن طلحه علمدار گشت
زده طلحه ابن عبید الله‌ش ∴ سنان و بدوزخ نموده رهش
علمدار ارطات شد بعد از آن ∴ به تیغ علی داد او نیز جان
بدوزخ چو ارطات بدکار شد
شریح ابن قارض علمدار شد[1]

But inspite of all these merits of the Maghāzī-un-Nabī, one cannot shut ones eyes to some of its defects. For example, we will be right in remarking that this gigantic poem, which contains 6644 couplets, does not always flow on in a dignified style like some mighty river in its even course. Ṣarfī, in fact, did not posses the epic sense to any extraordinary degree. His description of battles does not show any remarkable vigour and sweep of movement. He is unable to delineate the softer emotions of man-kind. He has

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya ʿqub, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 75

not invested his verses with fresh similies and splendid metaphors. No doubt Sarfī was one of the most remarkable geniuses, Kashmīr ever produced----not only a fine poet, but also an eminent scholar and a great mystic. So far, however, as his epic poetry is concerned, it is not of considerable merit. By men of literary taste it cannot be held in as high an estimation as that of Firdawsī, Nizāmī or even of some others who followed them. It lacks that fine poetical quality which may help us to place it on a high place. But this does not mean that Maghāzī-un-Nabī is altogether barren in this respect. A thorough study of the book points out some verses of considerable merits. The dearth of the poetical qualities is due to the fact that he has devouted much of his attention to the historical facts and has considered poetical qualities as a secondary thing. However, in the beginning of the book where we have verses in praise of God the Almighty, we come across beautiful couplets which worth appriciation.

زلطفش ببین کوه را کامیاب ؛ مرصع کمر از زره لعل ناب
صدف گوش دریا و درش بگوش ؛ ز فیض وی آن بی عوض در فروش
بدریا که مرجان رنگین نهاد ؛ حنا بسته اش پنجه در دست داد
عروس چمن را ز گل غازه داد ؛ بر رخ زلف مشکین ز سنبل نهاد
لعین فلک چشمه آفتاب ؛ از او یافته این همه آب و تاب
عجب چشمهٔ کامده آتشین ؛ کند آتشش کار ماء معین
بر آب روان چشمهٔ آفتاب ؛ ز دریای احسانش یک قطره آب[1]

So far as "Figure of speech" and "Figure of words" are concerned, examples can be found, but only on a thorough study of the book, as their number is too small. However, following verses

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Sheikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p 4.

will serve as the examples of similies, metaphors etc.

SIMILIES:

جبین و رخ او پر از خون ازان ؛ مه و مهر انور شفق گون ازان [1]

METAPHOR:

ز عقد در ناب عمر جهان ؛ دو دُرِّ گرانمایه شد رائیگان [2]

HYPERBOLE:

برآمیخت آن تیغ در هر طرف ؛ که کرد ست حمله لباصف لصف

ز خیل عدو آنچنان ریخت خون ؛ که سنگ احد شد همه لعل گون

ز تیغش لبی کشته بر کلید گر ؛ فتادست صد کشته بالای پشته

لبی کشته ظاهر شد از کشته هاش ؛ چو کوه احد هر یک از پشته هاش [3]

ALLUSIONS:

چو بودست در صلب پاک خلیل ؛ بیارست آتش هلاک خلیل

ازان نو بهار گلستان جان ؛ بر وگشته آتش کرو گلستان

چو موسیٰ عصا در کفش حاجبان ؛ بجان خدمتش را همه طالبان

اگر فیض او عطسه بر زند ؛ هزاران چو عیسیٰ ازان سر زند [4]

The above quoted verses need no explanation.

USES OF ARABIC VERSES:

It is also one of his qualities that he uses Arabic phrases in verses where the need arises. In some cases he supports his arguments with verses of the holy Qurān. Following will serve as examples:

خدای سلاطین کشور کشا ؛ و من تشرع الملک من تشاء

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1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Maghāzi-un-Nabi, p 76.
2. Ibid, p 76.
3. Ibid, p 75.
4. Ibid. p. 6

خدا ئیکه مغز آفریست و پوست : من المیت یخرج الحی اوست[1]

خدای مه و سال و روز و شب است : ومن ینفخ الروح فی قالب است

Similarly at pages 46 and 71 the second hemistich of a verse is that of Arabic.

چو برگشت و درخواست بار دگر : فقتدا سقط لفف الحشر[2]

گفتا گرفتم زنی لب جمیل : عن الخلق تلی الیسا مثیل[3]

This book was published by Mīān Ghirāgh-ud-Dīn Sirāj-ud-Dīn book sellers of Lāhore. It was printed in Victoria press Lāhore. It is strange to note that the year of publication and printing has not been given by the publishers. But the condition of the book in general, and the paper used in particuler yield ground for a conjecture that at least more than a half century has since passed away. A copy of this printed book is available in the Panjāb University Library. It contains pi vi 295 as its call number. It has 162 pages. It has two verses in a line and there are 23 lines in a page. One dozen marginal notes have been added there and then. Though the book is not difficult, yet meaning of the words in some cases have been given.

It is not irrelevent to point out here that the pages from 158 to 160 contain Ghazals and encomium of the holy Prophet Muhammad (May peace be with him) by some other poet, namely Faqīr Ullah etc., page 161 and 162 serve ~~[illegible]~~ as an index of the subject which comprises the Maghāzī-un-Nabī.

The title page of the book, contains 12 verses in praise of

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1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Maghāzi-un-Nabi, p 4
2. Ibid, p 46.
3. Ibid, p 71.

the book, in which it has been pointed out that the study of this book (ie Maghāzī-un-Nabī) makes the reader wealthy and brave. Here we copy all the verses so that the reader may also know the benefit of the study of Maghāzī-un-Nabī.

هرآنکس که خواند مغازی النبی ؛ به پیری رسد گرچه باشد صبی
کسی کو بخواند مغازی النبی ؛ ذکی گردد او گرچه باشد غبی
مغازی النبی هر که خواند مدام ؛ بگیرد ز خصمان خود انتقام
شب و روز هر کو مغازی النبی ؛ بخواند شود مالدار و غنی تا
مغازی النبی هر که را بشنود ؛ شود شیر دل گرچه بزدل بود
دگر بی نوا ورد خود می کند ؛ قسم می خورم رزقش افزون شود
به بیمار خوانی چو بالای سر ؛ شفا زود یابد ز رنج و خطر
اگر در شب جنگ خوانی تو این ؛ هزیمت خورد دشمنت بالیقین
مغازی النبی کو بخواند مدام ؛ خدا می کند در بهشتش مقام
بود وصف خاصیتش بی شمار ؛ که فهمیده ام از شیوخ کبار
چو خواهی که ختم مغازی کنی ؛ طلب چند کس غیر گبر و منی
بخوانان و خود باش حاضر در آن
سخن های دنیا مکن ترک از آن

The writer of these verses is not known. It is nothing but vanity. An educated person at least cannot believe it as true.

SARFĪ AS A GHAZAL WRITER :

Poetry is one of the many human arts but it is not such by virtue of which a man should try to earn his livelihood. To praise a man of position merely because he will give him something in return is not a thing to be proud of. When a poet praises his patron he tries his level best to show that he has in him extra ordinary qualities or he is a super-man. But on the contrary when he (the poet) does not get his due reward, or what he expected (from the patron) or due to some other reasons he is neglected, the result is obvious. The poet leaves no stone unturned to humiliate him and to prove that his patron is not worthy of the rank he holds. This cannot be considered praise worthy on the part of a poet who claims to be "The pupil of God" To go from one door to another for a few loaves and to praise a noble at one time and satarise him at another is not poetry. It is nothing but a form of begging. In spite of all these things it is a fact that an overwhelming majority of the poets write in a way which can only be called "Poetic begging", and their greed is apparent from their verses. But Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī is one of those great mystic poets who have never diverted their attention to praise a noble or a king. Ya'qūb Ṣarfī remained in the service of Akbar but he did not write a single Qaṣīdah in praise of this great Mughal emperor. He was a mystic and a sage too. In reality only that mystic is praise worthy who never stoops to flatter or defame. Ṣarfī's poetry does not contain verses in praise of any person who was a noble or had high rank at the king's court

during his time. He has, however, showered the flower of praise upon his spiritual guides, especially on Sayyid Ali Hamdānī.

An incomplete copy of his 'Dīvān' is preserved in the Panjāb Public Library, Lāhore. The whole 'Dīvān' contains Ghazals only. The basic theme of Ghazal is love, and the only wealth of 'Ghazal' lies in the expression of love and its effects. In Ṣarfī's 'Dīvān' both forms of love ie. "Divine love" and "Profane love" are available. Here in the following pages we shall be very brief in discussing Ṣarfī as a 'Ghazal' writer.

ṢARFĪ'S MYSTICAL AND LOVE POETRY:

We have already stated that Ṣarfī was a mystic and a sage. The sage knows the mystries of nature and life. He catches a flash of heavenly vision in every particel of nature. Heavenly beauty and splendour of love manifest themselves in his heart. To emphasise it we may say that a mystic and a sage does not, like an ordinary poet, see beauty in the coloured cheeks, in red lips and in marble breasts, but in every-thing between the earth and heaven. He knows the reality of الله نور السموات و الارض

Ṣarfī has expressed these ideas in a number of 'Ghazals' beautifully and with simplicity. Two or three are quoted here.

ازروی بتان دیده‌ام انوار تقدس : المنة لله تعالی و تقدس

ای آئینه ساخته در عالم صورت : هر لحظه ازین آئینه ظاهر توی دلبس

در جلوه جمالت بلباس عجب آمد : یعنی ز دامان گل اندام ملبس

بویت بدماغم رسد از سنبل مشکین : رنگ تو در آید بنظر از گل نورس

صرفی بجهان سیرت عیان غیر وی اما : دیدن نتوان بر رخ او دیده هر کس

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī, Ms. fol. 82 b

ز آئینه جمال بتان در نظر توی ÷ هر دم بصورت دگر جلوه گر توی

تو عین نور و من همگی ظلمتم ولی ÷ گر بنگرم بخود ز خودم در نظر توی

گاه از قبای ناز و گه از خرقهٔ نیاز ÷ هر لحظه جلوه گر بلباس دگر توی

لا بر چشم اهل نظر نیست جز تو کس ÷ پنهان شده ز مردم ناقص بصر توی

چشم چو آب و جان چو آتش پر از تست ÷ یعنی بجان سوخته و چشم تر توی

بنموده جمال خود از شکل مهوشان ÷ این جان فدای تست بدین شکل اگر توی

خون شد ز غم جان جگر چاک چاک من

کین مراد صرفی خونین جگر توی

The main topics of a '<u>Gh</u>azal' are expression of love and the circumstances that confront a person in love. It contains an expression of personal and other sentiments and feelings. Therefore a '<u>Gh</u>azal' should be in simple, delicate and melodious language. The language and expression should go in hand with the ups and downs of sentiments, emotions and feelings. But one should not lose sight of passion. If it is intense, deep and precise, but not inflated words should be used. Simple words and vital phrases which carry their proper load, giving life and freshness to the style, should be used. Flowery and artificial language and trite expression should be avoided.

کمال تو بجمال و جمال تو بکمال ÷ زهی جمال کمال تو از کمال جمال

جهان ز روی تو روشن جهانیان خوانند ÷ که آفتاب جمال ترا مباد زوال

بذات خویش جمال تو بر کمال آمد ÷ که نیست خوبی تو از عوارض خط و خال

دمی که یاد تو کردم برستم از دو جهان ÷ خوشا که یاد تو آمد انیس این دل

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1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Divan-i-Sarfi, Ms. fol. 102 b

اگر چه سوز و سرودم دگر چه محنت و غم :: بیاد دلبر خویشم همیشه در همه حال

ز غنچه دل تنگم چنین پر از خون است :: که از شراب محبت شیشه ایست مالامال

ملامت عاشق از صادقی تو ای صرفی

ز جور دوست مرنج از بلای دوست منال[1]

There is one thing obvious in Ṣarfī's "Ghazal's," namely that a number of his 'Ghazals' are in the form of addresses. Simple ideas and simplicity of expression is note-worthy in the following 'Ghazal.

آنکه در پرده عیان است توی :: وانکه بی پرده نهان است توی

شهسواری که بجولانگه ناز :: بر طرف جلوه کنان است توی

آنکه از ابروی و مژگان بتان :: در کشش تیر و کمان است توی

آفتابی که از و یک پرتو :: حسن خوبان جهان است توی

آن گل تازه که در باغ جهان :: بلبل از وی بفغان است توی

آنکه در صومعه و بت خانه :: قبله پیر و جوان است توی

سگ راهی که ترا ای صرفی

در دو عالم جان است توی[2]

Sometimes Ṣarfī takes up the ordinary subject matter of a 'Ghazal' and gives to it metaphorical colouring in such a masterly manner that common sense cannot but praise.

داریم صد رقیب ولی یار ما یکیست :: از صد هزار خصم چه غم چون خدا یکیست

دل ریش و سینه چاک و جگر خون از و جدا ست :: دارم هزار درد و لیکن دوا یکیست

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī, Ms. fol. 91b-92a
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 102b-103a

در هر طرف بجلوه در آمد سهی قدان :: ما را بآن چکار چو مقصود ما یکیست

خوبان چو یار من همه خواهند قتل ما :: سهل است کاران همه اما بلا یکیست

بسیار سینه‌ها ز تو پر داغ چو دلم :: جانان بداغ تو نه همین مبتلا یکیست

چشم ز بهر محک رخ لعلت مبتلا :: در آتش بی شمار و لکن بها یکیست

خاک ره تو اند چو من سروران دهر :: یعنی بر آستان تو شاه و گدا یکیست

از کوی خویش صرفی بی چاره را مران

میداندش سگت که ز اهل وفا یکیست [1]

By these examples it should not be understood that Ṣarfī's beloved is only the heavenly beauty or beauty of nature. Ṣarfī's beloved is also that handsome and beautiful person, too, who shows coquetry behind the curtain or veil. Ṣarfī was a saint but not a recluse. human beauty had also its effects upon him. His beloved, like you and me, eats and drinks. Ṣarfī was a man and had a man's heart in his breast. The beloved's beauty excites his feelings and emotions and enchanted by her beauty he praises her lips, stature , cheeks and hair. It would be worthwhile to say here that to express the character and visages of the beloved is an ordinary subject of 'Ghazal'; in fact this is the main topic. Every verse of a 'Ghazal' contains a new idea and thought. To prepare a sketch of beloved's visage and character, it would be necessary to study a number of 'Ghazals' of a poet. No doubt beloved's portrait can be presented in a single verse or rather in two or three words. By saying that the beloved is "Beautiful and a tyrant" we can express our impression, but poetry can be said to be real painting when a poet expresses his fundamental experience and basic ideas,

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī, Ms. fol. 70a

along with other resemblances which have excited him to say something; ie. the poet should not only express his ideas and experiments in simple words, but also express, by wraping in the basic idea, all those elements of resemblance which by the "Law of Association" gave rise to his conceit. This exactly is one of the characteristic of Sarfī's poetry. The following 'Ghazals' will serve as examples.

هر دو چشمان و رخت عقل و دل و جان هر سه : مه من آفت این هر سه شد آن هر سه

چه کسی و ز چه قومی که لسودای تو اند : ملک و جن و لشکر و آن دگران هر سه

از دهان و رخ و زلف تو همیشه خجلند : غنچه و لاله و سنبل گلستان هر سه

بلبل و قمری و مرغ دل مجروح من : زان سهی سرو گل اندام در افغان هر سه

چکنم آه چه سازم که پی جان من اند : روزگار و فلک و محنت هجران هر سه

رخ نمودی و ز طعن من بیدل شده اند : واعظ و محتسب و شیخ پشیمان هر سه

ز آتش عشق که در سینه ام انداخته : دل و جان و جگر من شده بریان هر سه

صرفیا از سفر کعبه چه سود ار نشود : کعبه و میکده و بتکده یکسان هر سه[1]

. . . .

تا دو زلف و مشک و عنبر هر چهار آمد یکی : وان دو لعل و قند و شکر هر چهار آمد یکی

هر یک از رخسار تو غیرت خورشید و ماه : آن دو رخسار و مه و مهر هر چهار آمد یکی

روزگار و روز من چون شب سیاه از زلف تست : بلا ای ماه منور هر چهار آمد یکی

آب حیوان و شراب و کوثر و لبهای تو : ای مسیح روح پرور هر چهار آمد یکی

عندلیب و قمری و جان و دلم بی گل رخی : در فغان و ناله بنگر هر چهار آمد یکی

وامق و فرهاد و مجنون را الفت نسبتی است : ای پری نبود عجب گر هر چهار آمد یکی[2]

1. Sarfī, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Divān-i-Sarfī, Ms. fol. 100a - 100b
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 103b.

Similarly in an other '<u>Gh</u>azal' he praises his beloved thus:

دلبر من در جهان بسیار دیدم روی خوب ؛ لیک جز تو خوب روی را ندیدم خوی خوب
روی تو روی پری و خوی تو خوی ملک ؛ عاشق این خوی خوبم واله این روی خوب
شاخهای سنبل است استاده بر بالای گل ؛ یا پریشان گشته بر رخسار خوبت موی خوب
لائق نظارهٔ رخسارهٔ خوبت نشد ؛ تا نه چشمم را سراسر کرد شست و شوی خوب
خاطر صرفی بروی خوب جانان مائل است ؛ آری آری چون نباشد میل خاطر سوی خوب

The habits and manners of Ṣarfī's beloved are not different from the beloveds of others. The murderer of lover and friend of his rivals. A tyrant, and a faithless: but inspite of all this the lover loves from the core of his heart. He weeps in separation, heaves sighs and is ready to die for the sake of his love. He pays no heed to friends' exhortation and, therefore, these have no effects upon him. He is happy even in the unfavourable circumstances and undergoes all sorts of troubles for the sake of his beloved. on the contrary the beloved's kindness to others is only too obvious while the real lover is always oppressed. Despite this the lover prays that this "Love vexation" may never reduce. The following '<u>Gh</u>azals' bear testimony to the fact.

می کشی بیگانه ای جز من درویش را ؛ وه نمی دانم من مسکین گناه خویش را
کیش او نیکوست یعنی شیوهٔ عاشق کشی ؛ من بدین خوبی ندیدم هیچ نیکو کیش را
غایت لطفست از و کشتن بشمشیر جفا ؛ بر من است این لطف باری آن جفا اندیش را
در خدنگ اوست ریش سینهٔ چاکم ولی ؛ بر ز پیکانش نباید مرهمی این ریش را
از پس و پیشم اگر چه می رسد تیر بلا ؛ من ز حیرانی نه پس دانم ونی هم پیش را

1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī. Ms. fol. 67 b

زیستم در محنت هجران بامید وصال ÷ ساخت شیرین عیش امید نوش زهر نیش را

خلق در اندیشهٔ دنیا و فکر آخرت

نیست پروای دو عالم صرفی درویش را[1]

تا مرا تا کی بگوئی عقل میخوانی مرا ÷ من همان دیوانهٔ عشقم که میدانی مرا

از دو زلف او پریشان ست جان من ولی ÷ موجب جمعیت آمد این پریشانی مرا

گرچه از اندوه عشق او دلم را محنتی ست ÷ لیک از این محنتش صد راحت جانی مرا

عشق بازی کار دشوار است نزد دیگران ÷ لیک در دشواری عشقت آسانی مرا

از وصال او حیاتی یافتم حاصل نشد

تا زکیم ساخت این صرفی ز خود فانی مرا[2]

دل ما برد و جدا گشت ز ما دلبر ما ÷ وه که نی دلبر ما ماند و نه دل در بر ما

آن مه زهره جبین بر گذران کرد طلوع ÷ طالع ما نگر و خاصیت اختر ما!

ای پری محمل از اقلیم خود بر بستیم تو ÷ تا سوی ملک جنون عشق تو شد رهبر ما

شست و شو یافته لبش دیده ز سیلاب سرشک ÷ لیک نقش تو نشد محو ز چشم تر ما!

به تماشای گلستان نکشد ما را دل ÷ سیم اشک است روان بر رخ همچو زر ما

صرفیا سرو قدی بر سر ما سایه نگند ÷ ای خدا کم نشود سایه او بر سر ما[3]

In 'Ghazals' the main theme is love, but there are very rare cases of beloved's union. The lover has the grace of talking to his beloved only in the world of imagination. In Sarfī's poetry we find fine examples of conversation of a lover with the beloved. Here in the following 'Ghazal' the poet expressing his inner feelings puts

1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Dīvān-i-Sarfī, Ms. fol. 62a
2. Ibid, ms, fol. 62b-63a
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 14a.

questions to his beloved. The light and sweet words, the felicity and fluency of expression leave a wonderful effect on the heart of the reader.

ز حال زار من مبتلا نمی‌پرسی ؛ چه دیدی و چه شنیدی چرا نمی‌پرسی

مرا چو غیر وفای تو نیست آئینی ؛ چه واقعست گدای بی وفا نمی‌پرسی

چو برده دل ما را ندانیم از چه سبب ؛ ز بیدلان خود ای دلربا نمی‌پرسی

ندانم ار گذری سوی بیدلان گاهی ؛ همین ز حال پریشان ما نمی‌پرسی

ز حال صرفی غمگین بپرس بهر خدا
نمی‌شود دل او شاد تا نمی‌پرسی [1]

And then this '<u>Gh</u>azal':

قد کشیدی و جهان پرشور و غوغا کرده‌ای ؛ فتنه از قامت خود باز برپا کرده‌ای

ز آشنا بیگانه با بیگانه گشتی آشنا ؛ وه چه آیین و چه رسم است اینکه پیدا کرده‌ای

سینه‌ام چو خانه و کالای خانه نقد جان ؛ خانه‌ام را رخنه گویا بهر کالا کرده‌ای

تیغ عشق و خنجر شوق است شمشیر بلا ؛ ای فلک اسباب قتل من مهیا کرده‌ای

نور چشم من جهان در چشم من تاریک شد ؛ تا ز غم من تو بچشم مردمان جا کرده‌ای

خواستی بار دگر وصل سهی سروی که رفت ؛ وه که عمر رفته را صرفی تمنا کرده‌ای

In the following '<u>Gh</u>azal' we find that the beloved had put some question to the lover, to which he gave the proper replies. The simplicity in reply is charming.

گفت در بازی چشمان تو بی چیزی نیست ؛ گفتمش لعل در افشان تو بی چیزی نیست

1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, <u>Sh</u>aikh, <u>Divan-i-Sarfi</u>, Ms. fol. 103 b
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 101 a

گفت خال تو پریشان نبود بی وجهی ؛ گفتمش زلف پریشان تو بی چیزی نیست

گفت جز کشتن عشاق ندارم کاری ؛ گفتمش خنجر مژگان تو بی چیزی نیست

گفت در رشتهٔ جان تو چرا پیچ و خم است ؛ گفتمش کاکل پیچان تو بی چیزی نیست

گفت سرگشته بمیدان بلا چون گوی ؛ گفتمش زلف چو چوگان تو بی چیزی نیست

گفت بر جان تو این داغ سیه را که نهاد ؛ گفتمش خال زنخدان تو بی چیزی نیست

گفت صرفی ز چه گلی شد جگرم صد پاره ؛ گفتمش چاک گریبان تو بی چیزی نیست[1]

Ṣarfī often uses the mode of address. This address is not only to others but also to himself. In the last verses he often addresses himself and it is probably because he likes this mode very much. A '<u>Gh</u>azal' is reproduced here to serve as an example.

گزید یار چو بیگانگان جدائی باز ؛ دگر عجب که کند میل آشنائی باز

زیاده از دو سه شب مهمان نمی باشد ؛ تو رنج مهمان نمی نمائی باز

چو عید آمدی امسال و باز بگذشتی ؛ دلی عجب که چو امسال دگر آئی باز

سپرده ام بتو جان لیکن این چه شیدائیست ؛ که گاه میدهی و گاه میربائی باز

چون رخ نهفت از بخت تیره روز الست ؛ عجب که پرده ز رخسار خود گشائی باز

کنونکه دیدهٔ من بی تو شد سفید بیا ؛ که یابم از مه رویت روشنائی باز

امید نیست که صرفی بتان وفا نکنند

دگر کنند نمایند بی وفائی باز[2]

Ṣarfī's '<u>Gh</u>azals' do not lack sentiments and emotions. They are full of them. He depicts the emotions and delicate inner feelings

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, <u>Sh</u>aikh, <u>Dīvān-i-ṣarfī</u>, Ms, fol. 71a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 81 b

of a lover in a beautiful manner. The simplicity of expression and sincerity of passion are wedded in an indissoluble union. A lover in Persian poetry is always an afflicted, distressed and oppressed one who cannot take of his gloves even if he is on the right path. A true lover can at the most remind his beloved of the promises she made but he cannot compell her to fullfil the promise or remain true to him. Ṣarfī's beloved, like the beloved's of others, as has already been stated, is a "Collection of contraries." She is kind to the rival , pays frequent visits to his house and with the life giving lips vivifies him, but on the contrary she turns the "Bright day" of the lover into "Dark nights" by putting her veil on her face when ever she sees him (the lover). By the way, it is to be stated that beloved in Persian poetry is both male and female: faithless, cruel, rude, unkind and hot-tempered. In addition, the rival also teases the lover, who thinks himself fortunate if he stealthly catches a glimpse of the beloved. What can a true lover do when the beloved likes the company of the rivals, never takes pity upon him and never sends for him ? On the contrary only causes distraction to the lover with ill-treatment.

گر یادم از آن کوی براند چه توان کرد ⁛ ور سوی خودم باز نخواند چه توان کرد

گر نالهٔ زارم نکند گوش چه چاره ⁛ ور حال من زار نداند چه توان کرد

تیغ مژه اش تیز بخون من زار است ⁛ گر جان من از تیغ ستاند چه توان کرد

گر لطف کنی جورم از وی برسد آری ⁛ گر عمر بیک حال نماند چه توان کرد

خواهم غم خود گویمش اما اگر آن شوخ ⁛ این قصه شنیدن نتواند چه توان کرد

چون از لب جان بخش نداد آب حیاتم ⁛ گر شربت مرگم بچشاند چه توان کرد

صرفی که بکام دل دشمن ز دوران است ⁛ گر دست بکامش نرساند چه توان کرد[1]

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh, Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī, Ms, fol. 78a

اگر دلدار خواهد صحبت اغیار چتوان کرد ÷ وگر با بیدلان خود نگردد یار چتوان کرد

نخواهد خاطر ما جز بت دلدار خود لیکن ÷ اگر ما را نخواهد خاطر دلدار چتوان کرد

اگر بر من کشد تیغ جفا آن شوخ چه توان گفت ÷ ز تیغش گر شود جان و دلم افگار چتوان کرد

ز طعن ناصح و جور رقیب او در آزارم ÷ اگر جانان هم آید بر سر آزار چتوان کرد

من بیدل چو از درد فراق او در آزارم ÷ گر از درد فراق او بمیرم زار چتوان کرد

اگر یارم نکرده همنشین خواهم سگش بودم ÷ دگر از صحبت من دارد او بس عار چتوان کرد

پری روی که از شوق رخش خلق است دیوانه
اگر ننماید ای صرفی بکس رخسار چتوان کرد[1]

These verses indicate the grief and despair, desperation and disappointment, cruelty of the beloved and helplessness of the lover. In the following '<u>Gh</u>azal'[2] he, with much grief, addresses the beloved and says:-

تو بکنار دگران تا بکی ÷ من ز کناری نگران تا بکی

روی تو که آئینهٔ نور خداست ÷ در نظر بی‌بصران تا بکی

ترک من از تیغ غمت چاک چاک ÷ سینهٔ خونین جگران تا بکی

جان بلب آمد ز جفایت مرا ÷ لطف برای دگران تا بکی

منتظر سرمهٔ خاک درت ÷ دیدهٔ صاحب نظران تا بکی

بلبل و گل بی رخ تو در چمن ÷ ناله کنان جامه دران تا بکی

چهرهٔ تو زرد چو زر صرفیا ÷ در هوس سیمبران تا بکی

شب هجران ز ناله بس چه کنم ÷ گر ننالم ز هجر بس چکنم

دامن وصل او بدست رقیب ÷ گر مرا نیست دسترس چکنم

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, <u>Sh</u>ai<u>kh</u>, <u>Dīvān-i-Sarfī</u>, Ms. fol. 78 b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 104 b

چند منع من از فغان کردن ؛ جز فغان نیست هم نفس چکنم

در سر من هوای قامت او ؛ سرو و شمشاد را هوس چکنم

بی کس افتاده ام بوادی غم ؛ کس من نیست هیچ کس چکنم

ساربان چون براند محمل دوست ؛ غیر فریاد چون جرس چکنم

بلبل باغ قدسم ای صرفی ؛ وه چه سازم درین قفس چکنم[1]

A number of 'Ghazals' can be quoted in this respect to serve as examples. Here a few verses would suffice.

گفته بودی روی خود بنمایمت گر جان دهی ؛ جان بلب اکنون رسید آن وعدهٔ دیدار کو[2]

با دوست چه گویم که از هجر تو مردیم ؛ او را چه ضرورت بوجود و عدم ماست[3]

بی وفائی کز غمش خون شد دلم غمخوار کیست ؛ وانکه قطع یاری من کرد یارب یار کیست[4]

دلم امید آن دارد که باز آن سرو باز آید ؛ خرد گوید محال است این که عمر رفته باز آید[5]

بتو نسبتی نیست مشکین خطان را ؛ ز ظلمت بود فرق بسیار تا نور[6]

حجابت گرچه بسیار است شادم ؛ لکن این لطف را زنهار اندک[7]

مرا لب جانان نهد لب ساغر و از رشک آن ؛ دیده را پرخون چو جام باده گلگون کنم[8]

مرا صد درد جانکاه است پنهان در دل پرخون ؛ چه سازم چون کنم ظاهر که یک محرم نمی بینم[9]

It is evident from the '<u>Gh</u>azals' and verses quoted above that Ṣarfī's love is somewhat purer as compared to a number of Persian poets. There is no lust. Profane love is in human nature and mystics call it the ladder of devine love. Therefore, psychologically, we cannot deny it. We would not be wrong in saying that the origin of Ṣarfī's poetry is nature, that may be mother nature or nature of the beloved, his imagination has tried to reflect it.

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qūb, <u>Sh</u>aikh, Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī, Ms, fol. 94b-95a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 99a
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 71a
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 71b
5. Ibid, Ms, fol 75a
6. Ibid, Ms fol. 81b
7. Ibid, Ms fol. 90a
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 93a
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 94a

MUSIC AND MELODY:

Ṣarfī's poetry does not lack music and melody. This is one of the chief characteristics of his poetry. It seems that Ṣarfī was some what sensitive to music. It would, however, not be out of point to mention here that some forms of poetry are near to music due to their form. For example Composite-tie, Return-tie etc., basically contain an element of chorus singing. At the end of every stanza the repetition of a hemistich or a verse, or at certain intervals continously repeating the 'Radīf' and 'Qāfiyah' or after the end of each stanza attaching small pieces of the same rhyme, bring forth the chorus singing. But so far as 'Ghazal' is concerned it is not necessary that every metre and rhyme should have musicality. It depends upon particular metres. Some are fluent and melodious while the others are not. Long metres are near to melody and music but small metres are not totally devoid of it. A few 'Ghazals' are reproduced here.

گر بی گل رخسار او بینم سوی گلزارها ؛ یارب که نشتر گاهها شود در چشم من چو خارها

ای بندگی بوالفضول از بندهای من طول ؛ کارم شود گر زین قبول اما بدل انکارها

گر سرو گل رخسار من باشد روان سوی چمن ؛ از شرم او سازد وطن گلبن پس دیوارها

در بزم عیشش مطربا چنگ و رباب خویش را ؛ از رشتهای جان ما باید که سازی تارها

یاران جدا از دلستان امروز خواهم داد جان ؛ فردای محشر میتوان دیدن مگر دو بارها

یارب چرا از من رمید آن شوخ و با غیر آرمید ؛ یکبار هم سویم ندید اما بسویش بارها

ای دلبر کافر نشان بگشاده زلف داران ؛ تسبیحهای زاهدان گشته همه زنارها

کار رقیبت جور و کین بر دردمندان حزین ؛ از دست بدکاری چنین تا کی کشم آزارها

گل منفعل از روی تو سرو از قد دلجوی تو

بلبل چو صرفی سوی تو رو کرده از گلزار ها [1]

دردا که بکوی تو رسیدن نگذارند ؛ ور خود برسم سوی تو دیدن نگذارند

فریاد من است آنکه ازین غم نکند ما ؛ فریاد که فریاد کشیدن نگذارند

از سحر رقیبان عجبی نیست که بر ما ؛ هم بادی ز کوی تو وزیدن نگذارند

صد دام فن و حیله کشایند که سویم ؛ مرغی هم ازان سوی پریدن نگذارند

صرفی ز لبت چون شنود حرف بیدل

آواز سگت را چو شنیدن نگذارند [2]

چو من زاهد ترا جویان عجب باشد اگر باشد ؛ بمعبودی منش ایمان اگر باشد عجب باشد

دو چشمش را که بی باکند و کافر کیش و مردم کش ؛ ترحم بر مسلمانان اگر باشد عجب باشد

ندیدم هیچ لعلی و عقیقی چون لبت آری ؛ بعالم جوهری چون جان اگر باشد عجب باشد

محال است اینکه جز واجب کسی داند دهانت را ؛ دو چوش نیز در امکان اگر باشد عجب باشد

دل صرفی ست ای گل عندلیب گلشن کویت

چو بلبل مائل بستان اگر باشد عجب باشد [3]

کس از خوبان وفاداری نه بیند ؛ جز آئین ستمگاری نه بیند

لب شوقت خواری ما عزت ماست ؛ عزیز عشق تو خواری نه بیند

خوش آن لحظه که چشمت سویم از ناز ؛ چنان بیند که بیداری نه بیند

عزیز من بمهر حسن یوسف ؛ بدور تو خریداری نه بیند

گر از غم میرد این بیچاره بی یار ؛ ز کس یاری و غمخواری نه بیند

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1. Sarfī, Ya'qūb, Shaikh. Dīvān-i-Sarfī, Ms, fol. 61a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 76a
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 76a

بیاران دگر دل را چه کار است ÷ گر از یار خودش یاری نه بینند

گرفتارم بعشق تند خوی تو ÷ بدینسان کس گرفتاری نه بیند

سال ای صرفی از بیماری تن

دلت باید که بیماری نه بیند[1]

Ṣarfī's '<u>Gh</u>azals' have natural felicity. In his verses there is much fluency and in this felicity and fluency there is uniformity. In it we fail to find the tumult and inconstant noise of a stream in the mountains but here we watch the slow and uniform flow of a river on the plains. In short Ṣarfī's verses cause a particular rapture to the reader. In the following '<u>Gh</u>azal' the repetition of the 'Radīf' is noteworthy. The poet has used words and letters with a higher melodious and passional value. The melodiousness of the letters ت - ن - م is no secret. The criterion fixed by the melodis for the correction of melody is nothing but the repition of ت along with ن . Besides this, those words become simple, delicate and fluent in which حروف علت are in majority. Taking into view these facts just read this '<u>Gh</u>azal!

نسیما رو به سوی گلستان آهسته آهسته ÷ بگل کن شرح حال بلبلان آهسته آهسته

اگر پای بکویش رفته رفته تا صدا راهی ÷ بشرح حال ما بگشا زبان آهسته آهسته

در آی از راه تعظیم و بلبهای ادب هردم ÷ ببوس از روی صدق آن آستان آهسته آهسته

اگر در خدمتش تقصیر باشد معذرت خواهم ÷ بعرض خادمان او رسان آهسته آهسته

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1. Ṣarfī, Ya'qub, <u>Sh</u>aikh, <u>Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī</u>, Ms, fol. 76 b.

بروآهسته آهسته در آن کو و بگو با او ؛ ز حالم اندک اندک همچنان آهسته آهسته

اگر روزی تواند سر نهادن بر سر راهش ؛ فشانم زیر پایش نقد جان آهسته آهسته

بروبم خاک کویش را بمژگان در ره او ؛ زنم آبی بچشم خون فشان آهسته آهسته

برسم تحفه یا بهر نثار خادم کویش ؛ کنم درهای اشک خود روان آهسته آهسته

اگر یابم مجال دم زدن نالان کنم با او ؛ غم و اندوه غربت را بیان آهسته آهسته

ز هجران داستانی دارم ار گریان بگویم ؛ به پیش دوستان این داستان آهسته آهسته

گهی روی نهم گاهی جبین می سایم ای صرفی
بخاک پای آن شاه جهان آهسته آهسته[1]

We have already quoted a few '__Gh__azals' to show that Ṣarfī's poetry does not lack music and melody: therefore, we refrain from quoting more and leave it to the reader of Ṣarfī's 'Dīvān' where a number of '__Gh__azals will fascinate his fancy.

A study of Ṣarfī's 'Dīvān' brings to light that it lacks "Loftiness of imagination." There are verses, no doubt, which can be brought under this category, but they are not in abundance. There are, however, some '__Gh__azals' which are full of passion and cause excitement while studying them. He has also mastery over the language which enabled him to write good verses even in the difficult metres. While studying or hearing a '__Gh__azal the reader or hearer not only attends to the subject, style and expression etc., but to language, elegance and taste of the poet. Here we quote two or three '__Gh__azals' to serve as examples.

همه گشتند خاک راه تو خوبان مشکین خط ؛ غبار آن بود هر صفحهٔ رخسار تو این خط

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1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, __Sh__aikh, __Dīvān-i-Ṣarfī__, Ms, fol. 101 b.

دمید از عارضش خط یا کشیدان ترک عاشق کش ∴ ز دیوان ازل در کشتن عشاق مسکین خط

ندیدم تازه باغی در بهار حسن چون رویش ∴ گل آن عارضش و سنبلش زلف و ریاحین خط

بر من بادشاه خوبان در کشور خوبی ست ∴ بخدمت چون غلامان داده اند او را سلاطین خط

بدین زاهدان گر ترک عشق اولی بود هم سنت ∴ که داده مصحف روی تو بهر نسخ دین خط

بخط سبز شد آراسته رخسار گلگونش ∴ برنگ دیگر آن رخسار را داده تزئین خط

چو آنان مهر او را غالباً صرفی نمی دانند

که زیب و زینت خوبان بیفزاید ز تسکین خط[1]

ای که تا دوش تو افتاده پریشان کاکل ∴ گوش کن حال پریشان مرا زان کاکل

در گلستان جمالت بود این تازه بهار ∴ لاله رخسار و سنبل خط و ریحان کاکل

غالباً بر سرت این آفت جان طومار یست ∴ بهر تعویذ ز چشم بد دوران کاکل

کاکل خود بنمودی و دگر پیدا کرد ∴ فتنها را ز سر از بهر دل و جان کاکل

همچو صرفی شود احوال همه دگرگون

گر تو آشفته کنی زلف و پریشان کاکل[2]

چنین که همت نفزون در سرم هوای قدح ∴ چرا نه سر چو صراحی نهم بپای قدح

بس است بر سر خاکم پیالهٔ لاله ∴ دلیل آنکه منم کشته هوای قدح

اگر چه صرف قدح نقد جان شود گو بشود ∴ که باد جان من و صد چو من فدای قدح

غلام همت آن رندی کشتم ساقی ∴ که نقد هر دو جهان داد در بهای قدح

در آرزوی شراب بهشت بود صرفی ∴ همیشه درد من درد کش دعای قدح[3]

Truth and sincerity are also characteristics of his poetry

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1. Sarfi, Ya'qub, Shaikh, Divan-i-Sarfi, Ms, fol. 85b - 86a
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 91b
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 73b

Like his own character and temperament, his '<u>Gh</u>azals' temperament is also simple and can be understood easily. Many of his verses are easy, delicate, fluent and effective; but he swanked much less than many of his fellow poets. In his 'Dīvān' of '<u>Gh</u>azals' we have come across the following verse which is some what in his own praise.

لطف طبع تو صرفیا در شعر ∴ از ظهیری و انوری عجب است

This does not mean that Ṣarfī did not know his poetic power. He knew it. The circumstances which confronted him were such that we cannot expect better verse, than this. He has expressed it in his Mas̱navī "Wāmiq 'Azrā." Ṣarfī was one of the great poets of Kashmīr. He was interested in following the foot-prints of the classical poets; and this is evident from a study of his poetry. But a colour of innovation and orignality in some respects is also visible. His mind was not a philosophical one and, therefore, there is little depth in his thought. However, his executive style and diction coupled with simplicity, felicity and fluency make the "Poetic accompaniment" of his 'Dīvān' exhilarating.

1

KHAWĀJAH HABĪB ULLAH HUBBĪ

Khawājah Habīb Ullah Hubbī of Nau-Shahr (Srīnagar) was a poet of no inconsiderable merit. He was born in 963 A.H. (1555 A.D.) in the time of Sultān 'Alī Shāh Chak. His father came of a Ganā'ī family and was a salt merchant by profession. Hubbī was placed under the tutelage of Mulla Hasan Āfāqī, under whom he studied Persian and Arabic. He, then, completed his advanced studies under Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī. Afterwards he became a disciple of Mīr Muhammad Khalīfah. Khawājah Hubbī was passionately devoted to music. He died in 1027 A.H. (1617 A.D.) in the month of Zul-Hajj in an epidemic. Hubbī was the author of Tanbīh-ul-Qalūb (تنبيه القلوب) and Rāhat-ul-Qalūb (راحت القلوب) treatises on mysticism. He also wrote the life of his teacher Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī entitled Maqāmāt-i-Shān (مقامات الشان) in 1011 A.H. (1602 A.D.). HUbbī was regarded as a saint. It is said that Jahāngīr on one occasion went to Khawājah Hubbī's place when he found him engaged in Samā' (Music of mystics) Hubbī's Dīvān is a specimen of fine poetry, written in simple style and short metre, replete with fine ideas finely put, and shows the orignality and freshness of his imaginative mind. He was master in the art of composing chronograms of the prophet, his caliphs, and other notesble of Islam[2].

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1. As he was the pupil of Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi so he is being given place after him.
2. Ṣūfī, Dr. G.M.D. Kāshīr, vol. II, pp 474-475.

It is note worthy that a study of his 'Dīvān' indicates that he used two 'Takhallus' ie. Ḥubbī and Ḥabīb.

ḤABĪ'S DĪVĀN:

An incomplete copy of his 'Dīvān' is preserved in the Panjāb Public Library, Lāhore; but is in such a bad condition that none can derive any benifit from its study. This 'Dīvān' contains about forty folios. They are white in colour having 12 lines . Approximate--ly the number of verses would be about nine hundered.

This worst possible copy of Ḥubbī's Dīvān abruptly begins from 'Radīf' دال . No number of folios has been mentioned, therefore, it cannot be definitely said how many folios are missing. We have marked the first available folio as 1 a. It is, however, interesting to note that folio 1a contains the last two verses of a 'Ghazal' by Ḥubbī. They are:

مرا شوق لبوی عشق بازی ست ؛ ترا میلی باین ریش و ریا شد
نیاز باد ستم سوی حبیب است ؛ شہنشاہی زعشقت گر گدا شد

After this there is a 'Ghazal' of Ṣarfī which goes up to half of folio 1b. The opening line of Ṣarfī's 'Ghazal is:

چو تو خوبی خوش ادای نباشد ؛ اگر یخته دگر جای نباشد

After this 'Ghazal' of Ṣarfī we notice Ḥabīb's Ghazal' in the same metre. It reads:-

چو تو سروی به بستانی نباشد ؛ اگر باشد خرامانی نباشد
کسی کز جان پرستار بتم نیست ؛ مسلمان مسلمانی نباشد
بجز عاشق کسی نم ؛ که عشق او کم از جانی نباشد

بحیرت درک حسن تو محال است ؛ که ادراکش بحیرانی بباشد

بحکم عشق نفی است واثبات ؛ عطا جز آن بمهمانی نباشد

ز خوان غیب نعمت جز بلا نیست ؛ کرم جز آن بمهمانی نباشد

حبیبا یک گلی بی خار دیدم

که آن گل در گلستانی نباشد

Folios 3a to 33b are in such a bad condition that not even a hemistich can be read. All these folios contain '<u>Gh</u>azals'. These '<u>Gh</u>azals' are alphabatically arranged and go up to 'Radīf' ی . Then on folios 33b to 34b there are 'Rubā'īs' (Quatrains). Folio 33b contains 1½ 'Rubā'īs', ie a Rubā'ī and the first verse of the second 'Rubā'ī' but we failed to read them. We have, however, been able to read this 'Rubā'ī' of folio 34a.

ای یوسف اگر چه در عصیان باشی ؛ مانند زلیخا تو بحرمان باشی

گر تو بکنی اطاعت امر خدا ؛ در مصر عزیزی ز عزیزان باشی

On folio 34b, there is 'Triangular' containing the chronograms on the deaths of the holy prophet and his worthy companions (May peace of God be with them) This 'triangular' goes up to folio 35b.

From folios 35b to 37b, again there are 'Rubā'īs' (Quatrains) but most of them especially written on folios 37a and 37b cannot be read as the white ants have spoiled the folios to their heart's desire.

At folio 38a we find something written in Arabic prose which is illegible. At 38b there are mystical verses. The opening line is as follows:

سر خوش از کوی خرابات گذر کردم دوش ؛ بطلبگاری ترسا بچهٔ باده فروش

Here the 'Dīvān' of Habīb ends and the 'Dīvān' of Sarfī begins

Here we take the liberty to point out that the colour of the paper of Habīb's 'Dīvān' is white while that of Sarfī's is brown. It seems to be an old copy, but it is regretted that the year of copying it has not been mentioned by the scribe with the result that we are not in a position to fix the date of its copying. There is no seal on the book which may indicate that the 'Dīvān' remained in the possession of such and such persons. This precious and rare copy of Hubbī's 'Dīvān' has been damaged by the white-ants to such an extent that it has now lost all its charm and worth. No benifit can be derived from it. se have been able to copy a few '<u>Gh</u>azals' and 'Rubā'īs' etc., from the said 'Dīvān' with much difficulty and, therefore, deem it proper to copy here, so that these may remain a source of Ḥubbī's immortality for some years to come.

صبا امشب را بوی وفا آورد ∴ ز بوی آن صفای پر صفا آورد

دماغ جان ما را کرده آن تازه ∴ دل ما را چه داروی شفا آورد

از آن خطی که چون مشک خطا باشد ∴ خط قلبش ز بر جور و جفا آورد

چو صاحب بر درش مالح لبی بود ∴ ندانم جان او ؟ آورد

حبیب از این سخنهای که از خود

بمدح و ثنای مصطفیٰ آورد

از این چمن پی که گل چو لاله میرود ∴ جان همچو دل ز عشق بدنباله میرود

پیر و جوان کسی بجهان هست پایدار ∴ خواهی جوان و خواهی نود ساله میرود

گیرم که در کنار رقیب است مه کنون ∴ شادیم با که ماه از این هاله میرود

1. Hubbī, Habību llah, <u>Kh</u>wājah, <u>Dīvān-i-Hubbī</u>, Ms. fol. 2a.

دندان من چو بالب خورشید رو رسد ÷ آن میرود ز مهر به بازاله میرود

دلدل سوار صفدر این معرکه سزد
چیزی مگو که در آلب بز غاله میرود[1]

صوفی ز خانقاه به میخانه می رود ÷ بوی ز راه یابد و مستانه میرود
نوری ز شمع در دل پروانه چون فتد ÷ جانش رود نه سوز از پروانه میرود
بهر نثار دامن خود پر زدر کنم ÷ هردم ز رشتهٔ مژه دردانه میرود
دل بهر گنج حسن که لیلی وش منست ÷ مجنون شده ست در ره ویرانه میرود
آن آشنا بخانهٔ دل آنگهی رسد ÷ کز خانهٔ دلم همه بیگانه میرود
دستان زنان و پای چو کوبان برابشق ÷ زآسیب آن پری دل دیوانه میرود

از روی حب آن وطن اصل خود حبیب
گردیده ست عزم جزم کزین خانه میرود[2]

شدا ست چون گل رویت همیشه خار حسود ÷ خزان نور جهان است چون بهار حسود (کذا)
حسود را نشود هیچ گونه هیچ علاج ÷ که هست نیست بتر هر حسد چو مار حسود
بلی نبندد پی آزار خار {براه ÷ که مثل بولهب این ست کار وبار حسود
سر حسود بریده شود بماند سود ÷ چه سود آنکه شوم رسته از غبار حسود
نه بولهب است آن حسود بلکه زنش ÷ رسد بگردن خوار حسود خار حسود
اگرچه پاک شود این جهان ز آزارش ÷ ولی چه سود فتد تا رود هزار حسود

چو آفتاب شود ای حبیب در اشراق
لسطلت است چون سپره وار حسود[3]

1. Hubbi, Habib Ullah, Khwaja, Divan-i-Hubbi , Ms. fol. 1a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 2b
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 2b.

بوبکر که صدیق لقب شد ز نبی ∴ بین افضل اصحاب نبی آن عربی

از صدق و صفا ∴ در فقر و فنا

چون رفت ازین عالم و تاریخ ز دل ∴ از نام ابی بکر نگر اسم ابی

آن پاک سیر سرور آفاق عمر ∴ روشن شده بر چرخ عدالت چو قمر

از فضل و کمال ∴ اندر همه حال

زین عالم فانی چون روان شد به لقا ∴ بودست چو پاکیزه سیر پاک سشر

از روی قضا ∴ تاریخ ز سال

آن حضرت عثمان که منور بود ∴ هم جامع قرآن و شه صفدر بود

در برج (حیا) ∴ در ملک صفا

چون رفت ازین عالم و تاریخ ز دل ∴ گفتا که حیای او شمر خوشتر بود

حبی طلبید ∴ بی روی اذا[1]

آن حیدر کرار که شیر ازلی است ∴ نزدیک خدا و خلق بی شبهه ولی است

بر دشمن ؟ ∴ از چرخ چو ماه

پنهان ز جهان گشت و ز دل تاریخش ∴ گفتا که پس پرده روی علی است

حبی طلبید ∴ با عزت و جاه

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1. Hubbi, Habib Ullah, Khawajah, Divan-i-Hubbi, Ms. fol. 35a.

رباعیات

من بنده شاه همدانی هستم ÷ پرورده آن علی ثانی هستم
هر کس که محب او شده است از دل و جان ÷ از صدق دلش محب جانی هستم [1]

آنکس که ز دل ملازم درگاه هست ÷ دستش ز گشادن درش کوتاه است
گر می طلبد که چیست مفتاح درش ÷ گو گفتن لا اله الا الله است

این راه حسین است نه راه دگری ÷ وه وه چه حسینی که شده بحر و بری
خوارزم بود مولد پاکش ز جهان ÷ مقصود من از صد کرمش یک نظری

ای دل سند از ثانی یعقوب طلب ÷ این نسبت از آن سالک مجذوب طلب
در بیت حزن مقام کن از غم عشق ÷ آنگاه ز دل یوسف مطلوب طلب

برخیز ز هر هوس که سر سازیم ÷ از دیده و دل همیشه منظر سازیم
باشد که کند جلوه گری دلبر ما ÷ هر لحظه سری فدای دلبر سازیم [2]

جای غم و شادی نه که سینه ماست ÷ بی یار غم و نشان گنجینه ماست
چون عشق ز لعل لیست که در گنجینه ÷ بنگر چه نکو گوهر دیرینه ماست [3]

1. Hubbī, Habīb Ullah, Khawājah, Dīvān-i-Hubbī, Ms, fol. 35b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol36a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 36 b.

1. Hubbī, Habīb Ullah, Khawājah, Dīvān-i-Hubbī, Ms, fol. 37 a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 37b
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38b.

رباعیات

من بندهٔ شاه همدانی هستم ÷ پروردهٔ آن علی ثانی هستم
هر کس که محب او شده ست از دل و جان ÷ از صدق دلش محب جانی هستم[1]

آنکس که ز دل ملازم درگاه هست ÷ دستش ز گشادن درش کوتاه است
گر می طلبد که چیست مفتاح درش ÷ گو گفتن لا اله الا الله است

این راه حسین است نه راه دگری ÷ وه وه چه حسینی که شده بحر و بری
خوارزم بود مولد پاکش ز جهان ÷ مقصود من از حد کرمش یک نظری

ای دل شنو از ثانی یعقوب طلب ÷ این نسبت از آن سالک مجذوب طلب
در بیت حزن مقام کن از غم عشق ÷ آنگاه ز دل یوسف مطلوب طلب

برخیز ز هر سوی سری سر سازیم ÷ از دیده و دل پیش منظر سازیم
باشد که کند جلوه گری دلبر ما ÷ هر لحظه سری فدای دلبر سازیم[2]

جای غم و شادی نه مگر سینهٔ ماست ÷ بی بار غم دلشان گنجینهٔ ماست
جز عشق نه لذتیست که در گنجینه ÷ بنگر چه نکو گوهر دیرینهٔ ماست[3]

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1. Hubbi, Habib Ullah, Khawājah, Dīvān-i-Hubbi, Ms, fol. 35b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol36a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 36 b.

ای دل ز هوا بال کس طمع مکن ؛ بی ذل سؤال آنچه رسد منع مکن
در طمع بود خواری و در منع ریا ؛ این هر دو گذار آنچه دهد جمع مکن[1]

حسرتا رفت از جهان بیرون ؛ حضرت میر حمزه والا
طلبیدم چو سال تاریخش ؛ یافتم شیخ حمزه دانا[2]
۱۰۲۶

سرخوش از کوی خرابات گذر کردم دوش ؛ بطلبگاری ترسا بچهٔ باده فروش
پیشم آمد ز سر کوچه پری رخساری ؛ کافری عشوه گری زلف چو زنار بدوش
گفتم این کوی چه کویست ترا خانه کجاست ؛ ای مه نو خم ابروی ترا حلقه بگوش
گفت تسبیح بیفکند و زنار بپوش ؛ سنگ بر شیشهٔ تقوی زن و پیمانه بنوش
بعد از آن سوی من آ تا بتو گویم رمزی ؛ راه بنمایم اگر بر سخنم داری گوش
من چو دیوانه و سرمست دویدم از پیش ؛ چو رسیدم بمقامی که نه دین ماند و نه هوش
دیدم از دور گروهی همه دیوانه و مست ؛ از تف بادهٔ عشق آمده در جوش و خروش
بی دف و چنگ و صراحی همه در عیش و نشاط ؛ بی می و مطرب و ساقی همه در نوشانوش
چون سر رشتهٔ امید برفت از دستم ؛ خواستم تا سخنی پرسم از و گفت خموش
این نه کعبه است که بی پاک درآئی بطواف ؛ نیست مسجد که در و بی ادب آئی بخروش
این خرابات مغان است درو رندانند ؛ از دم تسبیح ازل تا بقیامت مدهوش
گر ترا هست ازین شیوه سر منکر مکن ؛ دین و دنیا بیکی جرعه چو عاشق بفروش[3]

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1. Hubbī, Habīb Ullah, Khawājah, Diwān-i-Hubbī, Ms, fol. 37 a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 37b
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38b.

M A Ẓ H A R Ī K A S H M Ī R Ī

HIS BIRTH AND BIRTH PLACE:

Maẓharī was born in Kashmīr. He spent much of his boy-hood among the simple people of his native country, who were typified homely virtues of man-hood and woman-hood untainted by contact with the corruptions of civilization.

About his birth no definite year can be mentioned, as all the 'Tazkirah writers' and even contemporary historians are silent on the point. According to Nihāvandī he left Kashmīr for Persia (Irān) and some other countries in the prime of his youth,[1]" in or a little before 983-84 A.H.(1575-76 A.D.) This will be discussed in the following pages under "His travels".

It can, therefore, be approximately said that his birth took place at the end of the first half of the 10th century of Hijra which correspond to the 16th century of Christian era. We have arrived to this conclusion because of a Qasidah in praise of Akbar in which he refers to the birth of the emperor's by saying:

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1. Nihāvandī writes in Maʾāsir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p 722.

در عنفوان جوانی و ریعان احتراز شباب و کامرانی بقصد زیارت
امام ثامن ضامن علی بن موسی الرضا والتحیة والثنا و سیر ایران
و سایر عراق و خراسان از دار الملک کشمیر سفر اختیار نمود

زیبت الحمت سلطان چو از بیت الشرف ÷ مشتری اقبال طفلی همچو خورشید آشکار
طفل نتوان گفت بالغ رتبه را کو از شرف ÷ من طفیل ادیم و زین سر از من صد هزار [1]

Akbar sat on the throne as Emperor of India in 963 A.H. (1556 A.D) and prince Salim was born in 978 A.H. (1571 A.D.)

HIS EDUCATION AND BEGINNING OF POETRY:

He got his education in Kashmīr. He was a genius and a [illegible] santient too. In order to give shape to his exhubrant fancy and pure imagination he commenced to write poetry at a very early age,[2] and excelled his contemporary poets of the land. Mullā ʿAbdul Bāqī Nihāvandī says in Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī:

علم شاعری ولوای دانشوری در دارالملک کشمیر که مولد و منشای
او ست و از انجا تا حال هیچ او بر نخاسته برافراشته و رخش
دانشوری و مفاخرت در میدان تافته گوی سبقت از نامداران آن دیار ربوده [3]

" He hoist the flags of poetry and wisdom in the capital of Kashmir which is his birth place, and from there up till now none has risen to rival him, and made the horse of wisdom and self glorifying run in the field and surpassed the other riders of the field in that country."

HIS TAKHALLUṢ:

Mazharī is famous by this pen name although he had Mazhar

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-mazharī, Ms, fol. 21a.
2. Abul Fazl writes in Āʾīn-i-Akbarī at page 251.

مظهری کشمیری از سر آغاز آگهی زبان شعر برگشاد

" Mazharī Kashmīrī wrote poetry from his early youth."

3. Nihāvandī, Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p 721.

as his nom de plume too. This is evident from the verses available from the various 'Tazkirahs' and books of history. eg., in the concluding verses of the chronogram written by him at Akbar's death he says:

مظهر از عجب قران تاریخ فوتش ؛ گفت ازین حسرت دل چغتائی سوخت [1]

Similarly in a Rubā'ī (Quatrain) he uses his nom de plume as Mazhar

مظهر بجهان چون لب لعلیان می باش ؛ ورگل بنوای عندلیبان می باش

با دیدنی از خوبی عالم می ساز ؛ مهمان نظاره چو غریبان می باش [2]

HIS TRAVELS:

In the prime of his youth he left Kashmir for Iran and other Muslim countries. About his travels Nihāvandī says:

در عنفوان جوانی و ریعان احتراز شباب و کامرانی بقصد زیارت امام ثامن ضامن علی بن موسی الرضا التحیة والثنا و سیر ایران و سائر عراق و خراسان از دار الملک کشمیر سفر اختیار کرد [3]

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 210
2. Badayeūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, vol. III, p 344
   A'zam, Muhammad, Wa-qiāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 209.
   Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 77b
   Nāzim, Zahūr-ul-Hasan, Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr, p 98.
3. Nihāvandī, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāsir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III. p 722.

"In juvenilty and the prime of his youth and fortune he with a mind to visit the holy sepulchre of the eigth Imām, Imām Ẕāmin ʿAlī Mūsā-ul-Razā (May salutation and praise be for him) and to see Irān, whole of ʿIrāq and Khurāsān, he set out from Kashmīr."

He first went to Herāt where he met with Khawājah Hussain Ṣanā'ī (d. 995-996[1] A.H. - 1586-87 A.D.) Mirzā Qulī Mailī 9d.1024AH 1615 A.D.) Walī Dast Baiyāẓī (d. 1000 A.H. - 1591-92 A.D.) who were at that time the most renowned poets. Nihāvandī writes thus about his adventure of Herāt.

مولانا موی الیه با وجود صغر سنی و کم مشقیها قصیده که این ابیات از انجاست در هرات بنظم آورده

چه حالت است ندانم جمال سلمی را ∴ که بیش دیدنش افزون کند تمنا را

بر لبت دیده مجنون ز خویش و بیگانه ∴ چه آشنا نگهی بود چشم لیلی را

و بر مستعدان آن جا بر خوانده باعث شهرت او در خراسان و صیت شاعری و نکته پردازی او باطراف و جوانب دوید[2]

" In Herāt, the said Maulānā, inspite of tender age and having little exercise (in the art of composing poetry) composed a Qaṣīdah. These couplets are from that poem.

I do not know what secret,
  In Salma's beauty lurks,
The longer you behold it,
  The more its magic works.

1. About Ṣanā'ī's death Qazvīnī writes in Maikhānah at page 165

در سنه خمسین و تسعین و الف در لاهور رخت حیات بر بسته سفر آخرت اختیار نمود

"In the year one thousand and ninety five, he packed his luggage of life in Lāhore and set out for the next world." (ie died) It is wrong. Perhaps the copiest has committed the blunder. He has written تسعین و الف instead of تسعمائة .

2. Nihāvandī, ʿAbdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p 722

What lovely look lay in Leyla's eyes
That shut Majnuns eyes to friends and strangers.

And read it before the talented personalities of that place which became a source of his renown in Khurāsān and the fame of his poetry and ingenuity spread in all directions."

On hearing this Qasīdah every one became desirious of keeping his company and as Nihāvandī tells us:

اعیان و اکابر آن ملک در تعظیم و توقیرش کوشیدند[1]

" The great men and nobles of that country tried to show reverence and obeisance to him."

Taking into view the statement of Nihāvandī, we are bound to say that Mazharī was in Herāt in 1084 as Qasidah reffered to above is in praise of Ibrāhīm whose name appears in the 13th verse which reads :

چراغ انجمن کائنات ابراهیم ؛ که شود آب رخش آتش تجلی را[2]

There is another Qasīdah in praise of the said Ibrāhīm which runs:

گرفت کون و مکان را بزیر سایه جاه ؛ همای دولت سلطان دین خلیل الله
لطف دین محمد مسمی ابراهیم ؛ ولی حضرت حق محرم حریم الله

This Sultān Ibrāhīm, according to the statement of Razā Qulī Khān Hidāyat,[4] was martyred in 985 A.H. (1577 A.D.)

Further more, there is a Qasīdah in praise of Shāh Ismā'īl who sat on the throne in 1084 A.H. (1576 A.D.) Mazharī wrote a

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1. Nihāvandī, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāsir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p 722
2. Mazharī, Divān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 16a.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 22a.
4. Razā Qulī Khān, Hidāyat, Majma'-ul-Fusahā, Vol. I, p 20.

Qasīdah which runs:

کنون که در عجم از فضل کردگار جلیل ٭ سریر کعبه مثالست و تاج قبله عدیل

گرفته حلقهٔ کعبه بعجز روح امین ٭ نهاده روی تضرع بقبله میکائیل

سزد که از عرب آیند با خلیل خدا ٭ بطوف درگه سلطان عادل اسماعیل[1]

To discuss this subject in detail, a discussion on the statements of the biographers about the poets namely Khawājah Ḥussin Ṣanā'ī and Muhammad Quli Maili, with whom he came in contact in his travels, and who too went to India, and a study of his Qasīdahs will help us to solve this dilema. About Khawājah Hussin Ṣanā'ī, Qazvīnī writes in Maikhānah

سلطان ابراهیم مرزا شربت مرگ چشیده عالم فانی را وداع کرد و در آن
ایام ...... شاه اسمعیل ثانی از قید برآمد بجای پدر بر سریر سلطنت نشسته
بود- خواجه حسین ثنائی خود را بخدمت آن پادشاه ستاره سپاه رسانید و
قصیدهٔ بر سبیل تهنیت جلوس آورده به استادگان او گذرانید-....
لیکن از گردش فلک گردوش مرضی طبع آن پادشاه نشد و فرمود که نام من
درین قصیده نیست البته ثنائی این قصیده را برای سلطان ابراهیم مرزا
گفته بود که الحال بمن میگذراند- او دلخشم شد بنا برآن خواجه حسین از
بیم جان ننگ فرار را بر فخر قرار ترجیح داده از ایران بدارالامان
هندوستان آمد و لسعادت بندگی پادشاه ستاره سپاه خورشید کلاه
آسمان بارگاه فرمانروای بحر و بر جلال الدین اکبر غازی مستفید گردید[2]

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1. Mazhar, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 13 b.
2. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun-Nabī, Maikhānah pp 164-165.

" Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā tasted death and said adieu to the perishable world in those days-----Shāh Ismā'īl came out of the imprisonment and sat on the throne in place of his father, Khwājah Husain Sanā'ī presented himself before the king having abundant army, and put up a Qasīdah by the way of congratulating him on his coronation, before the courtiers of that king, but as ill-luck would have it, it did not appear agreeable to that kings disposition, who said that there was no mention of his name in the Qasīdah; of course Sanā'ī had written this Qasīdah for Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, and at present presented it before him. This enraged him. In this state of affairs Khwājah Husain Sanā'ī finding his life at stake, prefered the shame of flight to the pride of staying on, went from Irān to the security house of India and got the felicity of service under Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar Ghāzī, the king of the abundant army, having cap of the sun, high hall of audience, the ruler of the sea and earth."

Now two things require explanation.

1. When did Sultān Ibrāhīm die ?

2. When did Ismā'īl II came to the throne ?

So far as the first issue is concerned we have already stated with reference to Majma' ul-Fushā, that the Martyrdom of Sultān Ibrāhīm took place in 985 A.H.

Now we turn our attention towards the second issue. ie. the year of Ismā'īl's coronation. It is evident from lanepoole's table of "Shāh's of Pershia" at page 259 of his book known as Muhammadan Dynasties, that Ismā'īl II sat on the throne in the year 984 A.H.(1576 A.D.)

The compiler of Catalogue of manuscript in the

Library at Bānkīpūr (India) has given 979 A.H. as the year of Ibrāhīm Mirzā's death. He writes under the heading "Dīvān-i-Ṣanā'ī"

> "In his early life he found a benevolent patron in Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mirzā with the Takhallus Jaini (d. A.H. 979- A.D. 1571)"

Commenting upon this Maulavī Muhammad Shafi' writes in the foot-notes at page 165 of Maikhānah.

ولی قول صاحب مجمع الفصحا از بیان عبدالنبی خان قریب تر است[1]

"But the profession of the author of Majma'-ul-Fuṣḥā is nearer to the statement of 'Abdun Nabī Khān."

About Mirzā Qulī Mailī's visit to India, Blochmann writes in the foot-notes at page 571 of his translation of Ā'īn -i-Akbarī.

" The Nafā'is mentions 979 and Taqī 983 as the year in which Mailī came to India."

It is noteworthy that there is no such mention in Majma'-un-Nafā'is of Khān Ārzū.

Now taking into view these facts, it is obvious that Ṣanā'ī and Muhammad Qulī Mailī went to India in or about 984 A.H. (1576 A.D) so we are right to derive this conclusion that Mazharī left Kashmīr for Muslim countries before 983-84 A.H.(1575-76 A.D.)

A study of the internal source ie. of his Qaṣīdahs tells us that when Yūsuf Khān who succeeded 'Alī Shāh in 987 A.H.(1579 A.D) was forced to fled from Kashmīr due to civil war, and graced the throne of Kashmīr for the second time by the help of Akbar the great Moghal Emperor. Mazharī wrote a Qaṣīdah in which he says:

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1. Maikhānah, p 165 foot-note.

گرفت کشور کشمیر باز شاهزاده ⁖ چو شاهزاده که سرمایهٔ زمین و زمان

عزیز مصر خلافت خلاصه یوسف خان ⁖ جهان خدیوا آن خدیو جهان

نشست باز به تخت پدر بجاه و جلال ⁖ ستاند ملک ز اعدا بضرب تیغ و سنان

زمین دولت او بخت یافت استعداد ⁖ ز حسن طلعت او تخت جبههٔ استحسان

رسانده با همه کس مژدهای فتح و ظفر ⁖ دوانده با همه جا مژدهای امن و امان[1]

A few selected verses from this Qaṣīdah will bring to light that he was away from his mother land since long and perhaps it was the restoration of peace which pursuaded him to leave for Kashmīr:

بسی بگرد جهان هرزه گشته و هنوز ⁖ دل تو سیر نه بینم ز سیر هیچ همان

تو باد صبح نهٔ تا دوی یمین و یسار ⁖ تو آفتاب نهٔ تا روی کران با کران

چو نور دیده یکجا نشین و باش برش ⁖ چه لازم است که گردی چو مهر سرگردان

کنون غرض که غم فرقت و جفای سفر ⁖ ز حد گذشت بیا خویش را وزان گردان

چه عیشها که نبینی گر روی سوی کشمیر ⁖ که روزگار دراز است و شهزاده جوان

چو این نصیحت یارانه یاد کرد بمن ⁖ باو بگفتم که ای ناز بار رخت نازان

تو آنچه شیوهٔ یاریست لطف فرمودی ⁖ ولیک رفتن من مشکل است نی آسان

طریقه ایست که چون شخص آید از سفری ⁖ برد لطائف تا کیسه سر بسر همیان

ازین سخن گل رویش شگفت و خندان شد ⁖ که ای چو غنچه من باغ حالت خندان

دگر تو واسطهٔ تحفه مانده محجوب ⁖ کدام تحفه به از شعر همچو آب روان

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 35a.

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 35a & 35b.

By this discussion it is crystal clear that he left for abroad during or a little earlier than 983-84 A.H. and came back before 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.)

He, as we have already stated, first went to Herāt, where he composed a Qaṣīdah which became a source of his renown. After having excercised his influence upon the gentry and nobles as well as upon the men of letters, he went to see the tomb of Imām Raẓā. There are four Qaṣīdahs in praise of this Imām, the first of the four begins thus:

بنوعی باز تأثیر هوا آتش فشان آمد ٭ که گاه تاب گفتن آتش دل بر زبان آمد[1]

From the study of this Qaṣīdah it seems to us that he was not satisfied with the behaviour of the poets or men of letters who perhaps according to their habit did not respect him as a poet and this enraged him. He was thus compelled by the situation to satarise them and complain against them.

چنان خود را شناسانند که در دنیا ازین حرفه ٭ کسی چون من بگو در شعر کم رطب اللسان آمد
ولی زان گونه بیگانه که فرق مصرعین از هم ٭ ندانند گر به فرق مصرعهای در میان آمد
یکی از سیلی استاد طبع خام نا پخته ٭ دگر در حوزهٔ درسی عبورش ناگهان آمد
بنوعی خویش را دانند که در گیتی درین زمره ٭ نه چون من از زمین برخاست نی از آسمان آمد
ولی تا عامیی را جاهل که نشناسد دو سطر از هم ٭ اگرچه در میان بیش السطوری آنچنان آمد[2]

There is another Qaṣīdah in praise of this Imām in which he gives way to his grief and sorrow which is the result of his lonsi-ness in the foreign country.

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1. Maẓharī, Divān-i-Maẓharī, Ms, fol. 6b

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 8a.

نه همدمی که غم هم خوریم در غربت ⁂ نه مشفقی که کند چاره من رنجور
نه محرمی که باو راز دل کنم ظاهر ⁂ کسی به بی کسی من نکرده است ظهور
سفر گزیده ام از ماتم الوداع نشاط ⁂ ز اقربا شده ام دور از الفراق سرور

. . . .

گذشت دولت وصل رسیده نوبت هجر ⁂ دگر کدام فراغت دگر کدام حضور
ندیده نوش مرادی ز نیش نومید است ⁂ هزار رخنه بجانم چو خانه زنبور
نشاط و عیش ز جان غمین من دور است ⁂ چنانکه محنت و اندوه از دل مسرور
شکیب من چو تمنای عاشقان نایاب ⁂ قرار من چو مدار حیات نامقدور[1]

Mazharī after seeing the tomb of Imām Razā went to ʿIrāq and "at last" says Nihāvandī:

بدار السلطنت قزوین که مقر و مسکن بادشاه ذی شان صفویه است آمد[2]

" He came to the capital Qazvīn which is the abode and house of the most exhalted king of Safvid dynasty."

Here Maulānā Muhtasham Kāshī (d. 996 A.H.- 1588 A.D.) Vahshī Yazdī (d. 991-92 A.H.- 1583-84 A.D.) and others received him and honoured him. Nihāvandī writes:-

واز استماع اشعار ابدارش محظوظ و مستفید گردیدند و دست رد بر منظوماتش نتوانستند نهاد
و فضل و قدرت خود را بنوعی ظاهر ساختند که مرید و معتقد او شدند[3]

"And on hearing his illuminating verses, they were very much pleased and profited by them, and could not lay the hand of

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 8b.
2. Nihāvandī, ʿAbdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāsir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p 723
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 724.

objection on his verses and showed their erudition and talent by becomming his disciple and believing in him."

Commenting on this and praising Mazharī, Nihāvendī further says

والحق در زمان سابق و ایام سالفه کم واقع شده که موزونان هندوستان بایران آمده اند و حالت ایشان در
نزد مستعدان آنجا بمانند همیشه از ایران بهندوستان رفته کوس یکتائی زده اند و این لطیفه غیبی ایشان را میسر شد[1]

" In reality there is no precedent in the past (and the preceding days) that the poets of India may go to Irān and gain honour and dignity in the eyes of the talented personalities of that place. It had been for ever that the poets of Persia (Irān) went to India and beat the drum of uniqueness. It was but by God's favour that this became feasible to him."

It is essential to point out here that Mullā ʿAbdul Bāqī Nihāvendī who was contemporary with Mazharī and might easily hav-e given us trust worthy information about him, as usual confines himself in his notice of this poet to a few stupid and tasteless word-plays. Concerning the circumstances of Mazharī's life we possess but little authentic information, though a careful and critical examination of his poems would doubtless furnish us with some hitherto unremarked and trustworthy data for his biography. From other sources we learn but little on which reliance can be placed.

SERVICE:

Mazharī returned to India, as we have already stated and which has been confirmed by the statements of the historians, he before 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) He was taken on the royal staff a

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1. Nihāvendī, ʿAbdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāsir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p 724.

little after his return.[1] First of all we quote Nihāvandī, whose statement is though vague, yet it indicates that he was taken on the royal staff after his return from abroad. he writes:

الحاصل بعد از سیر و دریافتِ ممالک ایران بهندوستان شتافت و بتقریب بادشاه زمین و زمان
خلیفهٔ امن و امان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه سرفراز گردیده بنوازشات بادشاهی ممتاز
گشته التماس گوشه گیری در وطن مالوف نموده مابقی عمر در کشمیر دلپذیر که بهترین بلاد و
امصار هندوستان بلکه ایران است اوقات به سخن سنجی و نکته گذاری گذرانید [1]

" In short, after travelling in the cities of Irān, he return--ed to India and gaining the favour of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Akbar king of the heaven and the earth(both the worlds) and caliph of peace and security, he (Mazharī) received honour from the Emperor. He prayed for seclusion in his native land, and passed the remaining life in the charming Kashmir, which is the best place of all the countries and cities of not only India but those of Irān, in writing poetry."

From this statement it is evident that he got service after his return from Irān. There is, however, evidence to show that our learned poet tried to seek service under the great Moghal and began to praise him(Akbar) when he was an undisputed emperor also. He perhaps wrote the following qasidah when God bestowed upon him a son who after him became the emperor of India. In this qasidah he refers to the birth of a child . The qasīdah begins thus.

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1. Nihāvandī, Ábdul Bāqī, mullā. Maāsir-i-Rahīmī , Vol. III, p 725

از محیط دولت این گوهر که آمد بر کنار ÷ داد الحق زینتی دیگر بتاج شهریار[1]

In this Qaṣīdah he writes:

چون نباشد ملک خرم چون نباشد خلق شاد ÷ خاصه در عهدی که غم بالخاصیت شد غمگسار
شد ز بیت العصمت سلطان چو از بیت الشرف ÷ مشتری اقبال طفلی همچو خورشید آشکار
طفل نتوان گفت بالغ رتبه را که از شرف ÷ من طفیل اویم و نه من به از من صد هزار
هیچ میدانی که این کوکب ز درج قدر کیست ÷ آفتاب ملک یعنی سایهٔ پروردگار
اکبر غازی جلال الدین محمد پادشاه ÷ هم ز اسکندر نشان هم از سلیمان یادگار[2]

He wrote this Qaṣīdah in praise of Akbar, but we are ignorent of the fact, whether or not he got what he wished. At least this much is evident that he could not get the service. Some-time later he wrote another Qaṣīdah in which he requested in unambigous words that he may be given some job and taken on the royal staff. In a Qaṣīdah he writes:-

خسروا حسب حال خود دو سه بیت ÷ که بدل خاطرم کند تعلیم
عرضه دارم برای ملک آرای ÷ گر شوم سر و رضای شاه علیم
عمر باشد که آرزو دارم ÷ آرزوی بدین مثابه عظیم
کز مقیمان آستان باشم ÷ گر نیابم شدن ببزم ندیم
نشوم از بندگان حلقه بگوش ÷ گردم از خاک اولیای حریم
من که هستم کلیم طور سخن ÷ کی لگدکوب غم برم چو کلیم
داعی دولتم بصدق درست ÷ بندهٔ صاحبم بطبع سلیم
مدعا آنکه بنده را باشد ÷ سمت خدمت علی التعمیم[3]

1. Mazhari, Divān-i-Mazhari., Ms, fol. 20b
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 20b & 21a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll. 30a & 30b.

We cannot, however say that this qaṣīdah helped Mazharī or not to achieve his goal. As there is another qaṣīdah in which he again diverts the royal attention to his loyalty. He writes:

که ده سال نزدیک شد تا که دورم ؛ ز درگاه دارای دوران داور

اگر چه درین چندگاهی که دورم ؛ ازان قلب من مضطرب حال مضطر

بهر کس که بودم بهر جا که رفتم ؛ دعاگوی شه بودم و هم مدح گر

وکیل من و از در شاه دوری ؛ فغان از نوای چرخ کج رو مجور

بدوری درین درطام چون فگندی ؛ بدوری دگر زین بلایم بدر بر

خدارا ز راه ترحم خدارا ؛ گزین پیشم اینجا گذارد کند در[1]

A further study of this qaṣīdah indicates that the poet appeals to the good senses of the Emperor and tells us that he was called to the court. He says:

همه شب درین غم فرو رفته بودم ؛ که خورشید سر بر زد از جیب خاور

. . . ——— . . .

لبی پر تبسم زبانی چو از عذر ؛ بمن گفت کای ناتوان غصه مضطر

ترا مژدهٔ سجدهٔ آستانیست ؛ که با قبلهٔ آسمان هست همسر

کدام آستان آسمان سعادت ؛ جناب شهنشاه خورشید منظر

چو این مژدهٔ خوش زگردون شنیدم ؛ زجا جستم از شوق تقبیل آن در

روان رو بره کردم از خانه کلبن ؛ رهی پیشم آمد لبی سخت دلبر

. . . .

1. Mazhari, Diwan-i-Mazhari, Ms, foll. 24b-25a.

درین ره مرا مقصدی غیر ازین نه ÷ که بوسم در شهریار فلک فر

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چو نامش شود گفته از کبریائش ÷ ملک بر فلک گوید الله اکبر[1]

He wrote this Qaṣīdah when Akbar was a youth. He points it out in the following verse:

زهی در جوانی قدم بر بنا ده ÷ ز راه تقدم بچرخ معمر[2]

But as ill-luck would have it, this Qaṣīdah too did not bear fruit and the poet was disappointed. Perhaps this disappointment pursued him to leave for Irān. In Irān Ṣafavid dynasty was in power. The rulers of this dynasty were least interested in this type of poetry, so there too, Maẓharī could not achieve his goal. It was in 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.) when he came to know that Yūsuf Khān had ascended the throne. he wrote a Qaṣīdah and returned to his mother land, but it seems that his effort did not prove fruitful. The political situation in the country made it clear that Yūsuf Khān was not an independant king but was under the influence of Akbar. Knowing the fact that sooner or later Kashmīr would become a part of India he wished to seek service under him and wrote Qaṣīdahs in praise of Akbar, Abul Fateḥ, Prince Salim better known as Jahāngīr and 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān. It seems, that this attitude of Maẓharī enraged the king of Kashmīr who imprisoned him. He writes in a Qaṣīdah:

1. Maẓharī, Dīvān-i-Maẓharī, Ms, foll.25a & 25b

2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 25b

صبح چو سیاره ریخت خنجری مدح سنج ÷ از پی نسبت نثات عقد افشان گرفت

صبحدم طبع رهی گنج سخن را باز کرد ÷ شاهد مدح ترا در دُر و مرجان گرفت

- - - - . . . .

لیک ازین ماجرا دشمنی از حاسدی ÷ در دل خود کینهٔ مادح خاقان گرفت

رفت و خبردار کرد خصم ترا از حسد ÷ آتش مهتاب در خرمن کتان گرفت

کینه‌وری ساز کرد اشتلم آغاز کرد ÷ نکتهٔ من و ذکر من بدصفت و عصیان گرفت

غیرتش از حد گذشت حکم بدبدگوی داد ÷ تا که مرا هرچه بود جمله بتاوان گرفت

سینه‌اش از کینه‌ام پاک بدان هم نشد ÷ آتش بیداد او شعلهٔ خذلان گرفت

آنچه از انواع جور بود سرانجام داد ÷ وآنچه از اقسام کین بست به پیمان گرفت

- - - - . . . .

شکر که چون محنت بنده شده از حد برون ÷ لشکر بی‌حد حلم کشور غفران گرفت

- - - - . . . .

هم دل امیدوار دولت مقصود یافت ÷ هم سر شوریده رنگ رونق و سامان گرفت

ذره سوی خور شتافت قطره بدریا رسید ÷ درد دل ناتوان مایهٔ درمان گرفت[1]

Mazharī's efforts at last proved prolific and he was 'ranged with the royal servant! We are told by Abul Fazl[2] that Mazharī was made incharge of games in Kashmīr in 993-994 A.H. A'zam tells us:

پس از آنکه مانند باد بسیاری از مراحل گردید حب وطن بر ضمیرش مستولی گشته و بکشمیر معاودت نمود بعد از چند وقت در سلک جزمان شاهی منخرط گردیده در حینی که کشور جنت و لطف اولیای ظاهره درآمد بمیر بحری آن دیار که معظم‌ترین مهمات خطهٔ فیض آثار است ممتاز و سرافراز گشت[2]

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī., Ms, foll 28a & 28b.

2. A'zam, Muhammad, Wā qiāt-i-Kashmīr. Ms, p 209.

" When like wind, he had travelled to many places, the love of his mother land predominated his mind, and he returned to Kashmīr. After a short time he was ranged with the royal servants. At the time when Kashmīr was subjugated and occupied by the victorious and administrators, he got distinction and elevation by getting employment as Mīr Behr, which is one of the most dignified posts of that territory."

From this statement it is obvious that he was appointed as Mīr Behr in 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.) He held this post of Mīr Behr at least up till 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.). To support this we shall refer to Badāy-ūnī who completed his third volume of Mantakhab-ut-Tawārīkh in 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.)

مظهری کشمیری صاحب دیوان است وحالا در وطن خویش بنوکری مشغول است[1]

" Mazharī Kashmīrī is the author of a 'Dīvān' and at present he is in service in his own country."

Shafiq has thrown more light on the subject. He adds:

آخر در پای عزل در آمده و وظیفه از سرکار پادشاهی
موظف شده روزگار بعافیت می گذرانید[2]

" At last he came to the degree of reversion and receiving pension from the royal treasury passed his days in prosperity."

HIS RELIGION:

In his early youth he might have been the follower of Sunnī doctrine, probably because his father was a sunni, but later on his ideas changed. He turned Shī'a-h and took to fanaticism and intolerence which is obvious as 'Alī Qulī Dāghistānī tells us:-

1. Badayeūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol.III. p 344
2. Shafiq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 258 b.

چون وی شیعی مذهب بود و پدرش از اهل سنت بود نفرین و دشنام
بسیار بیک دگر گفته اند بلکه مظهری را در هجو پدر اشعار بسیار است[1]

" As he was a Shia-h and his father a Sunnī, both abused each other very much. Several verses of Mazharī contain satire on his father."

This shows that he proved more worse than Khāqānī who satarized his father-in-law. The 'Dīvān' preserved in " Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta" contains only Qasidahs and, therefore, we are unable to study any satire of his. Moreover, no other 'Tazkirah writer' has committed to writing this unhappy state of affairs.

TROUBLED LIFE:

The struggle for existence is older than man, and the instinct for self-preservation, if obstructed, makes us to tell lies, play treacherous roles, injure others and set aside all encumberance imposed from without. Hereditory fortunes and social status play a major part in fixing up a person in practicle life. But those who are the victims of 'Economic mal-adjustments' use both fare and foul means to win the hard game of life. A poet who is a man like you and us, also stands in need of 'Economic provisions' and ' biological maintinance' to which the social structure had never afforded any assurance in the past and nor will afford in the future. Hence the poet showers 'heaps of lies' in praise of his patron to get some scrumbs of food in return so that he may keep his body and soul go together.

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1. Vālah Dāghistānī, ʿAlī Qulī, Riyāz-ush-Shuʿrā, Ms, fol. 421.

It is an admitted fact that life is not a bed of roses, it is rather a bed of thorns. It is full of grief and sorrows. We confront the viciscitudes of life at every step. Times come in our life when we need friends as our 'Confides' loves for our life-companionships, and parents as guides and well-wishers, and money for spending at the time of need. Times come in the life of every body when he stands in need of one or an other.

Mazharī's Qaṣīdahs are, like his fellow poets, heaps of lies so far as the praise of the patrons is concerned except in the case of Imāms and the Holy prophet. But peeping through his Qaṣīdahs we visulize Mazharī a poet who spent his life in a most unfavourable circumstances. We find that there were times in his life when he left his mother land for Irān and other Muslim countries, where the memory of his friends and well wishers creeped to his mind and he while writing a Qaṣīdah in praise of Imām Razā (May God bless him) exposed this mental agony even in the opening lines The second verse reads:

نہ ہمدمی کہ غم ہم خوریم در غربت ؞ نہ مشفقی کہ کند چارۂ من رنجور[1]

He exposes the condition of his preturbed mind in the first ten verses of the Qaṣīdah. In another Qaṣīdah he tells us that he was once imprisoned and was at the verge of death but God the Almighty saved his life. The Qaṣīdah opens as follows:

شکر کہ شاہنشہی عرصۂ دوران گرفت ؞ کز دم شمشیر او جسم جہان جان گرفت[2]

He tells us the whole story in about twenty verses.

Days came in his life when he fell ill and was confined to bed

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1. Mazharī, Divān-i-Mazharī, Ms. fol. 8b

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 26a

for three months. He informs us about his illness in an encomium. He writes:-

کنون قریب سه ماهست تا ببستر زرم ؛ قرین ز رنج و الم داشته زغداری
مرا نبوده بگرلی کسی و غربت لبس ؛ ز درد پای کنون می کشم بسر باری

. . . .

گهی ز محنت تب گر ز سینه گاهی درد ؛ تنم شدست چو نالی ز ناله و زاری
گهی ز درد چنان می شوم که می ترسم ؛ کنند رگها از بس عذاب زناری
چنان درون و برونم ز درد پر شده است ؛ که قطره قطره چکد گر تنم بیفشاری
بدان صفت شده ام عاجز از نهایت درد ؛ که هم ز درد طلب میکنم مددگاری

. . . .

دمی ز درد دل آسوده نیستم که بود ؛ همیشه نیش خیال تیز بر دل افگاری

. . . .

شبها ز عین عنایت بمظهری نگری ؛ که درد می برد از حد برون ستمگاری[1]

We find him making complaints against his poverty, his helpless ness and misery in a qaṣīdah which he wrote in praise of Ḥakīm Abul Fateh.

مظهری کیمیاگر سخن ست ؛ لیکن افغان ز دست بی درمی
بخت بد بین که یابد از فرش ؛ طبع آب خضر مزاج سمی[2]

Are not the following verses an out-come of frustration and disappointment.

بر کوه اگر حالت خود عرض نمائیم ؛ صد قسمت برآید بجواب از دل خارا
با بخت جدل بیهده از غایت جهل است ؛ سهل است اگر خصم کند بیهده غوغا

. . . .

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-mazharī, Ms, fol. 6a & 6b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 60a

باریک‌تر از موی سخنهاست ولیکن ٭ گو فهم دقیقی که کند حل معما
باید که دریغ از من لب کس ننماید ٭ امروز توجه ز کرم داور دانا [1]

These are mere examples. The study of his 'Dīvān' fully reflects what sorts of ups and downs he had seen in his life. The number of his patrons reaches two digits. This is an ample proof to the fact that he left no stone unturned to make both ends meet. He spent whole of his intellectual wealth to get material wealth, in return as by this only one can keep his body and soul together.

These are the main facts which we have been able to glean from a perusal of Mazharī's collected poems, but there is no doubt that the careful examination of a text more correct and complete than that which we now possess would supply us with further details of his life and fuller data for judging of his character.

DEATH:

About Mazharī's death different views have been expressed by the Tazkirah writers as well as by the historians. According to ʿAlī Qulī Dāghistānī the author of Riyāz-ush-Shuʿarā:

و فاتش در محرم یک هزار و هجده واقع شد [2]

" His death took place in Muharram, 1018."

This year of his death has been confirmed by Blochmann who says

" He died in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.) [3] "

But Muhammad Aʿzam is of the opinion that :

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, foll 49b & 50a.
2. Vālah Dāghistānī, ʿAlī Qulī, Riyāz-ush-Shuʿarā, Ms, fol. 421.
3. Blochmann, Āʾīn-i-Akbarī, (Translation) foot-note, p 584.

در سن هزار و بست وشش در کشمیر رحلت نمود[1]

" He died in 1026 in Kashmīr"

Pīr Hasan Shāh a historian of Kashmīr is also of this view writes Dr. Ṣūfī in Kāshīr:

" He died in 1018 A.H.(1609 A.D.) though Pīr Hasan Shāh says in 1026 A.H.(1617 A.D.)[2]"

Shafīq has given 1017 A.H.(1608 A.D.) as the year of Mazharī's death. He writes:

در سن سبع عشر والف در محله خاموشان منزل بر گرفت[3]

" In the year 1017 he got abode in the Mahallah of silent people" (ie. died).

It is strange to note that Mullā ʿAbdul Bāqī Nihāvendi who wrote his Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī in 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.) inspite of giving detailed biographical sketch of Mazharī has not mentioned his year of death. Perhaps it is because, he in the later part of his life became a recluse in his native land. Veritably his year of death like that of his birth is a secret and to fathom this secret of his death we can say that he breathed his last in the year 1017 or 1018 A.H.(1608-1609 A.D) because majority agree to it.

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1. Aʿzam, Muhammad, Vāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. fol. 210
2. Ṣūfī, Dr. G.M.D. Kāshīr, Vol. II, p 459.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmi Nārāʾin, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms. fol. 258 b.

HIS DĪVĀN:

Muhammad A'zam writes that Mazharī's 'Dīvān' consists of six thousand couplets:

دیوانش مشتمل بر شش هزار بیت است[1]

" His 'Dīvān' comprises six thousand couplets."

This 'Dīvān' of his , which at one time comprised six thousand couplets is now not available. An incomplete copy of his 'Dīvān' is preserved in the 'Library of Asiatic Society of Bengāl' Calcutta (India). This manuscript contains Qaṣīdahs and two 'Ghazals' and two short Maṣnavī's only. It is note worthy that the Qaṣīdah in praise of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān which has been reffered to by Nihāvandī in the third volume of his Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmī is missing in this manuscript. The opening line of the Qaṣīdah is:

بسکه امسال خرم است بهار ؛ غنچه روید بشکل خندهٔ یار[2]

Besides this Qaṣīdah, a chronogram written by him at Akbar's death (1014 A.H.-1605 A.D.) and a few other verses which have been copied by the 'Tazkirah writers' and are not in the manuscript copy of his 'Dīvān' will be copied in the following pages.

Details of his 'Dīvān' are copied here.

His 'Dīvān' contains three encomiums ie Qaṣīdahs in praise of the Holy prophet (May peace be with him). The opening verses of these Qaṣīdahs are as follows:

I گل باز شد و مرغ بر آورد فغان را ؛ خوش برگ و نوا ساخت زمین را و زمان را
عطار صبا باز لب از رنگ زگلبن نو ؛ آراسته در چارسوی باغ دکان را

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, fol., 209.
2. Nihāvandī, Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p 726.

آمیخته باامید بنفشی که زلفش ÷ برباد دهد خاک چمن آب روان را
دادند صفای لطایف که توان یافت ÷ بی واسطهٔ نطق ز دل راز نهان را[1]

کلک قضا چو صورت خوبت نگار کرد ÷ معنی جان که بود نهان آشکار کرد
دارد خواص یاد لبانم که تاب آن ÷ گلگل شگفته روی تو چون لاله زار کرد
از دیده جای خون دلم زهر می چکد ÷ تا تیر غمزهٔ تو بجانم گذار کرد
افغان که جمع لذت وصلت نیافتم ÷ از لس خیال هجر توام بیقرار کرد[2]

First and third verse of the third encomium are illegible hence second and fourth to sixth verses are quoted below.

نمانده است کسی در جهان بغیر اجل ÷ هنوز سیر نشد غمزه ات ز خونخواری
تو گر طبیب دل خستگان عشق شوی ÷ مسیح نیز کند آرزوی بیماری
کسی که زهر ز دست تو چون شکر نخورد ÷ حرام باد برو لذت گرفتاری
من از خیال رخش سوختم چون تو ای دل ÷ مدام تاب تماشای دوست میداری[3]

II. Manāqibs:- The number of these Manāqibs (ie. Qaṣīdahs in praise of Imām) ضا four. All the four Qaṣīdahs are in praise of Hazrat Imām Raẓā (May God bless him). Here are the opening lines of these Qaṣīdahs.

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 1a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 2a.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 4b.

هنوزی باز تاثیر هوا آتش فشان آمد ؛ که گاه آب گشتن آتش دل بر زبان آمد

چنان بگداخت تاب آفتاب اجرام اشیا را ؛ که الماس سیما بر تن سنگ گران آمد

در اشیا آن چنان تاثیر خورشید سرایت شد ؛ که با عز قبول آه اسیران تو تان آمد

چنان ز اندیشه گرما در دریا شد گداز زنده ؛ که یاد یار نتواند دگر در دل نهان آمد[1]

(Second hemistich is illegible) چنان که مانده ام از وصل جانان مهجور

نه همدمی که غم هم خوریم در غربت ؛ نه مشفقی که کند چاره من رنجور

نه محرمی که باو راز دل کنم اظهار ؛ کسی که پیش من نکرده است ظهور

سفر گزیده ام از یاس من او داع نشاط ؛ ز آتش باشده ام دور الفراق سرور

دوای درد فراق است صبر کردن نیست ؛ بلی چگونه توان بود در فراق صبور[2]

تا در گرفت عنان دل ناتوان بود ؛ رخش سبک رکاب سرشکم روان بود

آمد شد خیال تو گر باد این چنین ؛ صبر تنک دلم به صبا هم عنان بود

باقی نماند خود اثری از حریف تو ؛ دردت هنوز در حق من بدگمان بود

از من نمانده است نشان دلی هنوز ؛ تیر ستیزه چشم ترا در کمان بود[3]

III. QAṢĪDAHS:

These Qaṣīdahs can be placed in two categories. ie. (i) Qaṣidahs in praise of kings and (ii) Qaṣīdahs in praise of nobles and prince, etc. The first category contains Qaṣīdahs in praise of Shāh Ismā'īl, Ibrāhīm, Yusuf Khān of Kashmir and Akbar the great while the

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1. Mazhari, Divān-i-Mazhari Ms, fol. 6b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 8b
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 10a.

second category contains Qaṣīdahs in praise of prince Salīm who became Emperor of India after the death of his father Akber, Ábdurahīm Khān Khānān, Abul Fateh Gīlānī and his own praise etc. Here we take the liberty of quoting the opeing line of the Qasidah as well as the verse containing the name of the patron so that the number of Qaṣīdahs written by him in praise of various patrons may be made known to the reader.

There is only one Qaṣīdah in praise of Shāh Ismā'īl of Irān. It opeing line is:-

کنون که در عجم از فضل کردگار جلیل ÷ سریر کعبه شاهست و تاج قبله عدیل

. . . . . .

سزد که از عرب آید به خلیل خدا ÷ بطوف درگه سلطان عادل اسمعیل[1]

There are two Qaṣīdahs in praise of Ibrāhīm of Irān at folios 16a to 17b and 22a to 23a. The opening line of the first Qaṣīdah is:-

چه حالتست ندانم جمال سلمی را ÷ که بیشش دیدنش افزون کند تمنی را

. . . . . .

چراغ انجمن کائنات ابراهیم ÷ که سوزد آب رخش آتش تجلی را[2]

The second Qaṣīdah has the following as its opeing verses.

گرفت کون و مکان را بزیر سایهٔ جاه ÷ همای دولت سلطان دین خلیل الله

نظر دین محمد مسمی ابراهیم ÷ ولی حضرت حق محرم حریم الله[3]

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1. Mazhari, Divān-i-Mazhari, Ms, fol. 13b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol.16a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 22a.

Mazharī wrote only one Qaṣīdah in praise of Yūsuf Khān Chak the king of Kashmīr. The relevent verses from the said Qaṣīdah are as follows. سحر لبالم ابد عیان کون ومکان ÷ نتی زروح چو سایۂ پری زسایه چو جان

. . . .

عزیز مصر خلافت خلاصه یوسف خان ÷ جهان خدیو . . . . آن خدیو جهان[1]

Two or three words in the second hemistich of the above quoted verses are illegible.

There are at least eight Qaṣīdahs in praise of Akbar the great here are the relevant verses from each Qaṣīdah.

1. از محیط دولت این گوهر که آمد بر کنار ÷ داد الحق زینتی دیگر بتاج شهریار

. . . .

اکبر غازی جلال الدین محمد پادشاه ÷ هم ز اسکندر نشان هم از سلیمان یادگار[2]

2. شب چون سحرگاه دوری بکدر ÷ زده دست وصلت بدامان محشر

. . . .

چو نامش شنود گفته از کبریائش ÷ ملک بر فلک گوید الله اکبر[3]

3. شکر که شاهنشهی مرحله دوران گرفت ÷ کز دم شمشیر او جسم جهان وجان گرفت

داور دارا سپاه شاه اسکندر شکوه ÷ سر ببر توران زمین تا حد ایران گرفت

خسرو تیمور نسب شاه همایون حسب ÷ از نسب داد و جود ملک دل وجان گرفت[4]

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, foll. 33b & 35a
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 20b & 21a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll. 23b & 25b.
4. Ibid, Ms, foll. 26a.

4. چشم اگر این غمزه دگران بود ÷ ملک و ملک والهٔ وحیران بود

. . . .

اکبر غازی که تنِ ملک را ÷ چو پر ذاتش بصفت جان بود [1]

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5. میرفت و ترک چشمش با خنگ غمزه مائل ÷ هر گردن نگاهش خون هزار بیدل

. . . .

معنی لفظ احسان یعنی که شاه اکبر ÷ کایات سرفرازی در شان اوست نازل [2]

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6. زهی تخت تو تخت کیوان گرفته ÷ ز کشمیر تا حد توران گرفته

. . . .

غرض کز پئی مقدم شاه اکبر ÷ همه شکل فردوس یزدان گرفته [3]

7. سرو قدت چو باگلستان جان نهاد ÷ از گل بهای حسن بر دوستان نهاد

. . . .

خاقان اعظم اکبر غازی که خنجر او ÷ خال بدی بچهرهٔ هندوستان نهاد [5]

8. This Qasīdah appears at folios 31a to 31b but most of its verses are illegible. Relevant verses are, however quoted ~~here~~ above.

8. An other Qasidah in praise of Akbar indicates that it was written at the birth of Prince Salim. It's opening verse is as follows.

گرچه از زادن خلف ز قدیم ÷ مادر روزگار بود عقیم

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1. Mazhari, Divān-i-Mazhari, Ms, foll. 40a & 41a
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 44b & 45a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll. 55b & 57a.
4. ~~Ibid, Ms, foll. 29a.~~
5. Ibid, Ms, foll. 31a & 31b.

Now we take up the second category. There are two Qasīdahs in praise of Prince Salīm. The first opens as follows:

فروغ جبهه اقبال شهزاده سلیم ÷ که آفتابش تاج است و آسمانش تخت [1]

The relevant verses of the second Qasīdah are given below.

زهی جشن سوری که جمشید گانی ÷ گلیتی ز دولت دهد ار معانی

- - - - - - - - -

شهزاده سلطان سلیم آنکه نازد ÷ بدرگاه او زهره از پاسبانی [2]

Following are the opening lines of the two Qasīdahs which Mazharī wrote in praise of Abul Fateh.

ای دا ز ملک صبح خوش رقمی ÷ خوشترین حرف خوشترین قلمی [3]

Second hemistich of the ope-ning line of the second Qasīdah is not legible. The first hemistich reads thus:-

باز ملک من آتشین گوهر است

In this Qasīdah he says:-

میر ابوالفتح آنکه خاک درش ÷ زینت آسمان تا جور است

وآنکه در عهدش از سخاوت سخن ÷ آسمان تا آسمان گهر است [4]

Only one Qasīdah is in praise of Muhammad Qulī Khān. It reads:

سحرگه که سر از گریبان خاور ÷ برآورد مانند مه طلعتان خور [5]

In a Qasīdah which he wrote in praise of Khān Khānān, we are not in a position to say as to who was this Khān Khānān--Abdur Rahīm or his father Bairam Khān. The Qasīdah has the following as its opening verse.

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1. Mazharī, Divān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 51b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 52a & 53a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 59a.
4. Ibid, Ms, foll 65b-66a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 46b.

بوصف تیغ تو که ز فرنش آسمان پر شد ÷ دهان شده چو خورشید از زبان پر شد [2]

In this Qaṣīdah he mentions the word Khān Khānān and not the name of his patron. He writes:-

شکوه دولت نواب خان خانان است ÷ گزین که آن جهان تا بان گران پر شده [3]

There is a Qaṣīdah in praise of a Queen to whom he metaphorically name as Balqīs-i-Ṣānī ie Balqis the second. It opens thus:

چنین که یافت ز طبع شتا اثر آتش ÷ سزد که شو شده یخ ببندد ز شرر آتش [4]

In her praise he says:

ز عدل ثانی بلقیس حضرت خانم ÷ بود اگر نرساند به کس ضرر آتش [5]

There are Qaṣīdahs which do not indicate the name of poet's patrons. Here we quote the opeing lines of those Qaṣīdahs.

ثنا رسید که از فیض نقش بند بهار ÷ زبان گل چو گشای گل او نشد گلزارها

In this Qaṣīdah he first praises himself and then his patron but does not tell us his name. From this Qaṣīdah we quote verses to explain our point of view:

من آن شکر گر شاعر طبعم که مرا ÷ بجای لفظ بود شهد ناب در اشعار

همی فزاید در ملک خاطرم هر روز ÷ ز نسل مدح و ثنایت بتازه خویش و تبار

نهفته دارم از دیدهٔ معانی غیر ÷ تمام مدح تو چندین عرائس ابکار

مگر که آدم و حواست خاطر و قلمم ÷ که هر شکم دو خلف آورد بیک هنجار

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. [illegible]
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 57b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 17b.

باین زبان دبیان خامه پر ز مدح و ثنات ÷ چراست روز سفیدم سیاه چون شب تار
چراست خاطر عیشم پر از کدورت و غم ÷ چراست بر رخ بختم کثافت ادبار [1]

A Qaṣīdah appears at folio 42b of the manuscript. Its study indicates that Mazharī has written this Qaṣīdah in praise of a minister, but we can not definitely say who is he. He writes:-[2]

ای ذات تو معیار گهر شخص کرم را ÷ وی رای تو مرآت نظر روی قدم را
امروز توی ثانی آصف که مراد را ÷ خود آصف ثانی ست سلیمان دوم را

. . . .

در قوت عطا ذات تو آن یوسف مصر است ÷ کز دیدن او سیر کند حرص شکم را
این منصب عالی بتو از شاه جهان است ÷ کز شاه رسل صدر خلافت بنی عم را [2]

In a Qaṣīdah, which appears at folio 49b, he does not tell us the name of his patron. The opening verse of the Qaṣīdah is in his own praise and in more than two dozen verses he praises himself as a poet. Later on he tells his condition to his patron and then he diverts his attention towards the praise of his patron to whom he is making complaints against his unfavourable circumstances.

امروز شهنشاه منم ملک سخن را ÷ تیز است مرا تیغ زبان سخن [illegible] [3]

. . . .

باید که دریغ از من بی کس ننماید ÷ امروز توجه ز کرم داور دانا
آن پاک ضمیری که از دل او چرخ ÷ افروخته فی الجمله تیا دل نوا [illegible] [4]

A Qaṣīdah in praise of the writers of a 'Safīnah '(Note-book) which was perhaps written in 992 A.H. as is evident from the

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 20b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 42b & 43a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 49b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 50a.

hemistich:

عقل گفته "مرقع بی مثل"

This Qaṣīdah has the following as its opening line.

ای گشاده جبین لوح جمال ÷ حسن یوسف زده بروی تو فال[1]

In this qasidah he praises Khawājah Mīr ʿAlī Azhar, Sulṭān ʿAlī, Muḥammad Ḥusain and Shāh ʿAbdul Mutlab. Relevant verses are quoted here.

واضع الاصل خواجه میرعلی ÷ کو رقم سنج شد برین منوال

کلک اظهر ظهور دیگر داد ÷ این خطارا چو در در آب زلال

بعد سلطان علی چو خورشید ÷ که در و لعل ساخت سنگ و سفال

ناقلان زخط مولاناست ÷ باد در دست و آب در غربال

. . . .

بر محمد حسین ختم شده است ÷ حرف این سعی های خوش اشکال

. . . .

مظهری این مثال لاشل است ÷ مجلس خان آفتاب خصال

شاه عبدالمطلب آنکه شود ÷ دوزخ هجر از و بهشت وصال[2]

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, foll. 61a.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 63b & 64a.

M A S̤ N A V Ī:

Maẓhari's 'Dīvān' also contains a masnavī in praise of a building, probably made by Prince Salīm. It contains about two dozen verses. A few verses are quoted here.

زهی رواق ترا عرصهٔ جنان سایه ؛ ز قدر سقف ایوانت آسمان سایه

چون آفتاب اگر روشنست سزد ؛ کز آسمان نفتد هیچ کس نشان سایه

مگو که نیست ز جرم سپهر سایه ازانک ؛ ز شرم روشنیست نمی فتد بنیان سایه

معجزه نیست که بر سقف آسمان پیداست ؛ که بر سپهر گلندی زند بان سایه[1]

There is a mystical masnavī also which contains more than four dozen verses. A few of them are quoted here to serve as example.

ز ننگ خودی در خدای گریزم ؛ تو دنبال دل باش تا می گریزم

نه از دست جور و جفا میگریزم ؛ که از بیم مهر و وفا میگریزم

دلی دارم از غم بعشق آشنا تر ؛ ز فتنه ز دل آشنا می گریزم

چنان از خطا های خود شرمسارم ؛ که از بوی مشک خطا می گریزم

من از آفت چشم ناخوب بینا ؛ چو تیر نظر از عمی میگریزم

با آتش منم خویشتن زیر خرقه ؛ که از عیب با پارسا میگریزم[2]

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1. Maẓharī, Dīvān-i-Maẓharī, Ms, foll. 71b & 72a.

2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 69a to 71b.

GHAZALS:

The manuscript copy of the 'Dīvān' contains two Ghazals of 'Radīf' ر only. This shows that the 'Dīvān' is quite incomplete. The total number of verses which this 'Dīvān' contains does not exceed 2200. Hence about 3800 verses are not available. About Mazharī's Dīvān we are toled by A'zam that Mazharī's 'Dīvān' comprised of six thousand couplets. The number of verses which have been gathered by us from other sources is 149. This includes the Qasīdah written by our learned poet in praise of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān which is consist of 116 verses. We now take the liberty of copying here both the Ghazals, because the 'Dīvān' of Mazharī is not only still in manuscript form but also being in the library of a foriegn country is beyond the reach of the common man.

تحفهٔ مرهم نگیرد سینهٔ افگار ما :: سایهٔ گل بر نتابد گوشهٔ دستار ما

شعله از الماس روید دشنه از مرهم دمد :: گر کنند آمیزشی با سینهٔ افگار ما

طالب آلوده بهر توبه بگشائیم سبک :: بانگ عصیان میزند ناقوس استغفار ما

آتش افروز تب مجرم و کس هرگز ندید :: جوش تبخاله شفاعت بر لب زنهار ما

مرحبا ای چاره آسان میکشائی کار خلق :: ناخنی لیکن تیز داری رخنهٔ در کار ما

ساکن میخانهٔ ما   ز آنکه حسرت

چشمهٔ نور صفا در سایهٔ دیوار ما[1]

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms. fol. 72b.

چرا خجل نکند چشم اشکبار مرا ÷ که آرزوی دل آورد در کنار مرا

به راه شوق بگیرم ز شوق بال و پری ÷ که نی پیاده شمارند و نی سوار مرا

فغان ز لذت بی همتی کزین شادم ÷ که صبح گام بیارد بانتظار مرا

نه رام مردم دهر نه صید رشد شبر ÷ نشسته ام [illegible] '/۱

To copy all those verses here which we have gathered from various sources (ie Tazkirahs and contemporary histories) would not be out of place. we shall, however, not copy the Qasīdah which Mazharī wrote in praise of 'Abdur- Rahīm Khān Khānān as Maāsir-i-Rahīmī, has been published and, moreover, we shall particularly bring that Qasīdah under discussion while commenting upon Mazharī's Qasīdahs in the following pages and a good number of verses will be quoted therefrom.

1. تلفی[2] نکرده دهر ز دیوانه پر شده است ÷ حرفی نگفته شبر ز افسانه پر شده است

2. یک قطره از خرابه ساقی فرو چکید تا ÷ چندین هزار ساغر و پیمانه پر شده است

3. در خون خویش دست زد از عشق مظهری ÷ کز شاخ سنبل[3] تو کف شانه پر شده است[4]

4. کو خلوتی که عزلت دنیا[5] بر آورم ÷ تا بام آشیان در دنیا بر آورم[6]

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 72b.
2. Gul-i-Ra'nā contains گل نا شگفته in stead of تلفی نکرده } see fol. 258
3. Gul-i-Ra'nā has inserted از between سنبل & تو } (do)
4. (vv. 1 to 3) A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, fol. 210
   Shafiq, Lachhmī Nārāin, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 258b.
5. Safīnah-i-Khushgo contains عنقا in stead of دنیا (see fol. 77b)
6. Safīnah-i-Khushgo contains the following couplet at folio 77b after the verse quoted above.

چون تو دلی کرد دهن او از شیر وا کنند ÷ من دیده را بذوق تماشا بر آورم

5. چون نارسیده میوه که بادش برافگند ÷ از دل لطیف بیخ تمنا برآورم

6. خون شد دل و خوشم که بهر جزو در رود ÷ تا رگ کار شفقت از همه اجزا برآورم

7. هر صبح آتشی شوم و در خور او فتم ÷ چون گل بخانه سوری و غوغا برآورم

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8. گلعذاران که لب از شکرشان نتوان بست ÷ هیچ طرفی ز بهار و برشان نتوان بست

9. چو گشاید دل ازین مردم بیگانه منش ÷ که آشنای بدل کافرشان نتوان بست

10. جام جشید و دل مظهری آسمان شکن ÷ که دگر باره بکیلر گهرشان نتوان بست

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11. غم ترک خویش گفت است امروز ÷ در خون خلاف جم چیست است امروز

12. شادی ز دلم چو گل شگفت است امروز ÷ یک لبی خنده مفت است امروز[2]

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13. از شادی آن جام که دی نوشیدم ÷ امروز چون شمع بگرد خویش میگردیدم

14. پامال بزرگیم فلک می شد و من ÷ در جامهٔ آسمان نمی گنجیدم[3]

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1. (vv 4 to 7) A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 210. Khushgo BindrāBan Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 77b

2. (vv 8 to 12) A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 210.

3. (vv 13 & 14) Ibid, p. 210.

Bindrā Ban Dās Khushgo writes this Rubā'ī, with many changes and says that he submitted to the king thanking for the robe. The Rubā'ī read thus:-

از شادی جامه که دی پوشیدم ÷ چون چرخ بگرد خویش گردیدم
پامال بزرگیم فلک می شد و من ÷ در جامهٔ آسمان نمی گنجیدم

(cf. Khushgo Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, foll. 77b & 78a)

15. درعشق به آه و ناله می باید زیست ÷ دل کرده بغم حواله میباید زیست

16. آماده کفن فگنده در گردن جان ÷ کم مهلت تر ز لاله میباید زیست[1]

17. پادشاه اکبر که پنجاه و دو سال ÷ عدل او ظلم زحل سیمای سوخت

18. هرکجا رخشش ز جنبش نعل راند ÷ خسروا نزا چتر گردون سای سوخت

19. ناگهان باد اجل بر شمع خورد ÷ جانشه فانوس بزم آرای سوخت

20. دولت شاهیش چون جا کرد گرم ÷ نعره زد گردون که خیز آن جای سوخت

21. منظهر از صاحب قران تاریخ جست ÷ گفت ازین حسرت دل چغتای سوخت[2]

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22. هرکس که بچشم ما گران شد[3] ÷ بر خاطر آسمان گران است

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23. دنباله در خاطر خود رای خودم ÷ بی زحمت ره آبله پای خودم

24. صد پرده درم ز خود نیایم بیرون ÷ صد مرحله پیمایم و بر جای خودم[3]

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25. میان دل و تیر تو ماجرای هست ÷ چنان بپرس که بی سینه سوختست کباب

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26. آن شوخ که نیست گل بلطف بدنش ÷ شیرین نشود کام هوس از دهنش

27. آتش بدل فگند و دامان زد و سوخت ÷ از آمدن و رفتن و ناآمدنش[4]

28. تو مهر استوار نداشته که چیست ÷ بودن بیک قرار نداشته که چیست

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1. (vv 15-16) A'zam, Muḥammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms, fol. 210.
2. (vv 17 to 26) A'zam, Muḥammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 210.
3. (vv 22 to 24) Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 77b.
4. (vv 25-27) Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol 259a.

29. اقبال حسن کار ترا[1] پیش می برد ∴ ورنه صلاح کار ندانسته که چیست[2]

30. مظهر بجهان چو بی لعیبان می باش ∴ وگل[3] بنوای عندلیبان می باش

31. با دیدنی از خوبی عالم می ساز ∴ مهمان نظاره چون غریبان[4] می باش[5]

32. فدای آئینه[6] کردم که دلستان مرا ∴ درون خانه گلگشت بوستان دارد[7]

33. لاله طورم نه همچون غنچه گلشن زاده ام ∴ شعله های تجلیم بر چاک گریبان میزنم[8]

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1. Vaqi'āt-u-Kashmir, contains مرا instead of ترا (see p 209)

2. (vv 28 & 29) Badāyaūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh , Vol. III, p 344.
A'zam, Muhammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p 209.
Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol 77b.
Nazim, Zahūr-ul-Hasan, Nigāristān-i-Kashmir , p 98.

3. Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr contains وزگل instead of وگل ie there is ز between و and گل .

4. Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr contains عزیزان instead of غریبان .

5.(vv- 30 & 31) Badāyaūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh , Vol. III, pp. 344-345.
Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p 209.

6. Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr contains آبله instead of آئینه (seep 209)

7. (v 32) Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, Tabaqāt-i-akbarī, p 403.
Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 77b.
Nazim, Zahur-ul-Hasan, Nigāristān-i-Kashmir , p 98.

8. Abul Fazl, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī , Vol. 1. p 251.

MAZHARĪ AS A POET:

Mazharī 's claim to immortality rests entirely on his 'Dīvān', a manuscript of which is preserved in "Asiatic Society of Bengal" Calcutta (India). But this manuscript is an incomplete one. It contains his Qasīdahs, two short masnavīs and two Ghazals There is no Rubāī (quatrains) in the Dīvān, though six Rubā'īs are available in the various reference books. Perhaps it is due to the fact that the Rubā'īs were in the end of the Orignal 'Dīvān' ie. after the Ghazals. As the first two 'Ghazals of his 'Dīvān' are extant, hence the question of his Rubā'īs does not arise. However, we do not deem it fit to say something about his 'Dīvān' at this place. We will try to bring to light his worth by looking deep into his verses and taking into view the views of the men of letters about his poetry. All the critics especially Nihāvandī and Badāy-ūnī hail him very high as a poet. The statement of Nihavandi about him is full of absurd exaggeration, recondite words, vain epithets, far fetched comparisons; and tasteless bombast. He has tried to rank him high as a poet, alike a sweetest singer, elequent and of noble and rare genius, a poet whose poetry reaches the highest level in freshness and sweetness and excells in fluency and charm. He begins his biography thus:

مولانا مظهری کشمیری مقتدای شعرای فصیح زبان و سرآمد سخن دانان حقیقت بیان
است بلبلی است خوش الحان و عندلیبی شیرین بیان که در گلستان هندوستان
برگلبن بی نظیر عرصهٔ کشمیر سخن سرائی می نماید و لطافت لسان و عذوبت
بیان هوش از مستمعان می رباید و علم شاعری و لوای دانشوری در

دارالملک کشمیر که مولد و منشای اوست و از انجا تا حال هیچو اوی بر نخاسته برافراشته
و رخش دانشوری و مفاخرت در میدان تاخته و گوی سبقت از فارسان عرصهٔ آن
دیار ربوده ¹

Maulānā Mazharī Kashmīrī is the leader of eloquent poets and the master of truth speaking versifiers. He is a sweet singing and sweet tongued nightingale who sings on the matchless rose bush of the field of Kashmīr in the garden of India and by the fluency of the tongue and purity of his diction he carries off the sense of the hearers, and hoists the flag of poetry and wisdom in the capital of Kashmīr which is his birth place and from where up till now none has risen to rival him, and made the horse of erudition and self glorifying run in the field and surpassed the other riders of this field in that country."

This is the most optimistic view about Mazharī's poetry. Others also praise him but in a few words. For example Badāy-ūnī writes:-

حالتِ شعر او ازین ابیات که اقل قلیل است می توان دانست ²

" The condition of his poetry can be apprehended by these verses which are only a few."

Similar is the case with others. By a perusal of the verses quoted in the preceeding pages (see pp. ۳۳۵-۳۴۹ supra) we find that he uses common similies and metaphors, but in an orignal and striking manners under the guise of profound thoughts by which

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1. Nihāvandī, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāsir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III. p 721
2. Badāy-ūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. III. P 344.

the reader is bewildered for some time, but when he understands it he cannot but appreciate it. In the available stock of his poetry though the number of such verses is small, yet they are such that copious elucidations are needed to render them intelligible. eg., he says:- فدای آئینه گردم که دلستان مرا ❊ درون خانه گلگشت بوستان دارد [1]

"I admire the looking glass which reflects my sweet heart promenading on a flower bed, although he is inside his house."

This simile will be understood if we state that the eyes of the beloved are like narcisus flowers or almondshaped, the chin is like an apple, the black hair like hyacinth, in fact his whole face resembles a garden, rather he is a garden personified.

لالهٔ طورم نه همچون غنچه گلبن زاده‌ام ❊ شعله‌های بخیه بر چاک گریبان می‌زنم [2]

" I am a tulip of Sinai, and not like the bud born of the rose
" To my torn collar, I apply the needle (of my flame) to stish it."

In this connection it would be interesting to know that electric heating makes it possible to sew together not only pieces of cloth, but also cloth with rubber or wood, metal with rubber and so on.

Maẓharī unlike other lovers is not afraid of his sweetheart being fully aware that the host of lovers round the beloved is owing to the fact that he has got a handsome face by good fortune so he rebukes his beloved saying:-

اقبال حسن یار ترا پیش می‌برد ❊ ورنه صلاح کار ندانسته که چیست [3]

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1. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Ṭabāqāt-i-Akbarī, p 403.

2. Abul Faẓl, Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I. p 252.

3. Badāyūnī, ʿAbdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. III, p 344

Good fortune gave you beauty, and your face
Has proposed your affairs for you, my dear,
Without that capital you would have been
A sorry steward of your life, I fear.

It has always been taken for granted that all sorts of misfortunes are brought by heaven. Every poet expressed this idea beautifully but the imaginative flights of Mazhari is praise worthy. He writes:

هرکس که بچشم ما گران شد ÷ برخاطر آسمان گران است[1]

He who is pleasing to your eyes
Is to the heart of heaven distasteful.

Mazharī has also employed the Rubā'ī as the vehicle of his expression, but he has not invested it with any new idea. eg.He says:-

دنبال دل خاطر خود رای خودم ÷ بی زحمت ره آبله پای خودم
صد پرده درم ز خود نیایم بیرون ÷ صد مرحله پیمایم و بر جای خودم[2]

I follow where my obstinate heart leads,
Grow foot-sore even when the ways not rough;
Tear down a hundred veils, but not that of my own-self,
Travel a hundered stages, still am with my own self.

مظهر بجهان چو بی نصیبان می باش ÷ در زگل بنوای عندلیبان می باش
با دیدنی از خوبی عالم می ساز ÷ مهمان نظاره چون غریبان می باش[3]

Be with luck less, Mazhar in the world,
The night-ingale whose voice implores the roses;
Content to grasp earth's beauty with your eyes,
As strangers watch, mere guests, a spectacle.

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1. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safinah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 77b.
2. Ibid, fol. 77b.
3. Badāyūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Vol. III.pp344 345.

CRITICAL STUDY OF MAZHARĪ'S QAṢĪDAHS:

Panegyric verse fill an undually large place in the literary history of the time. This was was due to the fact that every Persian court encouraged versifiers to compose Qaṣīdahs in return for the crumbs from the patron's tables. The poetry produced under this stimulus can be defined as verbal fancies in rhyme and metre. It is certainly not a criticism of life, because poet's physical and mental labour is employed not for changing his surroundings and his life but to serve his self interest. Poet's humilation was always for handsome reward ie. for self motives. A study of Mazharī's Qaṣīdahs indicates that they are skilfully constructed. This form of verse can seldom arouse much enthusiasm, save in the heart of him who praises it, celebrates. All his Qaṣīdahs are after the fashion of the classical poets who ever adopted the straight and safe high road of flattery and servility, which consequently contains many repetitions, inspired verses and weak phrases and words, void of force of diction or beauty of style. It is because they chiefly aim at singing the praises of their patrons whom they regarded as their overlords and suzeriens and eagerly sought after those titles and honours of which they were the only recognised and legitimate source.

Mazharī wrotes Qaṣīdahs not only in praise of kings or suzeriens but also wrote a good number of Qaṣīdahs in praise of the holy prophet and Imāms. His geni-us, his imagination and his thought are at the climax in this form of his poetry. We shall first deal with his Qaṣīdahs written in praise of the Holy prophet (May peace be upon him) and Imām-s.

As has already been stated the number of qaṣīdahs written in praise of the holy prophet and Imāms is three and four respectively He has really taken pains in writing them. These are of rare value, as they throw side light on his own life. So far as their poetical value is concerned they lead us to the conclusion that Mazharī was not only one of the great qaṣīdah writers of the age, but he could stand by the poets of Irān in this form of poetry.

The exordium of the first encomium contains a description of the spring, so this qaṣīdah can be termed Rabīy'ah (ربیعیه). This seems to be an incomplete one. Its exordium begins:

گل باز شد و مرغ برآورد فغان را ÷ خوش برگ نوائیست زمین را و زمان را
عطار صبا باز بصد رنگ ز گلبن ÷ آراسته در چار سوی باغ دکان را
آمیخته با نامیه فیضی که ز لطفش ÷ بر باد دهد خاک چمن آب روان را
دادند صفای طبایع که توان یافت ÷ بی واسطهٔ نطق ز دل راز نهان را
در باغ گر آتش بفروزند برآید ÷ از لطف هوا گل ز تن تیره دخان را
وقتست که با نرگس مخمور دهد باز ÷ ساقی سبک روح هوا رطل گران را
از نخل تمنا گل مقصود برآید ÷ گر در دل ما راه بود باد وزان را
زین گونه که از تربیت باد بهاری ÷ آفاق عدیل آمده گلزار جنان را
ترسم که نماید نهان از نظر خلق ÷ چون گلشن شداد گلستان جهان را
تا تیر هوا عام چنان شد که عجیب است ÷ گر جای گهر گل بدماند دل کان را [1]

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 1a.

The exordium of a Qaṣīdah which is in praise of the 8th Imām describes the effects of the hot-weather. Here hyperbole is noteworthy.

بنوعی باز تاثیر هوا آتش فشان آمد ⁂ که گاه آب گفتن آتش دل بر زبان آمد
چنان بگداخت تاب آفتاب اجرام اشیا را ⁂ که انفاس مسیحا بر تن جسمی گران آمد
در اشیا آن چنان تاثیر خور غالب سرایت شد ⁂ که با عز قبول آه اسیران توامان آمد
چنان ز اندیشه گرما درونها شد گدازنده ⁂ که یاد یار نتواند دگر در دل نهان آمد

. . . .

ز تاب مهر اجرام کواکب آب گردیده ⁂ برون خواهند یک یک از مسام آسمان آمد
بهر گلشن که پرتو افگند خورشید تابستان ⁂ گل سرخش درون خواهد برنگ زعفران آمد

In his Qaṣīdahs he some times sheds light on his own environment which proves conducive to a biographer. He some times in panegyric proper addresses to his patron and informs him about his condition, his worth and his wishes; eg. in a Qaṣīdah which he wrote in praise of Akbar he says:-

حضرتا حسب حال خود دو سه بیت ⁂ که بدل لطایفم کند تعلیم
عرضه دارم برای ملک آرای ⁂ گر شوم بر رضای شاه علیم
عمر باشد که آرزو دارم ⁂ آرزوی بدین شمایه عظیم
کز سگان آستان باشم ⁂ گر نیارم شدن ببزم ندیم
بشوم از بندگان حلقه بگوش ⁂ گردم از خاک اولیای حریم

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, foll. 6b & 7a.

من که هستم کلیم طور سخن ؛ کی لگدکوب غم برم چو کلیم [1]

In another qasīdah he praises himself and then diverts the attention of his patron towards his own condition.

من آن شکرگر شاعر طبعم که مرا ؛ بجای لفظ بود شهد ناب در اشعار

همی فزاید در ملک خاطرم هر روز ؛ ز نسل مدح و ثنایت بتازه خویش و تبار

لنهفته - دارم از دیده معانی غیر ؛ بنام مدح تو چندین عرائس ابکار

مگر که آدم دوم است خاطر و قلمم ؛ که هر شکم دو خلف آورد بیک فجار

. . . . . — . .

این زبان و بیان خامه پر ز مدح و ثنات ؛ چراست روز سفیدم سیاه چو شب تار

چراست خاطر عیشم پر از کدورت و غم ؛ چراست بر رخ بختم کثافت ادبار [2]

He sometimes praises not only himself but also his own poetry in the exordium of the qasīdah. eg.

امروز شهنشاه منم ملک سخن را ؛ تیز است مرا تیغ زبان سخن آرا

در ملک بلاغت مرا رتبهٔ حسان ؛ بر تخت کلام است مرا پایهٔ اعشا

از بخت مرا تخت بود خاک قناعت ؛ وز عشق مرا تاج بود آتش سودا

با تیغ زبان بی مدد خیل و سپاهی ؛ چون مهر گرفتم همه عالم تن تنها !

من تافته ام پنجهٔ خورشید لشهرت ؛ گر زانکه لشد روشنت اینک ید بیضا

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 30a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 20b.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 49a.

There are qaṣīdahs in his collection which are though in shorter metres yet they are melodious , eg.

شبی چون سحرگاه دوری مکدر ؛ زده دست وصلت بدامان محشر [1]
شبی که گذشت شبی عرصهٔ دوران گرفت ؛ کز دم شمشیر او جسم جهان دجان گرفت [2]

In Qaṣīdahs he has some times used difficult Radīfs and Qāfiyahs. eg., in a qasidah he has used آتش as Radīf and in qasidahs Qafiyas like جلیل- عدیل and قدیم- عقیم but inspite of this writes lengthy Qaṣīdahs.

We have been able to lay hands on at least two qaṣīdahs to which ʿUrfī has written a reply. We shall confine our-selves to copy only a few verses from the exordium of one of the two qaṣīdahs of both the poets. This will help the reader to peep in to the poetical qualities of both the poets. It is pointed out that ʿUrfī's qaṣīdah is in praise of Muhammad the holy prophet (May peace be upon him) while that of Mazharī's is in praise of the 8th Imam.

ʿUrfī	Mazharī
طراز صورت و معنی محمد عربی	شبی که جسم جهان را بجای جان بوده
که نطق با ادب نام او کند مذکور	کمال ذات شریفش در ابتدای ظهور
بباغ طبع تو بر اوج استفادهٔ فیض	شعاع شمع فروزان ز طاق مرقد او
همای عقل طلبگار سایهٔ عصفور	چنانکه نور کلیم الله از معارج طور
ز نور نامیه ات ماه گر ضیا گیرد	بطول و عرض جهات حریم روضهٔ او
تا فتاب دهد نسخهٔ سنین و شهور	بسیط ارض و بساط فلک بود مکسور

1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī , Ms, fol. 23b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 26a.

زهی ز داد تو آباد ملک و ملت و دین
زهی ز عدل تو ویران بنای فسق و فجور
اگر فتد به طبائع شراره از غضبت
مزاج نار پذیرد طبیعت کافور
همای همت اگر افکند سایه بر جای
که شیر چرخ از آن باد ماند چون عصفور[1]

شعاع شعلهٔ قهر تو گر فتد به سحاب
رماد برق شود سرمهٔ صبا و دبور[2]

We have come accross four verses of Mazharī in Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr and a verse (not mentioned in Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr) in Safīnah-i-Khushgo, which are probably from the exordium of one of his Qaṣīdah. This Qaṣīdah is also missing from the 'Poetical collection' preserved in the 'Asiatic Society of Bengāl Calcutta' (India) The verses, which are being copied in the following lines, bear the same rhyme and metre in which Khāqānī wrote a Qaṣīdah in praise of the Holy prophet (May peace be upon him). A few verses of Khāqānī and all the verses of Mazharī are quoted here for the sake of comparing and contrasting both.

Mazharī.

کو خلوتی که عزلت عنقا بر آورم
تا بام آسمان در دنیا بر آورم
چون کودکی که در چمن رو از شیر وا کنند
من دیده را به ذوق تماشا بر آورم

Khāqānī

هر صبح سر ز گلشن سودا بر آورم
وز صور آه بر فلک آوا بر آورم
چو طیلسان چرخ مطرا شود به صبح
من رخ به آب دیدهٔ مطرا بر آورم

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1. Mazharī, Dīvān-i-Mazharī, Ms, fol. 9a.
2. 'Urfī, Jamāl-ud-Dīn. Muhammad, Qaṣā'id-i-'Urfī, p 13.

چون نارسیده میوه که بادش برافگند
از دل بضعف بیضهٔ تمنا برآورم
خون شد دل و خوشتم که بهر جزو در درود
تا کار عشقت از همه اجزا برآورم
هر صبح آتشی شوم و در خور او فتم
چون گل بجانه صبوری و غوغا برآورم [1]

بر کوه چون لعاب گوزن اوفتد بصبح
بوئی گوزن دار بصحرا برآورم
از اشک خون پیاده و از دم کنم سوار
غوغا بهفت قلعهٔ مینا برآورم
خود بی نیازم از حشر اشک و خوج آه
کان آتشم که یک تنه غوغا برآورم [2]

About Khāqānī's style Dr. Browne is of the opinion that "it is generally obscure, extremely artificial and even pedantic."[3] These remarks of Dr. Browne are true as in the above quoted verses we find both obscurity and artificiallity of style in no less degree. But on the contrary Mazharī is simple and melidious.

In the end it seems proper to study critically a Qaṣīdah which is not available even in his 'Dīvān'. This is a Qaṣīdah written by him in praise of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān. It begins thus:

بسکه امسال خرم است بهار ÷ غنچه رو دید لبش گل خندهٔ یار [4]

About this Khushgo writes in his Tazkirah:

این قصیده یکصد و چهل و هفت بیت بسیار ببلاغت گفته [5]

" He wrote this Qaṣīdah of one hundred and forty seven verses

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1. A'zam , Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 210
   Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās , Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms. fol. 77b.
2. Khāqānī, Afzal-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm, bin 'Alī, Dīvān-i-Khāqānī, p 247-248
3. Browne, E.G. Dr. Literary History of Persia, Vol. II. p 399.
4. Nihāvandi, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mulla, Maāṣir-i-Raḥimi, Vol. III, p 726
5. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 77b.

eloquently."

This Qaṣīdah appears in Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, at page 726 to 732. Nihāvandī writes about it:

چون هنگام تحریر این اوراق، این قصیده که در کتاب خانه عالی
بخط شریف آن نادر سخن بهم رسید ثبت شد[1]

" As at the time of writing these papers, this Qaṣīdah which was in the hand of that unique poet, was found in the library of that exalted one , so it was committed to writing."

On counting the verses we came to know, that their number was 116 and not 147 as mentioned by Khushgo. As the Qaṣīdah has been copied by a contemporary historian from the orignal manuscript so it is safest for us to say that the Qaṣīdah is question consists of 116 verses. But there is also nothing denying the fact that the Qasidah may be of 147 verses and probably this may be the extant number out of 147.

This Qaṣīdah is consist of an exordium, Transition verses, apt transition, panegyric proper, apposite request and ends with good wishes for the prosperity and long life of the patron.

The exordium of this Qaṣīdah contains a description of the spring, so this Qaṣīdah can be termed Ra-biyah (ربیعیہ). Its exordium begins:-

بسکه امسال خرم است بهار ÷ غنچه روید بشکل خندهٔ یار
چه عجب گر ز خوشدلی عاشق ÷ عشوه فهمد ز غمزهٔ دلدار

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1. Nihāvandī, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī, Vol,III, p 726.

ابر را گو که از لطافتِ خاک ؛ می توان شست روی را الغبار
وزشِ بادِ صبح در تن باغ ؛ دوست تر از شفا بر بیمار[1]

This exordium is lengthy and tiresome containing 29 verses viz 1/4 of the whole of Qaṣīdah.

One great beauty of the Qaṣīdah lies in the method by which a poet comes to the praise of his parton. In the 'Trasition verse' (گریز) the poet passes gracefully and skilfully from the exordium of his Qaṣīdah to the purpose which he has inview, or in other words we may say that the 'Transition verse', is brought by the poet in such a manner that the reader thinks that it has come automatically. It is termed گریز or 'apt transition! It is regreted that Naẓhari is not well up in this respect in this Qaṣīdah. Just see:-

برآورده است و بیهوده ؛ راست چون عکس آئینه تکرار
در کجا در دکانِ نوروزی ؛ که بآئین شاه دین بازار
باز امسال خانِ ما آراست ؛ خوش و خوشتر ز پار و پیرار
خان خانان که دستِ دولتِ او ؛ سایه بر آفتاب کرده سوار[2]

But this is not the case in all his Qaṣīdahs.

In panegyrical verses we find the pattern of servile flattery cringing praises with all their verbal jugglery and intellectual gymnastic. The following verses will suffice to prove it.

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1. Nihāvandī, ʿAbdul Bāqī, Mullā. Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. III, p 726
2. Ibid, vol.III, p 728.

همه محکوم حکم او باشد ؛ گر زمین ساکن ار فلک سیار

حیذب لطفت زگل کشد خنده ؛ باد خلقت فرو دمد در خار

آفتاب ار به خیمت تابد ؛ دیده از روشنی شود افگار

گر ز رای تو روشنی یابد ؛ ذره خورشید در کشد بکنار

در خیال بزرگی تو کند ؛ قطره بر گرد یم زند پرگار

هر زمان پیش حضرت خورشید ؛ لب بجود آید آرزو صد بار

که بهنگام رزق بخشیدن ؛ می شود جودت آفتاب شکار

دل پاکت بوقت آسائش ؛ خواب را دیده بود بیدار

نگذارد در حریم حرمت تو ؛ سایهٔ آفتاب از دیوار

ز آب عفت لطایف هفت جحیم ؛ زود تر میرد از لعلم نار[1]

And just read the following verses in praise of his patron's horse.

در تگش هر کجا که سایه فتد ؛ رخش رستم بزاید از مضمار

بر گیاهی که گرد او بنشست ؛ بیخ او بر هوا جهد چو شرار

آتشی کز نعال او بجهد ؛ شررش شرزه الیست مرحله خوار

زان نه بینند پیش در پویه ؛ که ز جولانش کو تهست انظار

صورتش گر ستاده بنگارند ؛ او لا بر قلم کشند جدار

وانگه از شکل برقش اشکلی ؛ لطراز ند مضطرب کردار[2]

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1. Nihāvandī, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mullā. Maāṣir-i-Rahimi, Vol. III, p 730

2. Ibid, Vol. III, p 730

He once again turns towards the praise of his patron perhaps for the sake of 'Apposite request' (حسن طلب) which begins:

ای که بر ذمۀ مروت تو :: فرض شد رحم بر صغار و کبار[1]

and depicts his own condition thus:-

منکه دستم ز خون دیده پر است :: لاله گر جام ساز چه ز عقار

بخت بیداد میکند بر من :: کوه و آئینه را با آتش کار

منکه در هند نان نمی یابم :: در بدخشان چه لعل یا چه حجار

چند نالم چو سینۀ طنبور :: چند جوشم چو قلزم زخار[2]

The Qaṣīdah ends with good wishes for the prosperity and long life of the Khān Khānān his patron.

تا خزان و بهار حسن جمال :: خط سبز است و لالۀ رخسار

باغ عمرت چو روزگار بهشت :: بی خزان باد رشک باغ و بهار

پیش باد تو شمع دشمن تو :: ناتوان تر ز طبع اشرار

محو اندیشۀ خاطر خصمت :: بخیالی که نبودش احصار

بادۀ تیر تو عدوی ترا :: مستی آخر دهد نخست خمار[3]

Maẓharī can not be blamed for writing Qaṣīdahs and adopting the same model which was presented by the classical poets. In this Qaṣīdah and in a few others also the simplicity and smoothness of style and fluency of diction is appricisble.

In some verses discripancies have also been found out. It cannot, of course, be imagined that these are due to Maẓharī's ignorance of metrical construction, but, it is strange to note that

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1. Nihāvendī, 'Abdul Bāqī, Mullā, Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol.III, p 730.
2. Ibid, vol. III, p 731
3. Ibid, Vol. III, p 732.

either Nihāvandī has paid no heed to it and has committed mistakes in copying, or the editor or the scribe of the manuscript is responsible for these gross mistakes. Moreover, it was, the duty of the editor to point out the defects of the verses if these had crept in those manuscript which he used during the time of editing it.

N A J M Ī

Mullā Najmī Kashmīrī whose name is not known, has been for the first time given room by Azad Bilgrami in his Tazkirah 'Khazānah-i-'Āmirah.'[1] His visible lineaments have been portrayed by him as follows.

نجمی کشمیری شاگرد قاسم کاهی است و در نیک ذاتی هم مشرب افادت پناهی در شهور سن
ثمان و ثمانین و تسعمایه از کشمیر بماوراءالنهر شتافت و قصیده در مدح سلطان
اسفندیار بن سلطان خسرو بن سلطان حاجی بیگ گفته گذرانید و بخلعت فاخره و دولت
شکرخانی کامیاب گشت

" Najmī Kashmīrī is a pupil of Qāsim Kāhī.[2] He in the months of

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Khazānah-i-'Āmirah, p 435.
2. Sayyid Najm-ud-Dīn Muhammad whose Kunyat being Abul Qāsim had his nom de plume Kāhī (Grassi). According to Luṭf 'Alī Beg Āzar:

یکی از اجداد ایشان در فتنهٔ تیموری از شهر بیرون رفته باردو پیوسته مورد الطاف
شاهی شد و همه جا در اردو بوده تا در ترکستان سید مشارٌالیه متولد شده در کابل نشو و نما
یافته مشهور بکابلی شده و در زمان همایون پادشاه بهندوستان رفته (آتشکدهٔ آذر صفحه ۲۵)

" One of his ancestors during the sedition of Taimūr came out of the city and joined the army and was favoured with the royal blandishment, He accompanied his army and at last settled in Turkistān where the said Sayyid took birth. He was brought up at Kābul and, therefore, is known as Kābulī. In the reign of king

(Continued)

nine hundered and eighty eight (988 A.H.-1580 A.D.) left Kashmir for Transoxiona and writing a Qasidah in praise of Sultan Asfandyar bin Sultān Khusrow bin Yār Muhammad bin Sultān jainī Baig,put

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(Continued from p 375)

Humāyūn he came to India."

" He lived quietly and contented. He rarely mixed with people in high position on account of his generous disposition, a few low men gathered round him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of His Majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events."

(cf. Blochmann, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, (Translation), pp 566-567-)

He died on the 2nd of Rabī', 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) He is said to have died at the advanced age of 120 years. Badāy-ūnī says:

شعر او بسیار خامست و همه مضمون دیگران اما حیثیت مجموعی دارد که هیچ کس در آن وادی با او نمی رسد

(منتخب التواریخ جلد سوم ...)

" His verses are very crude and all the ideas stolen from others, but taking as a whole no one can rival him in that valley.

He was clever in Tārīkh and riddles. He wrote a Masnavī entitled Gul Afshān.(گل افشان) a reply or Javāb to Bostān and completed a 'Dīvān! Hussain Dost Khān writes in his Tazkireh:

به هند آمده مشمول عنایت اکبر بادشاه گردیده و برا صلهٔ غزل لازم فیل صد هزار تنگه صله یافت

که مطلعش این است ... فیل دیدم ... جان خویش را

(تذکرهٔ حسینی ...)

He went to India. He won the favour of King Akbar and for an ode, every verse of which contained the word 'fīl' or elephant, was rewarded with one lack of Tankas. The opening line in this is.

" When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved,
I spent the coin of life on the road of the elephant.

(Concluded)

up before him and was successful in getting a robe of honour and two hundrred Tankahs from the Khān."

From Āzād's statement it can be presumed that he was a poet of note in the reign of Akbar. As the situation in Kashmīr was not tranquil and moreover, various sorts of calamities used to hover over Kashmīr in the shape of famine, earthquake etc., he was obliged to divert his attention towards other countries and, therefore, left Kashmīr for Transoxina. There, inorder to make both ends meet he wrote a Qasidah in praise of the Sultān and was rewarded.

It is also noteworthy that he left his native land the same year when his teacher Qasim Kahi breathed his last ie. 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.)

However, it is strange that instead of presenting himself in the court of Akbar or other governors of Moghal regime, who were also patrons of men of letter, he went to Transoxina. This also increases our amazement, when we see that his teacher Qāsim Kāhī was a favourite poet of Akbar, to whom on a Ghazal Akbar gave him one lac of Tankahs and gave orders that he should get a present of one thousand rupees as often as he should come to the court,[1] but even these blandishments of the Moghal Emperor could not fascinate his fancy.

His dates of birth and death, and all other aspects of his life are not known. It is also a secret as to whether he returned to his mother-land or not. The following couplets from his above mentioned Qasīdah have been copied by the author of Gul-i-Ra'nā and Shama'-i-anjuman from Khazānah-i-Āmirah of Āzād Bilgrāmī.

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1. Blochmann, Translation of Ā'in-i-Akbarī, foot-note, p 567.

چو باز صبح برآمد ز جانب خاور ؛ نواخت بلبل زر اندود باز دار سحر
ز آشیان جهان کرد زاغ شب پرواز ؛ عقاب چرخ ز بیضا نمود بیضهٔ زر
بصنع ایزدی چون چو بیضهٔ ققنس ؛ همای روز برآورد سر ز خاکستر[1]

Najmī's work is, like his life, fragmentry and incomplete. The above quoted three couplets are, though, a fragment of the exordium of his qasīdah, yet they ravish the imagination of the reader leading him to the conclusion that in similies and metephors his was an orignal and seminal mind.

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ghulām ʿAlī, Khazānah-i-ʿĀmirah, p 435.
Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 276a.
Muhammad Siddīq Hasan Khān, Shamʿ-i-anjuman, p 452.

MULLĀ ʿALĪ ṢARFĪ

Mullā ʿAlī Ṣarfī is one of those poets of Kashmīr who are known as to name but unknown as to poetry. Following information has been conveyed to us by Bindrā Ben Dās Khushgo:

ملا علی صرفی کشمیری است - فضیلت تمام داشته بمکارم اخلاق و محاسن آداب نام برآورده احیاناً شعری موافق فکر خود میگفت - روزی این مطلع تازه گفته در مکتبی میخواند

سبو سبو ده وخم خم ده لوندمرا ٭ قدح چه آب زند آتش بلندمرا*

شوخ پسری باو گفت - صاحبا لوند در اصطلاح معطر را گویند ازین قسم الفاظ احتراز باید کرد[1]

Mullā ʿAlī Ṣarfī is a Kashmīrī. He was accomplished and was famous for beneficient morals and laudable virtues. Occasionally he used to write verses according to his imagination. One day he said this fresh opening line and had been reciting it in the school:

سبو سبو ده وخم خم ده لوندمرا ٭ قدح چه آب زند آتش بلندمرا

A mischievous boy said to him, 'Levend' in metaphorical sense means perfumed, so such kind of words should be avoided."

With the above quoted verse he claims for immortality. Khushgo writes in his Tazkirah:

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1. Khushgo, Bindrā Ben Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 34a.

* A'ẓam says that Maulānā Nāmī wrote this verse. (cf. Vāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, p. 17). also see K. G. Sufi)

دیگر شعرش بفقیر نرسیده[1]

" No other verse of his reached me."

So far as other aspects of his life are concerned we know nothing except this that he had a son Muhammad Amīn by name. This Muhammad Amīn was also a poet having mustaghnī as his nom-de-plume.

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1. Khushgo , Bindra Ban Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol 34a.

MUḤAMMAD AMĪN MUSTAGHNĪ

Muḥammad Amīn whose 'Takhallus' was Mustaghnī was the s-on mullā ʿAlī Ṣarfī who too was a poet. Khushgo is the first Tazkirah writer who has given a very brief account of this poet and Shafīq is the second one who has also added a little to our information. About this poet Khushgo has conveyed to us the following information.

مولانا محمد امین مستغنی تخلص پسر علی صرفی کشمیری است ...... بفزاونی استقامت
ذهن مستقیم و طبع سلیم قرارداد ارباب استعداد بود و در عهد اکبر شاهی کوس سخنوری می نواخت [1]

" Maulānā Muḥammad Amīn having Mustaghnī as his 'Takhallus' is the son of ʿAlī Ṣarfī Kashmīrī. Owing to plenty of steed fast-ness of resolute genius and perfect disposition he was respected by the learned men. He used to beat the drum of poetry in the regime of Akabr."

Shafīq throws some more light on the ~~mukkx~~ poet. He writes about him:

در لاهور بسر می برد و پیش امرای عهد محترم می زیست هفتاد سال عمر کرد و
در سنه اربع وثلاثین والف (۱۰۳۴) ودیعت حیات سپرد [2]

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1. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, foll. 57b-58a.

" He lived in Lāhore, and was respected by pears of the time. He died in 1304 A.H at the age of seventy."

From this statement of Shafīq it is obvious that he (Mustaghnī) was born in 964 A.H. (1556 A.D.)

The following verses have made him immortal.

من و تو بروز حشر دست و گریبان رویم ÷ تو ز پی دست من، من ز پی خون بها
با پریشانی خاطر، همین دل جمعم ÷ کز پریشانی ما هیچ دلی درهم نیست
سیاهی شب ما را نبرد پرتو مهر ÷ رخی که در ره ما می‌نهد چراغ ماست

ای آنکه سری ز شوق مستت دادند ÷ جانی و دلی مهر پرستت دادند
یک جرعه سبیل ساز بر تشنه لبان ÷ شکرانهٔ جامی که بدستت دادند [1]

برهمن گرد تو گردم ره کفرم بنما ÷ که ز ایمان خودم شرم الهی می‌آید [2]

1. Shafīq, Laghhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 259b.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 259b.

MEHDĪ ʿALĪ LADUNNĪ

Mehdī ʿAlī who had his 'Takhallus' Ladunnī is one of those poets of Kashmīr about whom we know too little. Ārzū was the first person who introduced him to the people by giving him room in his Tazkirah. The information about him conveyed by Ārzū is as follows.

از کشمیر جنت نظیر بود بغایت عالی طبیعت - اکثر در آگره بسر کرده گویند شیخ فیضی بوی نسبت استاد شاگردی داشت در ۱۰۰۵ هجری درگذشت [1]

" He was from Kashmīr, had a very high disposition. He passed the greater part of his life in Āgrah. It is said that Shaikh Faizī had with him relationship of teacher and pupil. He died in 1005 A.H. "

Shafīq's statement clarifies the ambigous statement of Ārzū and clearly says that Faizī was his pupil.

گویند شیخ فیضی اکبر آبادی باو نسبت شاگردی داشت در اکبر آباد بسر می برد [2]

" It is said the Shaikh Faizī of Akberābād had the relation of pupilship with him. he used to live at Akbar Abad."

But Sabā the compiler of Roz-i-Roshan- a Tazkirah of the poets written a century ago, writes that Mehdī ʿAlī had his 'Takhallus' Lazti (لذتی) and not Ladunnī (لدنی) and moreover he was the pupil of Faizī Fayyāzī. From this it is evident

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 255b.

that both the biographers have interpreted the version of Ārzū contrary to each other. Ṣabā brings to light the following facts about him.

ملا مهدی علی لذتی از عالی نکران کشمیر بود و با فیضی فیاضی نسبت تلمذ داشت و در اکبر آباد بعزت و ثروت تعیش می نمود و همانجا در سنه خمس و الف مرحله زندگانی پیمود ۱

" Mullā Mehdī ʿAlī Lazti was among the men of lofty imagination and had a relation of pupilship with Faizi Fayyāẓī. He was enjoying dignity and wealth in Akbar Abad, where he died in 1005 A.H."

From the above statement it comes to light that he was a pupil of Faizī the renowned poet of India who was born in 954 A.H. (1544 A.D.) and died in 1004 A.H.(1595 A.D.) ie a year earlier than his pupil or teacher.

It cannot be definitely said, when he left his mother land, but it is evident from Ārzū's statement that he passed most part of his life in India in the city of Akbarābād, where he died in 1005 A.H. (1596 A.D.)

The compilers of Gul-i-Raʿnā and Roz-i-Roshan have mentioned the following couplet of Ladunnī as a specimen which they have copied from Majmaʿ un Nafā'is.

گر در عشق تاثیر جنون ز افسانه می خیزد :: که شب با هر که بنشینم سحر دیوانه می خیزد ۲

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1. Ṣabā, Ḥusain, Muẓaffar, Muḥammad. Roz-i-Roshan, p 595.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 255b.
Ṣabā, Ḥusain, Muẓaffar, Muḥammad, Roz-i-Roshan, p 595.
Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , Majmaʿ un Nafā'is, Ms, fol.

Ārzū also quotes the following Rubā'ī as a specimen of his poetry, while both the other 'Tazkirah' writers have neglected it.

در روح غوطه زند گفتارت
در ناز همی شنا کند رفتارت !
در زمزم عشق غسل نکرد نگاه تا
ننهد قدمی بکعبه دیدارت [1]

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol.

CHAPTER IV

POETS OF JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN

1. Ẓihnī.
2. Nadīm, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.
3. Fiṭratī,
4. Aujī.
5. Bazurgī.
6. Jamīl Baig ʿAlvī.
7. Mīr ʿAbdullah Ḥaraibī.
8. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ṭalūʿī.
9. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Khayālī.
10. Ḥamdī.

Ẓ I H N Ī

Maulānā Ẓihnī, who like many other poets of Kashmīr is famous by his pen name, was born and brought up there. But Aḥmad 'Alī Hāshmī and Ārzū do not specify Kashmīr as his native land, and thus have made it a controversial point. Hence a discussion on this point would not be out of place.

Aḥmad 'Alī Hāshmī says:

معلوم نشد که از کجا نیست ...... اکثر تعریف کشمیر جنت نظیر نموده ....

معلوم میشود که از ولایت توران است چراکه مدح خواجه جاوید نقشبندی اکثر جاها نموده [1]

" It could not definitely be ascertained what place he belongs to. He has often praised Kashmīr, but it seems that he belonged to Tūrān, as he has often praised Khawājah Jāvīd Maḥmūd Naqshbandī

Ārzū writes about Ẓihnī thus:-

و وطنش معلوم نیست. چون اکثر تعریف اماکن نزهه کشمیر کرده گمان برده می شود که کشمیری باشد- طرفه آنکه در تعریف نذر محمد خان بادشاه توران نیز قصیده دارد حالانکه مردم هند را با سلاطین توران و ایران ربطی نیست وازین دریافت می شود که از توران باشد [2]

" His mother land is not known. As he has often praised the lovely places of Kashmīr, so it can be concluded that he might

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1. Hāshmī, Aḥmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 109a.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol.219.

be a Kashmiri. But it is strange to note that he has written a qaṣīdah in praise of Nazar Muḥammad Khān the king of Tūrān, while the people of India have got no connection with the kings of Tūrān and Irān, so it is obvious that he belonged to Tūrān."

Ārzū further argues:

د مویدان است کہ مدح خواجہ جاوید نقشبندی اکثر جاہا کرد

It strengthens this judgement that he has praised Khwājah Jāvīd Naqshbandī more than once[1]

This question of Indian poets connection with kings other than those of India has staggered Khān Ārzū who expresses his amazement which has led him to a hasty generalization. The contention put forward by him, is, of course, of little value, because it is crystal clear that the second half of the tenth century, ~~which~~ compelled Humāyūn (died 963 A.H.- 1556 A.D.) to leave India though he captured her again in the latter part of his life, yet he could not strengthen her. At the time of his death Akbar(963-1014 A.H.- 1556-1605 A.D.) was a boy in teens, so the poets, in order to make both ends meet, considered it essential to serve as eulogist to the kings of other countries, and we see that during these years when the atmosphere in the country was unfavourable, the circumstances persuaded the poets like Ẕihnī, Najmī and the others to turn their attention towards the kings other than those of India. But when the Moghal Emperor Akbar (963-1014 A.H.- 1556-1605 A.D.) controlled the whole situation, we see that the poets of Persia found their way to India, and the one who once came, did not

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol. 219.

leave the land, and if owing to some reasons he left, he came for the second time, and if he could not come, he never forgot the rewards, favours and kindness of the Moghal rulers and their governors etc., till his death. To quote the example of Ṣā'ib (d. 1088 A.H.- 1677-78 A.D.) and Kalīm (d. 1061 A.H.-1651 A.D.) would suffice to prove it. Ṣā'ib says:-

همچو عزم سفر هند که در هر دل هست ÷ رقص سودای تو در هیچ سری نیست که نیست

Abū Ṭālib Kalīm says:-

ز شوق هند زان سان چشم حسرت بر قفا دارم ÷ که رو هم گر براه آرم نمی‌بینم مقابل را
اسیر هندم و زین رفتن بی‌جا پشیمانم ÷ کجا خواهد رساند پرفشانی مرغ بسمل را

Exceptions in the case of Kashmīrī poets are there. Even in the reign of Shāhjahān when peace and order have their upper hand we find Muḥsin Fānī in the court of Nazar Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh. History tells us that his Qaṣīdah in praise of of the said noble eclipsed his (Fānī's) fortune. (see page 466 infra). Hence Ārzū's argument has got no weight.

We have included him in the list of Kashmīrī poets because 'Abdun Nabī Qazvīnī the author of Maikhānah who paid a visit to Kashmīr in the reign of Jahāngīr (1014-1036 A.H. - 1605-1627 A.D.) and got an opportunity of seeing him (Ẓihnī) writes in his Maikhānah

مولد آن عزیز دار العیش کشمیر است [1]

" The birth place of that dear one is the house of pleasure of Kashmir."

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1. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 572.

Zihni was residing in Mahallah Katzi Kahad near Mahallah Qazi Baba.[1] He was the disciple of Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi,[2] the saint poet of Kashmir[3] who died in 1047 A.H.(1637 A.D.).[4]

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms, fol. 236.

2. Fauq, Muhammad Din, History of Badshah, p. 208, foot-note.

ملا ذہنی ...... بابا نصیب الدین غازی المتوفی ۱۰۴۹ھ کا مرید تھا

We have preferred the year of death given by Muhammad A'zam in Waqi'at-i-Kashmir. He writes:-

سیزدہم محرم سنہ ہزار و چہل و ہفت رحلت ایشان واقع شد

" His death took place on the 13th of Muharram, one thousand and forty seven."

(cf. see p 220.)

Maulvi Muhammad-ud-Din also confirms this date. He writes in Rawzatul Abrar:-

۱۳ محرم الحرام در ۱۰۴۷ھ در قصبہ بیجبارہ رحلت نمود

" Died on the 13th of Muharram in 1047 A.H., in the village Bijbihara."

(cf. see page 53.)

3. Abul Fuqra Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi was the son of Sheikh Mir Hussain Razi and was the disciple of Baba Daud Khaki (d. 994 A.H 1587 A.D.) was born in 977 A.H. (1569 A.D.) and died in 1047 A.H. (1637 A.D.) at Bijbihara where his grave stands to this day as a 'Ziyarat' ie. a shrine.

(cf. Ivanow's catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, pp 108-109.)

and was encouraged by him.

He too, did not travel out of his land and thus passed his whole life in Kashmīr.[1] It must be pointed out here once again that according to the statement of Ārzū he wrote a Qaṣīdah in praise of Nazar Muḥammad Khān. If we deem this staement of Ārzū as correct then an idea creeps to our mind that he went to Tūrān, but in the presence of Qazvīnī's statement we cannot derive this conclusion. Hence we can presume that he perhaps sent a Qaṣīdah in praise of Nazar Muḥammad Khān to his court but he himself did not visit that court.

According to Muḥammad A'ẓam he was one of the distinguished poets of Kashmīr and had not only attained perfection in this art ie. poetry, but had also got due share in the sciences of religion and led a life of piety. He being match-less in the art of poetry during his life time was on good terms with other men of letters, and therefore, used to remain in their company.[2]

Nothing is known about other aspects of his life. What can be concluded from his verses is that he did not study regularly with any teacher, as he himself says:-

دانشورم ز فیض دل نکته دان خویش ؛ طفل الف‌با نخوانِ دبستان کس نیم

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1. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 572.

هرگز از وطن بیامده و مسافرت نکرده

" He never came out of his native land, and did not travel."

2. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 236.

ملا ذهنی شاعر از شعرای برجسته کشمیر با وصف کمال این فن از علوم دینی بهره ور بود و دارای
بتقوی هم داشت و در عهد خود در فن سخندانی در کشمیر بی نظیر بود و بر وقت بزم آرائی و فیض پیرائی
بارباب سخن می داشت

He is also prdud of his poetical talent. He emphasizes it thus

گلکم ز نظم خود به شب بیت زد رقم ؛ سرگرم انتخاب ز دیوان کس نیم

Moreover, he was a man of courage and fortitude, always ready to confront all sorts of calamities and difficulties. He advises:-

پروانه صفت بسوز تن ده ؛ چون بلبل هرزه گو مفروش

Dates of his birth and death are still in the dark. "From his Qulyāt this comes to light," says Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārzū, " that he was one of the poets of the reign of Akbar as he wrote an elegy of the said emperor and was alive in the reign of Shāh - Jahān, because he has written the chronogram on the coronation of Shāhjahān. He also praised Ahān KhānānBeiram Khān."

از کلیاتش این قدر ظاهر می شود که از شعرای عصر اکبر بادشاه است
چنانکه مرثیه بادشاه مذکور گفته، و تا عهد شاه جهان زنده بود که
تاریخ سلطنت او نیز گفته۔ مدح خانخانان بیرم نمود [1]

The following couplet of his indicates that he died in old age.

ظلمت صبحم کرد سیه روی سفید ؛ بر سیه روی من خنده ز موی سفید

From the statement of Khān Ārzū, quoted above and in the preceeding pages, it can be concluded that he was an eulogist of the following.

1. Akbar 963-1014 A.H.(1556-1605 A.D.)
2. Shāhjahān 1036-1067 A.H.(1627-1657 A.D).
3. Beiram Khān Khān Khānān. (d. 968 A.H.- 1561 A.D.)
4. Nazar Muhammad Khān king of Tūrān (d. 1077-1667 A.D.)
5. Khwājah Jāvid Naqshbandī.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafāʾis, Ms, fol. 219.

He wrote four lengthy Qaṣidahs in praise of the first four Caliphs, one for each, with great love, " says Muḥammad A'ẓam in Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr.

منقبت حضرت خلفای اربعه به محبت گفته چهار قصیده برای چهار خلیفه موزون کرده [1]

In the beginning he first tried to prove why the prophet (May peace be upon him) had four friends. He gives reasons for that and says:-

یار پیغمبر نشاید برگزیدن جز چهار ✤ حجت آن لشنو از ذهنی که باشد یادگار

از ملائک وز کتب جز چار نگزیدست حق ✤ کین عدد مستحسن است از روی معنی در شمار

نیز خلد و رکن کعبه اصل طبع و فصل سال ✤ بین چهار است و چهار است و چهار است و چهار

From the above couplets it can be perceived that he was the follower of Sunnī doctrine. Qazvīnī remarks about his 'Dīvān!

تا ملاقات این ضعیف دیوان ترتیب نداده بود ولیکن عدد ابیاتش به چهار هزار بیت می کشید [2]

" Till this old man saw him, he had not arranged his 'Dīvān' but the number of his couplets had reached four thousand."

Ārzū saw his 'Dīvān' consisted of about ten thousand verses."

کلیاتش که تخمیناً قریب ده هزار بیت باشد بنظر آمده [4]

"His Qulyāt which might be of about ten thousand couplets came to sight."

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, fol. 235.

2. Ibid, ms, fol. 235.

3. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah , p 572.

4. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān , Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol. 219.

Ārzū has selected therefrom more than 130 couplets, and has copied them in his Tazkirah.[1] He is of the opinion that:-

ذهنی شاعر زبردست پخته‌گو است خصوصاً در قصیده گوئی طرز قدما ورزیده و زبان غزل او هم بسیار رنگین است[2]

Zihnī is a great and skilful poet, who in Qasīdah has adopted the trend of the old poets and the language of his 'Ghazals' is very ornate."

Ahmad Ālī on the other hand does not appriciate his poetry and says:

دیوان او را سراسر دیدم این دو بیت او را چیدم[3]

" I saw the whole of his 'Dīvān' and could select the following two couplets."

Those two couplets are as follows:

Mr. Muhammad-ud-Dīn Fauq a well known Kashmīrī in Tārīkh-i-Badshāh (History of Bad Shāh) under the heading-

زینہ گیر میں بادشاہی زینت محل

writes:

سنہ ۱۹۴۰ میں سری نگر میں پھر ایک قدیم بیاض دیکھنے کا موقع ملا جو بہت بوسیدہ تھی اور جس میں سے اکثر الفاظ پڑھے نہیں جاتے تھے۔ اس بیاض میں مولانا ذہنی کے اشعار زینہ گیر کے زینت محل کے متعلق تھے[4]

" In 1940, I once again got an opportunity to see an old 'Bayāz' (notebook) in Srīnagar which was very worn out, and many of

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn Ālī Khān , Majma'un Nafā'is, Ms, fol. 219to 223.

2. Hashmī, Ahmad Ālī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib , Ms, fol. 109b.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 109b.

4. Fauq, Muhammad-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Badshāh, p 208.

its words were illegible. In this note book there were veres about the Zīnat Maḥal of Zīnahgīr by Zihnī."

Fauq has copied the following verses fron that Bayāẓ.

نو بهار است و باد فیض عبیر ÷ نو نگار است و خاک عطر عبیر

وله باجام باده مست آمد ÷ کرد فراموش داغ را تدبیر

نرگس از خواب مست آشفته ÷ لشده سوسن معنبر تعبیر

شاه زین العباد صاحب تاج ÷ که جهان را ازو بود توقیر

باز از فضل ایزد مطلق ÷ کرد زینت محل دگر تعمیر

زینه گیر هست باغ فرحت بخش ÷ که ندارد بزیر چرخ نظیر

داشت ویران لسیط کاموتی ÷ کرد از آبیاری اش تعمیر

آنکه دریا بکوزه می آرد ÷ بهر آب تشنگان روی عزیز

سال تاریخ این بنای متین ÷ کاخ .... کشمیر

یافت ذهنی ز بارگاه شهی

خلعت خاص دولت کشمیر[1]

Zihnī like many other poets of Kashmīr did not arrange his 'Dīvān' during his life time, with the result that it is now not trace able any where. Following are the verses from his Sāqīnāmah:

شرابی که مست است از جزو و کل ÷ چه اصل و چه فرع و چه خار و چه گل

شرابی که گل بر دماند ز سنگ ÷ کشد آب حیوان ز کام نهنگ

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1. Fauq, Muhammad-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Bādshāh, p 209.

شرابی کزو شد دل غم زده چو وادی ایمن تجلی کده

دماغ از شمیمش بهاری شود

بیا دش درون لاله زاری شود[1]

It is strange that Ābdun Nabī informs us at page 524 of his Maikhānah under the caption مرتبه سوم (third degree)

مؤلف کتاب بایشان برخورده و با ایشان صحبت داشته و تحقیق نموده که تا ملاقات این ضعیف ساقی نامه نگفته اند[2]

" The compiler of this book met them and kept company with them and came to know that they did not write Sāqīnāmah till the time this humble person came in contact with them."

But at page 572 before copying the above quoted verses of Zihnī he informs us:

این چند بیت از ساقی نامه او مناسب بیاض این تسوید ثبت نموده[3]

" These a few verses from his Sāqīnāmah have been written considering them proper for this manuscript."

It is also note-worthy that Ārzū who saw his Qulyāt of 10,000 couplets does not write that he wrote a Sāqīnāmah, presumably either the Sāqīnāmah remained incomplete or was not worthy of mention.

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1. Qazvīnī, Ābdun Nabī , Maikhānah , pp 572-573.
2. Ibid, p. 524.
3. Ibid, p. 572.

PUPILS OF ZIHNĪ:

This credit goes to Ẓihnī that poets like Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Nadīm and Fiṭratī are said to have been his pupils. The information available about them is quite meagre. We will write their biographies in the following pages in the light of the facts revealed to us by the study of the relevant books. Now we take the liberty of writing criticism on Ẓihnī's poetry.

CRITICISM ON ZIHNĪ'S POETRY:

We have been able to lay hand on a few couplets of Ẓihnī. Though the number is very small yet we will try to lay down what we have made out of them.

After having a deep and thorough study of these verses, we arrive at the conclusion that his style is simple. He has tried his best to produce in his poetry all the good qualities which are necessary for a good poet. We are of the opinion that his endeavours in this respect have proved successful to some extent. But if a comparison be made between the poetry of the men of letters of the past with that of Ẓihnī's poetry, it is evident that he is not entitled to get a high place.

It is a fact that Ẓihnī's poetry is simple and plain, yet we cannot deny another fact that high imagination and novelty seldom go hand in hand with simplicity. Taking into view this fact, we do not think it objectionable if ordinary ideas have been described with simipilicity, but at the same time, it is essential that there should be at least a few qualities in a verse so that a verse may

be discriminated from ordinary talk.

The poetry of a poet is generally the index of his life and condition. The poet may not have intended to write his self experiences yet in spite of that he reflects his sufferings and depicts some aspects of his life unconsciously. To quote Zihni's following ode will suffice to prove that he was a self-respecting gentle-man. Each and every couplet of the undermentioned ode reflects the above said sentiments and feelings.

خرم دل از نسیم گلستان کس نیم ÷ روشن نظر ز شمع شبستان کس نیم

دلشودم ز فیض دل نکته دان خویش ÷ طفل لبانچه خوار دبستان کس نیم

گلگلم ز نظم خود همه شب بیت زد رقم ÷ سرگرم انتخاب ز دیوان کس نیم

بیت نمی فروشم و منت نمی خرم ÷ یعنی مرادچین ذل از خوان کس نیم

مانند نکته سر بگریبان کشیده ام ÷ دست طمع دراز بدامان کس نیم

ذهنی چو آستانه مقیم در خودم

لب تشنهٔ اجازت دربان کس نیم [1]

From another ode of his it has been proved that he was a man of fortitude and courage, always ready to confront all sorts of calamities and vicissitudes of the world.

گر عاشق صادقی بدست آر ÷ چو غنچه دل و زبان خاموش

پروانه صفت بسوزش ده ÷ چون بلبل هرزه گو مخروش

آن دل که خریدهٔ بصد لطف ÷ اکنون بعتاب ناز مفروش

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms, fol. 235.

نیشی که ز دست دوست باشد * خوشتر ز هزار چشمهٔ نوش [1]

However, it would not be an exaggeration to say that he had a bent of mind for poetry. The following are the main features of his poetry.

1. UNIQUE IMAGINATION:

ز خندهٔ لعل لب او بجان نگیرد آتش * چه آتشی که به آب حیات مانند است [2]

The simile of the beloved's lips with a ruby is common, but the beauty of this couplet lies in the fact that the poet calls the lips a ruby and then compares it with fire and after that he proves that the fire is like the water of life. The fire burns a man, and thus puts one's life to an end, but the poet calling fire a nector has tried to prove that it gives an immortal life. The reason put forward is that nector has been considered as surety for an eternal life. The material for imagination was no doubt present, but the poet by putting all the relevant factors together has produced a unique imagination.

چه سود ازین که حریم دلم نشیمن تست * که در میان من و دل هزار فرسنگ است [3]

Two common ideas have been put to gether which have formed a new fancy. The first is, that the beloved's idea always remains in a lover's heart and, secondly, a lover's heart remains under the control of his beloved. From these ideas the poet has derived the conclusion that though the beloved remains in his heart, which is certainly a cause of joy for him yet it is with him (the beloved) so he has no satisfaction at all, if the beloved is in his heart.

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, fol. 235
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol.220.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 221.

A natural condition of a lover has been described in a beautiful way, namely that he has no satisfaction in any way.

حیرت از حال لبش دارم که هندو زاده ای ∴ بر کنار چشمهٔ کوثر طهارت میکند[1]

To call a beloved's mole a Hindū on the basis of its blackness and also because 'Hindū' literary means a thief, and the beloved's mole has also been considered by the Eastern poets a thief because it steals the heart of a lover, and the purity of Kauṣar is an undeniable fact. In the simile of beloved's mouth with Kauṣar, the poet produced this novelty that he made a Hindū sit at the bank of Kauṣar, while according to habit and reason it is not possible, as a Hindū has got nothing to do with the said Kauṣar. But the poet with the help of his imagination has made it possible what was impossible.

زلفش از دست برد غمزهٔ او ∴ سر فگنده تر از گنهگاران[2]

In the above couplet the poet describes the effect and approach of beloved's coquetry. He says that even the tresses of the beloved could not keep themselves aloof, but before his coquetry, thinking itself helpless, bowed the head just like a sinner who owing to excess of shame cannot lift up his eyes. The poet has produced a new idea from an ordinary thing, examples of which are very rare.

2. ~~[illegible]~~ EMOTIONS جذبات

حیرت زده طوطی به قفس مرد ز تلخی ∴ تاراج مگس چند به بیند شکرت را[3]

When the lover sees that the dishonoured antagonist is

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol.221.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 223.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 219.

collecting the flowers from the beloved's garden of beauty and a true lover is deprived of this favour, inorder to expose his feelings, he assimilate himself to a parrot and a rival to a fly, and shows his amazement by saying that a fly is enjoying the sweetness of his lips, but the helpless parrot, being in the cage cannot with-stand this scene. He has depicted those sentiments and feelings which surge in the heart of a lover, when he sees his beloved having intimate relations with an other persons.

تا کس نگردد آگه از حالت درونم ٭ پوشیده چشم گریه بستم لب فغان را [1]

Every lover desires that his love should remain a secret for ever. He, therefore, avoids weeping and groaning before others, but it is just possible that all his efforts to conceal his love prove fruitless and the people may understand every thing from his condition. A lover may for some time keep his love a secret, he may neither weep nor groan, but some how or other, at one time or another his inner feeling exposes it self, just as the poet has described in the following verse.

آهی که دل ز خوف تو عمری نهفته داشت ٭ بی‌محابانه در صف محشر برآوردم [2]

All the verses of an ode naturally bear the emotions, so the dearth of examples cannot be imagined. The following couplets will manifest the expression of human emotions and sentiments, the delicate impression of love and yearning of the heart.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol. 219.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 222.

رقم زد مغزی از بهر قتل عاشقان خود ؛ ولی ترسم مبادا نامم از محضر برون آرد

به هنگام شهادت کشتهٔ تیغ شهادت را ؛ بگوش از شش جهت بانگ مبارکبادی آید [1]

دل چو استسقا طلبد معجزهٔ حسن از تو ؛ زان لب روح فزا شعلهٔ گفتار بیار

از ناز برنداشت چو دو آتشم نشانده ؛ بدست من خبر گرفت از کباب خویش [2]

نی شیخ دم ز پرستش ما زده نه برهمن ؛ بی کس میان کعبه و بتخانه سوختیم

بکام دوست گشتن مرا میسر نیست

که دشمنی بکین همچو آسمان دارم [3]

3. SIMILE & METAPHOR تشبیه و استعاره.

در تصور خط مشکین تو گویا سنبل است ؛ در تکلم لعل سیراب تو گویی آتش است [4]

The beard of the beloved has been similized with hyacinth and his lips have been first similized with ruby and then with fire so the second hemistich is the example of a compound simile.

ز نقش پای تو ای جلوه مست نقش خرام ؛ نگارخانهٔ چین خانهٔ رنگرز باشد [5]

The foot-prints of the beloved have not only been similized with the picture gallery of China but the former has been considered far better than the latter.

چون سپند روی آتش بردم از آشفتگی ؛ بی ارادت جستم از جا بی خبر غلطیده ام [5]

In the verse quoted above, the poet compares himself with a grain of wild rue, which when put on fire involuntarilly falls to some unknown place. Here the point of resemblance is restlessness.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol. 221.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 222.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 223.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 220.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 222.

4. ANALOGICAL : تمثیل

The beauty of the anology lies in the fact that the poet should prove poetically what he has asserted in the first or the second hemistich; this way of reasoning may or may not be logically correct, but it should appeal to mind and one is, therefore, apt to believe it.

ذوق لبت ز چشمهٔ حیوان نیافتند ؛ نتوان ز آب برد خمارِ شراب را[1]

No one can deny that nector is a life giving water, but the poet compares it with the lips of his beloved and tries to prove that nector is worthless. Apparently this claim of his seems to be a cause of surprise, but the poet proves it with an example saying that the water of life is water only but the beloved's lip has the effect of wine, so the person who drinks the wine of the beloved's lip, must retain its after-effects even after the use of the water of life, because mere water cannot remove the after effects of wine, rather wine is required for that. Now since nector is only water, so it amounts to nothing.

محبت از نصیحت تیزتر خواهد شدن ذهنی ؛ بود سوهان ملامت آتش شوق زلیخا را[2]

In the first hemistich the poet has clamied that no body's counsel can have its effect on a lover's mind, but on the contrary it increases the flame of love's fire. To prove it the poet reminds us of the allusion of Yūsuf (Joseph). When the friends of Zulikhā reproved her for having cherished the love of Yūsuf (Joseph). Their reproach could not supress the feelings of love but she with her attitude caused them to love Joseph from the core of their heart. In short, instead of caring a fig for their

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Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , Majmaʿ-un-Nafāʾis, Ms, p. 219

2. Ibid, Ms, p. 219.

censure she made all of them like herself.

زعکس چو پر حسنت نگاه گیرد رنگ ؛ چنانکه رخ ز می وگل زماه گیرد رنگ [1]

The lover has claimed that his sight became ornate on account of seeing the beauty of his beloved. How is it possible? One can question; but to prove it the poet puts up two examples and says, firstly, the colour of the face becomes red at the time of drinking wine and secondly the flower gets colour from the light of the moon These two examples prove the poet's contention as these fully agree with his claim.

5. AMPHIBOLOGY ایهام

خط که بگرد لب گلفام نوشتند ؛ تعریف شراب است که بر جام نوشتند [2]

In the above couplet there is a pun upon the word خط (Beard which means تحریر (writing) and the suitable word for that is نوشتند (they wrote) and سبزۂ رخسار (the beard of the cheeks) the suitable word for that is گرد لب (round the lip) have been used by the poet.

6. ANTITHESIS صنعت تضاد

ظلمت معصیتم کرد سیاه روی سفید ؛ هر سیه روی من خنده زند موی سفید [3]

The word سیاه (Black) and سفید (white) in the above couplet bear opposite meaning.

شوخ چشمی ببین که در هنگام صلح آن غمزه را ؛ هر نگاه آشتی آمادۂ صد جنگ بود [4]

1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p. 222.
2. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.
3. Ibid, Ms, p. 221.
4. Ibid, Ms, p. 222.

The words آشتی (Treaty) and جنگ (war) in the above verse are unequivocally of opposite meaning.

بود یک رنگ با گبر و مسلمان اختلاطم بین ÷ که خوی عشق دارم دوست از دشمن نمی دانم[1]

The words دوست (friend) and دشمن (enemy) palpably and imperatively hold opposite meaning.

7. <u>ASSOCIATION OF SIMILAR OBJECTS - CONGRUITY</u> مراعاة النظیر

چشم آفت رخ بلا خط آشوب ÷ غارتگر طاقتم کدام است[2]

In this couplet various parts of the body viz, چشم (eye) رخ (face) and خط (beard) have been introduced which are naturally associated together, similarly آفت (calamity) بلا (difficulty) and آشوب (sedition) have been used in the second hemistich which differ in meaning very little so this couplet has two examples of congruity.

لخت دل می خورم و خون جگر می نوشم ÷ یعنی از مائدهٔ عافیتم پرهیز است[3]

Here the words می خورم (I am eating) می نوشم (I am drinking) and مائده (table) are associated with one another. Similarly دل (heart) جگر (liver) عافیت (health) and پرهیز (abstinence) have got association with one another according to the science of medicine, so this verse too, has got two examples of this figure of speech.

بباغ رفتم و بلبل اشاره کرد بمن ÷ که راز گل نتوان گفت تا صبا این جا است[4]

باغ (garden بلبل (nightingale) گل (rose) and صبا (breeze) are associated with one an other and besides, the words اشاره (Hint)

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , <u>Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is</u>, Ms. p 222.
2. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.
3. Ibid, Ms, p. 222.
4. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.

راز (secret) and گفت (said) have also got association with one another.

غافل مشو که تشنهٔ یک ساغر آمده ۞ باد مسیح و آتش موسیٰ و آب جم[1]

The association in باد (wind) آتش (fire) and آب (water) on the basis of the four elements is crystal clear.

به موشگافیم از گوش التفات بنی ۞ لسان شانه سراپای من زبان گردد[2]

In the above verses the words مو (hair) گوش (ear) سر (head) پا (feet) and زبان (tongue) have been mentioned, which indicate the parts of the body, the association of which deserves no explanation. So this verse is a good example of similar objects viz. congruity.

8. POETICAL AETIOLOGY حسن التعلیل.

چو گشت از بوی گل دیوانه بلبل ۞ نسیم از آب بر زنجیر برداشت[3]

The nightingale is the lover of the flowers. As a mad lover is always chained, so when the poet witnesses the small vortices on the surface of water it strikes to his mind that the breeze is making a chain to arrest the nightingale, where as the love of the nightingale for the flower and the small circles on the surface of the water caused by the air have got no connection with each other. But the poet has made the latter a cause for the former. After understanding this beautiful simile one cannot but appriciate it.

نقد ایام جوانی رایگان دادم ز دست ۞ آخر و مزده همین شرمندگی پیرم کند[4]

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1. Arzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is. Ms. p. 220.
2. Ibid, Ms, p. 222.
3. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.
4. Ibid, Ms, p. 221.

It is but natural that when youth vanishes old age is bound to come. but the poet states that because he had wasted his precious youth for nothing, so he is becoming old owing to its sorrow. this is contrary to our daily experience. If a person has to live for long he will naturally become old, he may or may not feel sorrow for his youth, but the poet here with the help of poetical aetiology tries to prove his statement.

9. ALLUSION: تلمیح

طاقتِ حوصلۂ دیدۂ عاشق معلوم ٭ کوہ جائیکہ بیک پرتو دیدار بسوخت [1]

In the above verses the words کوہ (mountain) diverts our attention to the event of Moses and the word دیدار (looking) corroborates it.

گزشت وصل بہ جردوئی تمام آخر شب ٭ کسیکہ گشت بحرمان کوہکن باشد [2]

From the word کوہکن (Mountain digger, which is the epithet of Farhād, lover of Shirin) the aim of the poet is to remind us of the incident of Farhād and Koh-i-Baisatūn.

در نامہ کہ قصۂ مجنون نوشتہ اند ٭ حالِ دلم باشنگ دگرگون نوشتہ اند [3]

The ~~lover~~ story of Lailā and Majnūn has been recalled in the above couplet.

بہ پیشِ آن رخ آدم فریب گندم گون ٭ متاعِ طلبۂ جنت جوی می ارزد

the words آدم (Ādam) گندم (wheat) and جنت (paradise) reminds

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is. Ms, p. 219.
2. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.
3. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.
4. Ibid, Ms, p. 220.

us of the most famous story of Ādam who on eating the grain of wheat was turned out of paradise.

کلیم ما و تو از عشق هر دو سوخته ایم ٭ ترا تجلی و ما را نقاب می سوزد [1]

In the above couplet the words Kalīm and Tajallī (manifestation) lead us towards the incident of moses.

10. Dialogue: سوال و جواب

گفتمش خون من تو ریختهٔ ٭ نی لبش گفت چشم مست آری [2]

The poet (or the lover) puts a question to his beloved and gets the answer from him.

11. DEFECTS OF CACOPHONY: عیب تنافر

The following couplet of Ẓihnī will serve as an example of the defects of cacophony ie.

نگار ذهنی اگر بگذری پس از مردن ٭ ببین مشاهده جانِ تو و جانِ تو [3]

نون and واو in the second hemistich have been repeated so many times that the phrase جانِ تو و جانِ تو cannot be pronounced distinct-ly and easily.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 221.
2. Ibid, Ms, p. 223.
3. Ibid, Ms. p. 223.

MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ NADĪM

Muḥammad Ṣālih Nadīm had his nom de plume Nadīm. He was a pupil of Mullā Ẕihnī.[1] Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādi writes in his 'Tazkirah'

الحال در حیات است[2]

" He is still alive."

It is, therefore, noteworthy that the said 'Tazkirah' was written by him in 1083 A.H. (A.D. 1674) From the above qouted statement of Nasrabadi, it is clear that he was a contemporary to Shāhjahān (A.H. 1037-1068 -A.D. 1628-1658) and Aurangzeib Ālamgīr (A.H. 1068 1118- A.D. 1658-1707).

Pitch darkness prevails over his life. Both the internal and external sources are silent in this respect. His 'Dīvān' sheds side lights on a few aspects of his life and character. They are as follows:

1.TRAVELS:

He left his native land for certain reasons which are not known He writes:

همچو نقش پا بغربت رفته عمر و چشم در راه وطن داریم ما[3]

از بهر شب غربت او بود چراغ من ؛ اشکی که بدیدم از مژه در یاد وطن رفت[4]

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1. Nāẓim, Ẓahūr-ul-Ḥasan, Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr , p. 308
2. Ṭāhir Naṣrābādi, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādi , p. 447
3. Nadīm, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, Dīvān-i-Nadīm , Ms. fol. 23 b.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 29a.

How long he remained out of his motherland and where did he went and what did he do we know nothing.

2. HIS RELIGION:

Some verses point out that he was a Shi'a. The verses are as follows:

۱- هرکه باشد در غم شاه شهیدان چون ندیم ÷ پیش او هر گل زمینی کربلای دیگر است

۲- گر دلت صاف است و چشم پاک‌بین داری ندیم ÷ عشق اولاد علی در دین و در دنیا خوش است

۳- حیدری شو ندیم چون موزون ÷ هرچه خواهی ازین جناب طلب

3. BROADMINDEDNESS:

His broadmindedness with regard to his religion is also evident from the following verses.

۴- گر ز دیر و کعبه مقصود است حق ÷ جنگ در گبر و مسلمان بهر چیست

۵- چراغ کعبه و بتخانه روشن ÷ گلاف بر طرف از یک شرار است

4. He believes in destiny. For example he says:

6- آنچه گردید مقدر برسد خواه مخواه ÷ شکوه کم عبث و کوشش بسیار عبث

5. He is not proud of his virtuous deeds but on the contrary says that:

۷- جمله شد حرف سیه‌کاری و بدکاری ندیم ÷ هستیت در دفتر ایجاد فرد باطل است

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1. Nadim, Muhammad Salih, Divan-i-Nadim, Ms. fol. 33b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38a.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 27a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 35a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 35b.
6. Ibid, Ms. fol. 39b.
7. Ibid, Ms. fol. 33a.

۱. در عمل کوشش بکن شرم ندیم ÷ بی اثر گشته دعا از دستت

۲. از گنه نامهٔ اعمال سیه گشت ندیم ÷ حاصل عمر مرا غیر سیه کاری نیست

6(a) He praises himself as a poet.

۳. نکته سنجی دستگیری ما اگر گردد ندیم ÷ با خموشی چو قلم ببریز گفتاریم ما

6(b). and about his own 'Dīwān' writes:

۴. کرده گل معنی رنگین ز کلام تو ندیم ÷ خوب دیدیم چو دیوان تو دیوان ماست

7. He has written Ghazals in reply to the Ghazals of Ḥāfiẓ, Ṣā'ib, Kalīm etc. but he is a follower of Aḥmad, a poet about whom little is known.

۵. بگذر تو ندیم از همه شو پیرو احمد ÷ چون قطره بزن غوطه بدریای محبت

A few verses are quoted below:

۶. ای گل چو بلبلان تو از احمد ندیم ÷ آتش مزن بخار و خس و آشیان ما

۷. درد مندی حسب حالم گفته این مصرع ندیم ÷ شیشه هر جا بشکند دل یادی آید مرا

۸. تا شدم همصورت و هم آهنگ احمد ندیم ÷ کس نوای مختلف نشنیده است از ساز ما

۹. ندیم مصرع حافظ بخوان و باش خموش ÷ فراق یار نه آن می کند که بتوان گفت

۱۰. فکر ندیم کی بکلامت رسد کلیم ÷ پای طلب براه تو از کار مانده است

۱۱. از ظهوری شنیده است ندیم ÷ صفت یوسف که در زبان تو نیست

۱۲. ندیم مصرع احمد نمی رود از یاد ÷ هنوز نالهٔ یاران من بگوش منست

۱۳. همچو قاسم گریه کن بر نالهٔ بلبل ندیم ÷ خندهٔ گل رخنه در دیوار گلشن می کند

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1. Nadim, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, Dīwān-i-Nadim, Ms. fol. 32a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 30b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 21b.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 36b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 30a.
6. Ibid, Ms. fol. 20b.
7. Ibid, Ms. fol. 22a.
8. Ibid, Ms. fol. 23a.
9. Ibid, Ms. fol. 29b.
10. Ibid, Ms. fol. 32b.
11. Ibid, Ms. fol. 33a.
12. Ibid, Ms. fol. 36a.

All these facts, however, help little in the construction of his biography.

No information about his birth or death has been conveyed by the Tazkirah writers. Baikhabar, Ārzū and Hāshmī have stated that he wrote a chronogram at the death of a friend Kamāl by name. The chronogram is as follows:

شد کمال از دهر و بی او دلگشا ٭ بی نوای چنگ بی بانگ نی است
سال تاریخ وفاتش شد رقم ٭ بی کمالی را زوالی در پی است

The fourth hemistich serves as the chronogram. The solution is given below:

کمالی را زوالی در پی است

1033 = 461 + 216 + 54 + 201 + 101

This shows that the death of Kamāl took place in 1033 A.H.

HIS DĪVĀN :

A manuscript of his 'Dīvān' is preserved in the library of India Office (London). It number is 1605. It is an incomplete one and goes up to 'Radīf' Dāl (دال) only. It begins thus:

میکشم مردم بیاد روی جانان آه را ٭ دود آهم سرمه گردد چشم مهر و ماه را

The 'Dīvān' begins from folio 17b and goes up to 42 b. We had

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1. Baikhabar, Mīr 'Azmat Ullah, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 139a
Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. pp. 954-55.
Hāshmī, Ahmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. fol. 355a.

an opportunity to study this 'Dīvān'. The criticism will be written in the following pages.

It is also pointed out here that the verses quoted by the Tazkireh writers as the specimen of his poetry are not available in his 'Dīvān'. Hence, we take the liberty of quoting the same here.

١. تو بلباس دنیا دیر میری اندر فقر ؛ برهنه را نبرد خواب زود در سر ما

٢. دارم ز دست داغ سمن سینه گرفتی ؛ دل همچو لاله زار سفید و سیاه و سرخ[1]

٣. ذوق مردن بود اندک چون هوس بسیار است ؛ خواب کم رو دهد آنجا که مگس بسیار است

۴. افسرده گشت بر مژه لخت جگر مرا ؛ نم در فتیله بود چراغم چرا نشست

۵. پامال دست برد خزان غمم ندیم ؛ هر خار و گل که خاست ز باغم فرو نشست

۶. پای هوس بدست قناعت شکسته ایم ؛ دست طلب بدامن احسان کسی نهیم[1]

Before we proceed with the critical appreciation of his poetry it seems necessary to refer the statement of Sarkhush about Nāṣir ʿAlī (died. A.H. 1109, A.D. 1698). This throws some light on Nadīm's popularity as a poet. He writes:

روزی فقیر باوی گفت که بعضی اعزه می گویند که مسوده اشعار ملا ندیم
بدست ناصر علی افتاده و اشعار آن را بنام خودی خواند[2]

" One day I said to him that a few friends say, that the manuscript of the verses of Nadīm has fallen into the hands of Nāṣir ʿAlī who recites his verses in his own name."

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1. Baikhabar, ʿAzmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms, fol. 139a.
Ārzū, Siraj-ud-ʿAli Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is , Ms. pp. 954-955
Hāshmi, Ahmad ʿAli, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib , Ms. fol. 355a.

2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿara, p. 75.

The above wording of Sarkhush discloses that Mullā Nadīm was a very famous poet and the people had much regard for him and secondly his (Nadīm's) 'Dīvān' was not available even in those days. To elaborate this we may say that even about a few years after his death Nadīm's 'Dīvān' was not available. This is perhaps the reason that the number of his couplets which have been copied by the compilers of Tazkirahs, do not touch the figure of two digits.

CRITICAL APPRECIATION:

Romantic poetry predominates in Persian literature. It is a matter of fact that Persian poets have explained beautifully all that happens in love. A large number of verses show a wonderful union of intellectual, creative and imaginative power of the poets who wrote them. A number of poets have displayed a marked tendency to introduce fresh subjects, fresh forms and fresh modes of feelings and expression. The Ghazals of Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ and other nightingales of the gardens of love are evident that these are the out come of 'melted hearts' which have been burnt on the fire of love, though it is not known, who were those beloveds who kindled the fire of love in their hearts.

It would not be improper to point out here that in prose we enjoy the intricacies of thought and we are concerned more with the ideas

then with the rhythmical expression of those ideas. But in poetry the element of feelings and emotions predominate. Very often a statement of those feelings in ordinary prose make them just prosaic. Hence, we enjoy a poem more if we read it aloud and enjoy its music and the rhythm of its words. It is not an uncommon phenomenon that we enjoy poetry more than prose; so when our feelings and sentiments of love are expressed in poetry it appeals to our mind and we appriciate it.

Persian Ghazal, it may be pointed out here, is a combination of many subjects----theological, ethical, philosophical and mystical etc., But in every Ghazal "Love" predominates; so, only that poet is praise worthy in whose poetry we find imaginative powers and depth of feeling. Nadīm is not a great poet but, he has, however gained some position in the realm of poetry. His poetry contains all the essential qualities though not in abundant. Similies and metaphors along with the imagination make the verse reach the summit of good poetry. eg.

ازبس بدل خیال چنان کرده است جا ÷ ای پیر دیر رشک صنم خانه ایم ما[1]

In the following verse the similies are ordinary but the imagination has given a life to the verse.

نیست ممکن کعبه بی محراب باشد زین جهت ÷ جا بود پیوسته در دل ابروی پیوسته را[2]

Here also the similies with the imagination is note-worthy.

تا دیده است آنکف دست نگار را ÷ آتش بجان فتاده زدستش چنار را[3]

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1. Nadīm, Muhammad Ṣālih, Dīvān-i-Nadīm, Ms. fol. 20a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 20b.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 24a.

A few verses are quoted below to serve as patterns.

۱. جمع دلم ز شام غریبان شد آشکار ؛ دیدیم زیر زلف بناگوش یار را

2. وضع زمانه نیست بیکرنگ و یک قرار ؛ کردیم سیر گردش لیل و نهار را

3. شاداب تا بود گل هر زخم بر بدن ؛ از رنگ برگ چو آب دو دیده است خون ما

۴. کار طوفان نوح خواهد کرد ؛ دیدهٔ اشکبار اگر اینست

۵. تا نقاب از چهره آن مه برگرفت ؛ در دل خورشید آتش در گرفت

6. گل برنگینیٔ بیان تو نیست لا ؛ غنچه با تنگیٔ دهان تو نیست

بارها دیده ایم و سنجیده ایم تا ؛ موی باریکیٔ میان تو نیست

۷. چشم یار و دل من و دل او ؛ صحبت مست و شیشه و سنگ است

8. عهد شباب رفت و هوائی ز دل برفت ؛ در شیشه باده حرف و شد و بوی باده ماند

Very often he displays his poetic talent in expressing an ordinary idea. For example a lover wishes that he may be killed by the sword of his beloved. He expresses it in the following verse, where we find a pun on the word 'Āb' (آب).

۹. درون سینه دلم شور العطش دارد ؛ بکام غیر مریز آب خنجر خود را

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1. Nadīm, Muhammad Sālih, Dīvān-i-Nadīm, Ms, fol. 24 b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 24b.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 25b.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 28a.
5. Ibid, Ms. fol. 28b.
6. Ibid, Ms. fol. 32b.
7. Ibid, Ms. fol. 36b.
8. Ibid, Ms. fol. 40b.
9. Ibid, Ms. fol. 21a.

The following verse is a good example of amphibology.

۱. ای ناخدای کشتی چشم چرا آب برا ؛ مردم شد ز غرق خدا را بیا بیا

Simile and metaphor is also noteworthy.

It would be proper to say that Nadīm has also dealt with other subjects. A few verses are quoted here to serve as specimen.

2 - نیست ممکن کعبه‌ای خراب باشد زین جهت ؛ جا بود پیوسته در دل ابروی پیوسته را

3 - چون غنچه چند گره میزنی زر خود را ؛ دهی بباد چو گل عاقبت سر خود را

۴ - مستحق لطف حق گردید زاهد از کجا ؛ رحمتش مخصوص ما باشد گنهکاریم ما

۵ - باشد چه غم بخاک نشینان ز حادثات ؛ از سیل باک نیست بنای خراب را

۶ - هستی ما درین محیط بلا ؛ نفسی بیش نیست همچو حباب

۷ - میشود کشور دل از سپه کینه خراب ؛ کس مبادا که نماید ز حسد سینه خراب

8 - هرکس درین جهان خراب آمد از عدم ؛ آسودگی ندید هرسو دوید و رفت

۹ - در عمل کوشش بکن شرم ندیم ؛ بی اثر گشته دعا از دستت

۱۰ - عمر شد صرف سیه‌کاری و بدکاری ندیم ؛ هستیت در دفتر ایجاد فرد باطل است

۱۱ - فاعل و مختار مشهوریم لیک ؛ خیر بر این اختیار ما گریست

۱۲ - نظر بصنعت صانع مکن بعیب گداد ؛ برای هرکه مگو هرچه بود ساخته است

13 - تیره دل را نرسد فیض ز روشن گهران ؛ زنگی از خانهٔ آیینه خجل می آید

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1. Nadīm, Muhammad Ṣālih, Dīvān-i-Nadīm, Ms. fol. 20b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 20b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 21a.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 21b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 24b.
6. Ibid, Ms. fol. 26a.
7. Ibid, Ms. fol. 26b.
8. Ibid, Ms. fol. 31a.
9. Ibid, Ms. fol. 32a.
10. Ibid, Ms. fol. 33a.
11. Ibid, Ms, fol. 37b.
12. Ibid, Ms. fol. 38b.
13. Ibid, Ms. fol. 42b.

It is very difficult to write a good Ghazal in a short metre with long 'Radif'. The poet takes pains in writing a Ghazal. Very often Ghazals in shorter metres are void of fresh subjects and serve as the examples of repetition of ideas. But one feels that Nadim is successful in his endeavours and has made good verses available in his Ghazals. Just read the following Ghazals. These will help a lot in forming an idea about his poetry.

خط رخسار یار را دریاب ÷ جلوهٔ نوبهار را دریاب

در بغل شیشه جام می بر آب ÷ ذوق بوس و کنار را دریاب

آتش آبدار اگر خواهی ÷ بادهٔ خوشگوار را دریاب

بر سر راه وعده اش بنشین ÷ مژدهٔ انتظار را دریاب

خاک شو خاک در ره دلها ÷ معنی انکسار را دریاب

خضر در ظلمت آب حیوان یافت ÷ فیض شبهای تار را دریاب

از رخ زرد و اشک سرخ ندیم

در خزانم بهار را دریاب[1]

قابل کاری ندانستی مرا ÷ بی وفا یاری ندانستی مرا

سبزه سان پامال نازم کرده ÷ در رهت خاری ندانستی مرا

خوب شد دیوانه ام کردی چنان ÷ رند هشیاری ندانستی مرا

گشته ام چون سایه هر جا همرهت ÷ در شب تاری ندانستی مرا

من ندانستم ترا گفتا ندیم

گفتمش آری ندانستی مرا[2]

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1. Nadim, Muhammad Salih, Divan-i-Nadim, Ms. fol. 26b

2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 25a-25b.

تا خط سبز یار شد پیدا ٭ در گلستان بهار شد پیدا

زر قلب مرا ز سکه داغ ٭ در رهش اعتبار شد پیدا

جلوهٔ گرد حسن بیرنگش ٭ عاشق بیقرار شد پیدا

ابر غمها هجوم کرد بدیدم

دیدهٔ اشکبار شد پیدا[1]

با خموشی صد سخن داریم ما ٭ خلوتی در انجمن داریم ما

چون غبار از ضعف بر دوش صبا ٭ آرزوی سیر چمن داریم ما

کو زلیخایی که سازم آشنا ٭ یوسفی در پیرهن داریم ما

همچو نقش پا بغربت رفته عمر ٭ چشم در راه وطن داریم ما

چون سلیمان گرچه صاحب خاتمیم ٭ در نگین صد اهرمن داریم ما

لخت دل از دیدها خواهیم ریخت ٭ در نظر کان یمن داریم ما

شانه سان از شوق گیسویش ندیم

زخمها در درون داریم ما[2]

خط رخسار یار کشت مرا ٭ صاف گریم غبار کشت مرا

جان بلب آمد و نیامد یار ٭ بر رهش انتظار کشت مرا

چند درد سرم دهی ساقی ٭ جام ده ده خمار کشت مرا

از اجل شکوه نیست در هجران ٭ حسرت وصل یار کشت مرا

چشم تا دید روی یار ندیم ٭ این دل بی قرار کشت مرا

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1. Nadīm, Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, Dīvān-i-Nadīm , Ms. fol. 23b.
2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 23a-23b.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 19 a.

Nadīm's poetry does not lack music and melody. Perhaps it is the most essential element of the poetry. The music in poetry turns the reader's mind into a receptive mood. He is able to receive the impressions without questioning and begins to share the feelings and emotions of the poet. It induces that "Willing suspension of our disbelief" which is the essence of the poetic effect. The reader is brought to such a pitch of imaginative sympathy that he doubts nothing. And that is the miracle achieved by the music in poetry. Here are a few Ghazals of Nadīm which will serve as examples of the music in his poetry. The poet has depicted the emotions and delicate inner feelings of a lover in a beautiful manner. The simplicity of [illegible] expression is also note worthy.

وا مکن مشاطه آن زلف بهم پیچیده را ÷ میکنی از جا چرا بیجا دل غم دیده را

در تب و تاب محنت حال ضعیفان را مپرس ÷ دیده باشی شمع و تاب موی آتش دیده را

ترسم از گرد سر صیاد گردیدن از آن ÷ می کند آزاد مرغ گرد سر گردیده را

شرح حال بیقراری های من از دل مپرس ÷ دیده هر کس لیلی در خاک و خون غلطیده را

لیک او ضایع سبک کردند یاران اختیار ÷ کس نمی پرسد بعالم مردم سنجیده را

منع دل از عشق خوبان میکنی ناصح عبث ÷ مانع دیدار شو گر میتوانی دیده را

نالهای زار آرد بی گل رویت ندیم
کار با فریاد باشد بلبل شوریده را[1]

خود بیا یا پیش خود خوان آشنای کهنه را ÷ از سر نو تازه کن این رسمهای کهنه را

در حق ما گر وفا پیش تو رسم تازه است ÷ داده از کف چرا ظالم جفای کهنه را

چون نمی گردند بهر ماه برکام دلم ÷ میزنم بر یکدگر این خشتهای کهنه را

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1. Nadīm, Muḥammad Ṣalih, Dīvān-i-Nadīm, Ms. fol. 20a.

می فتد آتش بجان شیخ قالی از حسد ÷ در حریم من چو بیند بوریای کهنه را

جامهٔ نو آرزو دارم زعریانی ندیم
بار دوش خود کنم تا کی قبای کهنه را [1]

ای شمع بزم دیدهٔ بینا بیا بیا ÷ آباد ساز خانهٔ دل را بیا بیا

ای ناخدای کشتی چشم پرآب ما ÷ مردم شوند غرق خدا را بیا بیا

روشن چراغ دیر و حرم از فروغ تست ÷ راز نهفتهٔ دل خارا بیا بیا

دور از تو دل بهیچ تسلی نمی شود ÷ نور نگاه و جان تمنا بیا بیا

مشهور خاص و عام بعشق تو گشته ام ÷ گاهی بکعبهٔ من رسوا بیا بیا

مجنون و کوهکن شده ام در سراغ تو ÷ خواهی بکوه و خواه بصحرا بیا بیا

امروز وصل خویش نصیب ندیم کن
عاشق کجا و وعدهٔ فردا کجا بیا بیا [2]

تا برفگنده ماه من از رخ نقاب را ÷ آتش بجان فتاد ز رشک آفتاب را

با هستی تو هستی ما چیست در محیط ÷ باشد چه اعتبار وجود حباب را

گفتم ز آتش غم عشق تو سوخت دل ÷ گفتا بزن ز اشک نمک این کباب را

باشد چه غم بخاک نشینان ز حادثات ÷ از سیل باک نیست بنای خراب را

دارم سوالی از تو که روز جزا جواب ÷ ظالم چه داری این ستم بی حساب را

پیرانه سر ز ساغر می دست خود مکش ÷ باشد نمک سفیدی مویت خضاب را

باشد ترا ندیم بکار کسی چه کار ÷ گر میکنی بخویش بکن احتساب را [3]

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1. Nadīm, Muhammad Ṣālih, Dīvān-i-Nadīm, Ms. fol. 19b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 20b-21a.
3. Ibid, Ms foll . 2[illegible]
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 33a- 33b.

FITRATĪ KASHMĪRĪ

Fitratī, a pupil of Mullā Zihnī was a poet of Kashmīr. No information about him is available except that he was a poet in the reign of Akbar the great A.H. 963-1014 (A.D. 1556-1605), who according to Taqī Oudī's statement, gave him twelve thousand rupees as a reward for the following two couplets.

قسمت نگر که در خور هر جوهری عطا است ÷ آئینه با سکندر و با اکبر آفتاب

او کرد گر معاینه خود را ز آفتاب ÷ این می کند مشاهده حق در آفتاب

" See the fortune, that the reward is in accordance with the talent, the mirror is (connected with) Alexander and the sun with Akbar."

"If that (Alexander) had seen himself in the Mirror this (Akbar observes God in the sun."

Āzād writes in Khazānah-i-Āmirah, that the author of Subh-i-Sādiq says:

مظهری قصیده از نظر شاهی گذرانیده و برای این دو بیت دهانش را پر زر کردند[1]

" Mazharī put up a Qasidah before the Emperor and at these two couplets his mouth was filled with gold."

But Āzād commenting on it says:

لکن روایت نخستین قوی دارد که تقی اوحدی معاصر فطرتی است و صاحب صبح صادق از مظهری
متاخر چه وفات مظهری در سبع عشر والف بود و ولادت صاحب صبح صادق یک سال بعد ازان[2]

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ghulām ʿAlī, Khazānah-i-Āmirah, p 367.

2. Ibid, p 367.

" But the first version has got much force, because Taqī ouhdi is contemporary to Fiṭratī, while the author of Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq came[1] after Mazharī as the death of Mazharī took place in 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.), ie one year before the author of Subh-i-sādiq was born."

We cannot agree with Azad on this point. Let us briefly discuss it.

According to A'zam's statement this Fiṭratī is one of the contemporaries of Nadīmī and Faṣīḥī, and about Faṣīḥī he writes in his history:

فصیحی از شعرای مشهور کشمیر است و در دور شاهجهانی چمن پیرای گلزار
سخن دانی بود و همدم و ندیمی مولانا ندیم اختیاری نمود صاحب دیوان
است و این چند بیت از نتایج افکارش مرقوم شد[2]

" Faṣīḥī is one of the famous poets of Kashmir, and was the decorator of the garden of poetry and had chosen friendship and intimacy with Maulānā Nadīm. He is the owner of a 'Dīvān' and these few verses, the result of his delibration have been copied."

This shows that he (Fiṭratī) flourished in the reign of Jahāngīr and was living in the reign of Shāhjahān

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr. Ms,p. 239.
از همکاران ندیمی و فصیحی است.

2. Ibid, Ms, p 238.

It must be pointed out here that Maghari was one of the servants of Akbar's court and he wrote many Qaṣīdahs in praise of Akbar. These verses might be from one of his Qaṣīdah which now does not extent. In short, the version of Subḥ-i-Ṣā-diq is correct.

His date of birth or death and even his burial place are not known. His 'Dīvān' is not traceable. only a fragment and a quatrain have been found in 'Tazkirahs' which are being quoted here.

قطعه   از باغ دگل هوای دماغم فرو نشست ؛ پای هوس بکنج فراغم فرو نشست
پرتو فگند عشق و فروغ خرد نماند ؛ سر بر زد آفتاب و چراغم فرو نشست

رباعی   ماییم چو فطرتی ز جور گردون ؛ ناشاد چو ماتم زدگان محزون
چون آه غریبان همه پروردهٔ درد ؛ چون اشک یتیمان همه پروردهٔ خون

Almost all the Tazkirah writers who have given him some place in their Tazkirahs have not commented on his poetry. It is certainly due to the fact that they could not find out more than a Qiṭ'ah (fragment) and a Rubā'ī (quatrain). Seeing themselves on the verge of the danger of failing to keep their judgements clear and sound they thought it better to remain aloof. Muhammad A'ẓam has, however mentioned an episode in his history known as '<u>Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmir</u>'. He writes:

وقتیکه میرزا فطرت بکشمیر آمد و اشعار او را شنید
او را گفت اگر معلوم می داشتم تخلص خود فطرت نمی کردم'

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, <u>Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmir</u>, Ms, .p. 239.

" At that time when Mirzā Fiṭrat[1] came to Kashmīr and heard his verses, he said to him, "Had I known, I would never have kept my Takhallus (pen name) Fiṭrat."

From this it is obvious that he possessed a remarkable talent in poetry and was respected by his contemporary poets.

Shafīq however, in accordance with the habit of Tazkirah writers has written a rhymical sentence in his praise. He writes:

فطرتی کشمیری شاعر خوش تقریر است و نال قلمش از زعفران کشمیر[2]

" Fiṭrati Kashmīrī is an eloquent poet and the reed of his pen is from the root of saffron of Kashmīr "

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1. Wasihbaig Fiṭrat, was, according to his own statement born A.H. 1007 (A.D. 1598-1599) and flourished at the court of Shāh ʿAbbās the Great in his early years, and afterwards came to India and there are chronograms on Shāh ʿAbbās, Sulṭān Muhammad ʿAdil Shāh of Bījāpūr, the death of Emperor Jahāngīr, (A.H. 1036-A.D. 1627) etc. He had four brothers and two sons. His father died in A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630). He composed a great number of chronogram, which begin with A.H. 1022 (A.D. 1613) and go down to A.H. 1059 (A.D. 1649) beyond that date no 'Tarikhs' are found, and we may consequ-en--tly assume that the poet died soon after.
(cf. Ethe, Hermann, Catalogue of Persian Manuscript in the library of India Office. pp 852-853.

2. Shafīq, Lachhmi Nārāin, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 237 b.

We too, in the absence of his 'Dīvān', or even a sufficient number of couplets, are unable to distinguish excellent from inferior verses and, therefore, cannot pass a judgement. But inspite of this we would like to compare him with his contemporary poet rather a colleage Nadīm. Both were pupils of Ẕihnī and have a fragment bearing the same rhyme and rhythm The perusal of the fragments will infallibly serve as a touch-stone for detecting the degree of poetic quality in both of them and will, thus help us to some extent in forming an idea as to who excelled in the poetical talent.

NADĪM

افسرده گشت بر مژه لخت جگر مرا
نم در فتیله بود چراغم فرو نشست
پامال دست برد خزان غمم ندیم
هر خار و گل که خاست ز باغم فرو نشست

FIṬRATĪ

از باغ و گل هوای دماغم فرو نشست
پای هوس بکنج فراغم فرو نشست
پرتو فگند عشق و فروغ خرد نماند
سر بر زد آفتاب و چراغم فرو نشست

In the second couplet of the above fragment Fiṭrati has similized عشق (love) with آفتاب (sun) and خرد (reason) with چراغ (lamp) which is worth appreciation. But on the contrary the fragment of Nadīm is devoid of any simile. No doubt his fragment is an example of congruity ie, association of similar objects as خزان (autumn) خار (thorn) گل (rose) and باغ (garden) have been mentioned by him, yet it looks 'dry' by the side of Fiṭratī's fragment to which analogy (تمثیل) has given freshness which effects the heart and appeals to the mind and leads the reader's verdict in favour of Fiṭrati.

MAULĀNĀ AUJĪ

NAME & BIRTH:

Maulānā Aujī was the son of Nāmī,[1] who like his father is

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1. Nāmī Kashmīrī, the father of Aujī, according to the version of Muhammad A'zam was one of the court poet's and companions of Husein Chak (A ruler of Kashmīr who died A.H. 977-A.D. 1567-68) It is noteworthy that Husein Chak was contemporary to Humā-yūn (d. A.H. 963-A.D. 1556) and Akbar (d. 1014 A.H.- 1605 A.D.) probab--ly for this reason, Khushgo wirtes in his Tazkireh

مولانا نامی ...... از شعرای عهد همایون و اکبر است (تذکره خوشگو نسخه قلمی ورق ۴۷ الف)

" Maulānā Nāmī------is one of the poets of Humayun and Akbar's reign." (see fol. 47a.)

We would like to point out here, that none of the Tazkireh writers has mentioned that he ever presented himself in the court of the above mentioned two Emperors, but on the contrary all agree that he used to pass his life in seclusion.

"Nāmī," says Muhammad A'zam in Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr

علم صرف و نحو را نیک میدانست

"was at home in the sciences of grammar." (cf. see p 177.)

He was in the bad habit of drinking and even old-age could not relieve him of the fatal habit which had him in its grip. It seems, as if his naturally weak will had lost all its directing and suggesting power.

About his poetry Khushgo remarks:

famous by his pen name, was born in or about the year 970 A.H. (1560-61 A.D.) and was brought up there.[1]

The year of Aujī's birth mentioned above is based upon Qazvīnī's statement in which he says:

بر رای انور ارباب هنر پوشیده نماند که مسود این اوراق پریشان را با مولانا اوجی

در دارالعیش کشمیر ملاقات واقع شد و زان وقت سنش به پنجاه و پنج رسیده بود[2]

" This should not remain a secret to the most luminous and
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

(continued from p 426)

شعر نیکو می گفت

(تذکره خوشگو نسخه خطی ورق ۲۰۹)

" He used to write good verses."

This commentary of his, is, perhaps by virtue of those two verses which he has copied in his Tazkirah, or with a view that he was a court poet of Husain Chak who himself was a poet -- a sufficient proof for his being a genius, otherwise in the absence of his 'Dīvān' nothing can be said about his poetical talents.

Only his following couplets are available in these days.

۱- هرگز دلم بغیر تو مائل نمی شود ٭ وز دیده نقش روی تو زائل نمی شود

2- از دوریت چه باک که این لطف ظاهری ٭ اصلا میان ما و تو حائل نمی شود

3- دستم بریده باد چه کار آیدم بگو ٭ در گردن بتان چو حمائل نمی شود

۴- عروس هستی شادی آیین او ٭ که نتوان روان داد کابین او

5- بخاموش چیره زبانی دهد ٭ بفرتوت زور جوانی دهد

(واقعات کشمیر نسخه خطی ورق ۱۴۲-۱۴۸)

(f.N. Concluded

1. Qazvīnī, Ábdun-Nabī, Maikhānah , p 492.

2. Ibid, p 492 .

talented personalities that the writer of these scattered papers got an opportunity to see Auji in the house of pleasure of Kashmir. At that time he had reached the age of 55."

It should be borne in mind that Qazvīnī went to Kashmīr in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616) and remained there for two years. He himself says in Maikhānah:

چون در سن خمس وعشرین والف بلاهور رسیدم طاعون گرم شده بود از لاهور
بدار العیش کشمیر روانه گشتم ..... قریب بدو سال در ان جا ماندم[1]

" When in the year 1025, I reached Lāhore, plague was at its climax. From Lāhore, I proceeded to the house of pleasure of Kashmīr ....there I remained for about two years."

EARLY EDUCATION:

It can be easily presumed that he got at least his prelimi--nary education at home and so far as his poetical mind is concerned it might have been illuminated by his father.

BEGINNING OF WRITING POETRY:

Being an extraordinarily precoccious child he could write verses at a very early age. Mullā ʿAbdun Nabī Qazvīnī tells us:-

در صغر سن در مقام انتظام نظم شده

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1. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah , p 509.

2. Ibid, p 492.

" He commenced to write poetry at a very early age."

No doubt the litterary enviornment of Kashmir (as Kashmir at that time was the centre of literary activities) as well as that of the home (because his father was not a less renownd poet) would certainly have had their effect upon him, and helped him in develpping his talent for poetry and aptitude for literature.

MEANS OF LIVLIHOOD:

Information regarding the means of his lovlihood till the prime of his youth is not available. He entered the service of Mirzā Ja'far Āsif Khān (d. 1021 A.H.- 1612-13 A.D.) when he came to Kashmir as governor of the valley in the reign of Akbar the Great A.H. 963-1014 (A.D. 1556-1606). About this fact Qazvīnī writes in Maikhānah.

و در وقتی که بسن رشد و تمیز رسید خان نکته دان میرزا آصف خان
حاکم آن ملک گردید اوجی بشرف ملازمت خان مذکور مشرف شد[1]

" And at that time when he reached the age of adolescence and discrimination, the witty Khān Mirzā Āsaf Khān became the ruler of that country. Aujī was honoured with the dignity of service."

He further remarks:

و از فیض تربیت او ترقی کرده و هرچه دران ایام گفته خالی از حالتی و رتبه نیست
و در فن خود دران زمان پارهٔ نشو و نما نموده. بعد از تغیر آن خان جم نشان
دران جا ماند و هر حاکمی که بدان دیار آمد خدمت او کرده و اوقات گذرانید[2]

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1. Qazvīnī, Abdun Nabi, Maikhānah, p 492.

2, Ibid, p 492.

" And by the bounty of his training, he improved much, and what he said in those days is not devoid of merit, and at that time he made a lot of improvement in his art. After the reversion of that Khān who had the signs of Jawhid in him, he remained there, and every ruler that came to the country was served by him and thus he passed his time."

This means that the service under Mirzā Ja'far Āsif Khān gave him opportunities to improve himself, which he fully utilized; or in other words, it is with 1005 A.H.[1] (1597 A.D) that the prime

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1. Mirzā Ja'far Āsif Khān was appointed governor of Kashmīr by Akbar in 1005 A.H.(1597 A.D.) Shāh Nawāz Khān writes in Ma'āsir-ul- Umrā, volume I.

در سال چہل و دوم چون ملک کشمیر بسبب جاگیرداران رو بویرانی
آورد آصف خان بحکومت آن دیار اختصاص یافت

" In the 42nd year when the state of Kash-mīr owing to the jāgīr holders begin to be depopulated Āsif Khān achieved distinction by getting the governor ship of that country."

It is a well known fact that Akbar ascended the throne of India in 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.).The 42nd year of his reign thus falls on 1005 A.H. (1597 A.D.), so it is now clear that Āsif Khān got the governor ship of Kashmīr in 1005 A.H. (1597 A.D.) Hence Muhammad-ud-Dīn Fauq is wrong in saying:

اکبر نے لاہور پہنچ کر صوبیداری پر محمد قلی خان کو ممتاز فرمایا ۱۵۹۰ء میں محمد قلی خان صوبہ دار کشمیر بنا
(دیکھو تاریخ کشمیر جلد دوم صفحہ ۱۸۳)

" On reaching Lāhore, Akbar appointed Muhammad Qulī Khān as the governor. In 1590 A.D.(998 A.H.) Muhammad Qulī Khān became

poetic period of his life began culminating in the association of

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(F.N. continued from p 430)

Subahdār of Kashmir."

He further says at page 188.

محمد قلی خان کی صوبیداری کو گیارہ سال گزرے تھے کہ بادشاہ نے اُسے ۱۶۰۱ء میں واپس بلا لیا

" Muhammad Qulī Khān had worked as governor for eleven years when he was called back by the king in 1601 A.D. (1009 A.H.)

There is sufficient proof available in the Maāsir-ul-Umrā to point out his mistakes. Shāh Nawāz Khān writes clearly in Vol. I of Maāsir-ul-Umrā , in the biography of Āsif Khān Mirzā Qawwām-ud-Dīn Ja'far Baig.

در سال سی و نهم (چون کشمیر از میرزا یوسف خان تغییر کرده با احمد بیگ خان و محمد قلی افشار

و حسن عرب وغیره تنخواه شد آصف خان دستوری یافت که آن ولایت را بتازه جاگیرداران

درخور بخش نموده زعفران و شکاری جانور بخالصه بازدارد ..... بشایستگی تقسیم

اقطاع نموده در سه روز از کشمیر بلاهور رسید و در سال چهل و دوم چون مملکت کشمیر

بسبب جاگیرداران رو بویرانی آورد آصف خان بحراست آن دیار اختصاص گرفت

در سنه (۱۰۱۳) هزار و سیزده ...... صوبه داری بهار بنام آصف خان مقرر شد

(مآثرالامرا جلد اول ص ۱۰۷-۱۰۹)

" In the 39th year (of Akbar's reign ie. 1002 A.H.) when Kashmir was taken from Mirzā Yūsuf Khān and given as fief to Ahmad Baig, and Muhammad Qulī Afshār, and Hasan 'Arab. Āsif Khān got instructions that distributing the state proportionately among the new fief holders, the saffron and the beasts of prey should be kept as government estate..... He, after distributing the land properly, returned from Kashmir to Lāhore within three days, and

the said Khān. This also helped him to remain in the service of

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(Continued)

when in the 42nd year, the state of Kashmir, owing to the fief-holders began to be depopulated, Āṣif Khān got distinction by getting the governorship of that country. In (1013) one thousand and thirteen, the governor ship of Bihār was assigned to Āṣif Khān."

From this statement of Shāh Navāz Khān it is obvious that Āṣif Khān took over charge of the post of Governor in 1005 A.H. (1593A.D) and relinquished it in 1013 A.H. (1605 A.D.) when he was appointed governor of Bihār. Moreover, from this it is manifest that Muḥammad Qulī was one of the fief holders, so he had control over a part of the state. One Aḥmad Beig was at the head of these fief-holders. To support this we would again refer to page 126 of the Maāsir-ul-Umrā, where Shāh Navāz Khān writes in the biography of Aḥmad Beig Khān Kābulī.

درسنه (۱۰۰۲) هزار و دو هجری (که کشمیر از تغیر میرزا یوسف خان رضوی بجاگیرداران متفرقه تنخواه شد) سرحلقهٔ آنها او بود

(مآثر الامرا جلد اول ص ۱۲۶)

" In the year(1002) one thousand and two, when Kashmīr was taken from Mirzā Yusuf Khān Rizvī and distributed among the various fief-holders, he was at their head."

From this statement of Shāh Navāz it is evident that even in 1002 A.H. the head of the fief holders was Aḥmad Beig Khān Kābulī, thus the question of Muḥammad Qulī 's governorship in those years does not arise.

Once again for the sake of argument we refer to volume III of the Maāsir-ul-Umrā, where in the biography of Muḥammad Qulī, Shāh Navāz reiterates his statement.

sucessive governors. Apperently he could be patronized by the governors up to Ahmad Baig, who remained as governor in Kashmir from 1024 A.H.(1615 A.D.) to 1027 A.H.(1618 A.D.) It seems to us that Auji, probably resigned the office during or before the governorship of Ahmad Baig Khān, because according to Qazvīnī:

درآن وقت (بوقت ملاقات) سنش به پنجاه و پنج رسیده
بود درآن سن افیونی گذار گردیده بمرتبهٔ از کار رفته [1]

" At that time (at the time of seeing him) he had attained the age of fiftyfive. At that age he had been using opium and had been a paralytic."

It should be taken into view, as has already been stated that Qazvīnī saw him in the year 1025 A.H. (or 1026 A.H.) ie 1616-17 A.D for he (Qazvīnī) stayed there up to 1026 A.H.(1617 A.D.). Moreover

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(Continued)

سال سی ونهم ...... کشمیر از تغییر میرزا یوسف خان در اقطاع
او حمزه بیگ ترکمان برادرش و چندکس دیگر قرار گرفت
(مآثر الامرا جلد سوم ص ۳۰۳)

" In the 39th year Kashmir was taken from Mirzā Yūsuf Khān and assigned to his brother Hamzah Baig Tarkamān and a few other persons."

Now from all the references quoted above it is proved to the hilt that Mirzā Ja'far Khān was governor of Kashmir from 1005 A.H. (1597 A.D.) to 1013 A.H.(1605 A.D.)

(F.N. Concluded)

1. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 492.

Qazvīnī does not say that he was in service at th-at time. Perhap s old age caused him to suffer from continued ill-health and family unhappiness, which brought on profound depression of spirits, and so Aujī sought relief from bodily pain and mental anguish in opium. To support this we would refer to Qazvini who begins Aujī's biography with the following words.

دردمندی درویش نهادی نامرادی صوفی مشرب و پاکیزه اعتقاد است[1]

" He is afflicted, naturally pious, disappointed and a man of fair belief."

HIS TRAVELLS:

About his travels Qazvīnī points out:

بر هنرمندان پوشیده نماند که آن دردمند سیر و سفر کم کرده مگر گشت گرد و نواحی
کشمیر و یک نوبت ازان بلده بلاهور آمده و باز بمسکن عود نمود[2]

" It should not remain a secret to skilful personalities that that afflicted one travelled but very little except in the environ of Kashmīr. He only once left for Lāhore but soon returned to his native land."

This unequivocal statement of Qazvīnī leads us to the conclusion that Aujī was either not fond of travelling and, therefore, he confined his travels to the environs of Kashmīr, or the difficulties of the way did not allow him to go out of his native land. Perhaps he had in his mind:

السفر سقر ولو کان میل

1. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 491.
2. Ibid, p.,492.

" Travel is hell may it be a mile even."

DEATH:

Aujī died in 1032 A.H. (1623 A.D.) Muhammad A'zam says in Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr :-

درسن هزار و سی و دو ستارهٔ اوجی از اوج حیات میل بحضیض ممات نمود [1]

" The star of Aujī retrograted from the climax of life to the lowest point of death in the year one thousand and thirty two(1032)

About his marriage and other affairs the 'Tazkirah' writers are silent. It is still a mystry as to where he was buried.

HIS RELIGION:

The following couplets of his Sāqī Nāmah, that appear at page 495 of Maikhānah lead the reader to the conclusion that he was a Shi'ah.

ولی خدا شاه مردان علی ÷ لب لب ز مهرش خفی و جلی

ز گلشت عطائیش نکهت دانه‌ای ÷ ز شمع رخش مهر پروانه‌ای

شناسندهٔ فرزندان علی است ÷ شهنشاه اقلیم احسان علی است

علی مظهر عین فرزانگی است ÷ علی گوهر کان مردانگی است

ازان پیش کآمیخت جان در گلم ÷ بمهر علی شد مخمر دلم

مرا داغ او بر جبین دل است ÷ مرا مهر او از جهان حاصل است

زر افشانی خور ز فرمان اوست ÷ فلک زورق بحر احسان اوست [2]

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 211.

2. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 495.

HIS DĪVĀN:

Qazvīnī says about his 'Dīvān':

اشعار او همگی از قصیده و غزل وغیره سه هزار بیت است اما دیوان ترتیب نداده است[1]

" All the couplets, which consist of odes and eulogistic poems are three thousands, but he has not yet compiled his 'Dīvān'

It means that his poetical collection consisted of only three thousand couplets. It is much regretted that his 'Dīvān' is not traceable now-a-days and, therefore, it can not be said as to whether it was ever compiled by any body. It is also not known whether his 'Dīvān' still exists any where or it has become the food of worms since long. If it exists no body knows when it will see the light of the day. His scattered verses found in various Tazkirahs and books of history are mentioned below.

۱- نشسته عکس جمالت چنان بخانهٔ چشم ۞ که کسب نور کند مهر از آستانهٔ چشم

۲- چو دیده باز کنم بر رخ تو از حیرت ۞ کند نگاه فراموش راه خانهٔ چشم

۳- بیاد لب تو همی[2] تا بگردن اندر خون ۞ نشسته مرغ نگاهم در آشیانهٔ چشم

۴- بجای سبزه شرر می دمد ز خاک ادبی

بهر کجا که برافشانده ایم دانهٔ چشم

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1. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 492.
2. Shafiq writes [illegible] instead of بی تو همی (cf. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-ra'nā, Ms, fol. 32a)

۵ - او بی از بیگانه بی تقریب می رنجیم ما ٭ دیده و دانسته ما را آشنا تاراج کرد [1]

۶ - هر سر که بستهٔ غم فتراک او بود ٭ دانم یقین که روز جزا سرخ رو بود [2]

۷ - از بس خیال زلف تو در دیده جا گرفت ٭ آهی که سر زند ز دلم مشکبو بود [3]

۸ - اوجی چراغ عمر با فسانه سوختیم ٭ کاری نکرده ایم و دمیدن گرفت صبح [4]

These verses are mere selections and, also, their number is too small to help a critic to pass an honest judgement about his poetical talents. However, in the later part of his life when he formed the habit of using opium:

اگر احیاناً دو بیتی از وسر می زد چندانی ناخن بر دل نمی زد [5]

" If occasionally two verses were committed to writing by him they did not effect the heart."

This statement of Qazvīnī bears testimony that his poetry had lost its earlier charm.

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1. vv 1-5, A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p 211.

The idea in the fifth verse has already been expressed by Sa'dī Shīrāzī in 'Gulstān' twice.

هر کس از غیر ناله کند ٭ سعدی از دست خویشتن فریاد

من از بیگانگان هرگز ننالم ٭ که با من هر چه کرد آن آشنا کرد

2. v.6. Hāshmī, Ahmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol 24a.
Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 32a.
3. v. 7. Hāshmī, Ahmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 24.
4. v. 8. Nāzim, Zahūr-ul-Hasan, Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr, p 306.
5. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 492.

HIS SĀQĪNĀMAH:

We have intentionally omitted to copy Aujī's Sāqī Nāmah as the *Maikhānah,* has been published since long ie, in 1926. His Saqi Namah appears on pages 493 to 497. It begins thus:

چنین تا بکی ترک ساغر کنیم ؟ ٭ اب دل ز خون جگر تر کنیم [1]

This Saqi Namah, as has been stated by Qazvīnī, was written by him while he was young and was in the service of Mirzā Ja'far Āṣif Khān. Qazvīnī writes thus:

ساقی نامه که ازو درین تالیف بر بیاض رفت در ایام شباب
هنگامی که در خدمت میرزا آصف خان بود گفته است [2]

" He has said the Sāqī Nāmah, (that has been written on this note book), in the days of juvenility, when he was in the service of Mirzā Āṣif Khān."

This Sāqī Nāmah has been much praised by Muḥammad A'ẓam who writes in *Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* :

آن سبوکش خمخانهٔ معانی ساقی نامهٔ رنگینی گفته و دُر مضامین با الماس اندیشه و فکر سفته [3]

" That wine drinker of the tavern of sublime realities wrote an ornate Sāqī Nāmah and bore the pearls of the subject matter with the diamond of meditation and cogitation."

'Abdun Nabī also gives an episode, which leads the reader to the conclusion that Aujī's Sāqī Nāmah was much appreciated by contemporary men of letters. He writes in *Maikhānah* :

این ضعیف روزی در اجمیر در خدمت مولانا محمد صوفی حاضر بود که عزیزی از مردم کشمیر

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1. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, *Maikhānah,* p 493.
2. Ibid, p. 492
3. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, *Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr,* Ms, p 211.

در حضرت مولوی به تقریبی حرف اوجی در میان آورد و این بیت از ساقی نامهٔ او خواند —

مرا دامن خویش زنجیر شد ٭ مرا دست در آستین پیر شد

آن منصف از استماع این دو مصرع لنبایت از جا درآمد و فرمود که اگر پیش از آنکه من ساقی نامه بگویم این بیت بگوش من رسد ارادهٔ مثنوی گفتن نمی کردم[1]

" On one occassion when this old man was at Ajmeir[3] with Maulānā Muhammad Ṣūfī[4], a gentleman from Kashmir during the course of talk said something about Aujī's poetry and recited the following couplet from his Sāqī Namah.

My own skirt became a chain for myself,

My hand became old in the sleeve.

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1. The arrangement of the hemistichs on p 493 of Maikhānah where this Sāqī Nāmah appears is reverse. The couplet appears as under:-

مرا دست در آستین پیر شد ٭ مرا دامن خویش زنجیر شد

2. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 492.

3. Qazvīnī went to Ajmeir in 1022 A.H. (A.D. 1614) He states in Maikhānahi (م. ص. 503)

چون رایات جلال جهانگیری به عز و اقبال در سنه اثنی عشرین و الف بجانب اجمیر نهضت فرمود کمترین نیز همراه میرزا مذکور (میرزا نظامی) بدان طرف روانه شد

" When in 1022 Jahāngīr's flags of grandeur, with dignity and fortune marched towards Ajmeir, this humble person too, accompanying the said Mirzā (ie. Mirzā Nizāmī) went to that side."

He left Ajmeir for Lāhore in 1025 A.H. He himself says:

از اجمیر برآمدم و از راه نارنول روانهٔ لاهور شدم ...... در سنه خمس و عشرین و الف بلاهور رسیدم)
(میخانه ص 503)

" I came out of Ajmeir and by the way of Nārnaul went towards Lāhore------in 1025 I reached Lāhore.

4. Maulānā Muhammad Ṣūfī born in Māzindrān, went to Inida in the

That just on hearing these two hemistichs went into raptures and remarked that "if he had heard of that couplet before, he would never have made up his mind to write the Masnavī." (ie his own Sāqī Nāmah.)

A CRITICAL STUDY OF AUJĪ'S SĀQĪNĀMAH:

Though Aujī's Sāqīnāmah is short yet it is a beautiful one consisting of only 85 verses. Its study makes it clear that it is couched in an ammaculate style which causes our pulses to vibrate. It does not lack the continuity of mood, brilliant conception, simple style and diction eg.

ازین فرقت آباد تا بوده ام ٭ بجز زهر غم لب نیالوده ام

گناهم پر از اشک چون اخگر است ٭ ز خون خوردن دل دماغم تر است

رهم پر خوفست من نوسفر ٭ همه زاد راه پاره های جگر

بجز گریه نگشوده ام دیده را ٭ که ذوق نظر نیست غمدیده را

(Continued from p.439)

reign of Jahāngīr, and resided in Kashmīr. He was sent for by Jahāngīr. In compliance with the orders of the Emperor he left for Kashmir but died in the way in the year 1035 A.H. (1625-26 A.D.) He is the author of an anthology called <u>But Khānah</u>.

لب از هم بجز ناله نگشاده ام ÷ بماتم مگر تو امان زاده ام

مرا از رشک دامن گلستان شد است ÷ مرا دست خصم گریبان شد است

مرا دست در آستین پیر شد ÷ مرا دامن خویش زنجیر شد

مرا شیشه بر دوش و باران سنگ

نه یارای رفتن نه پای درنگ[1]

This continuity of mood is very defective in Maulānā Ṣūfī's Sāqī Nāmah. He does not convey to the reader a clear cut and precise and realistic picture. Moreover, the colours applied by him (Ṣūfī) are so gaudy and the style so laboriously polished that the reader finds it impossible to visulize the scene which Ṣūfī wants to depict.

فراق عزیزان بسی دیده ام ÷ بسی ناموافق پسندیده ام

بهر ناخوشی پارهٔ جان من ÷ برفت از تن همچون سندان من

بیا ساقی آن کام پالوده را ÷ روان من محنت آلوده را

بمن ده که جانم کمی می کند ÷ تنم باز بی همدمی می کند

بیا ساقی اکنون که باد بهار ÷ شنیدم که می گفت در لاله زار

کنون کز هوا آب شاید گرفت ÷ همی داد از باده باید گرفت

کنون کآسمان و زمین خرم است ÷ زمانه چو دیوانگان بی غم است

مرا سینه ماتم که ماتم سرا است ÷ جهان پیش چشمم یکی اژدها است

درین عرصهٔ تنگ امید و بیم ÷ درین بیشهٔ جهل دیو رجیم

مرا بیشه شیر نر متکاسرت ÷ نشیمن گه من دم اژدها است

1. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 493.

بیا ساقی ار بی بهای می دهی شرابی براه خدائی دهی

بمن ده که بی نوا مانده‌ام ز دوران بیگانه وا مانده‌ام

بمن جور دوران زحد می‌رود سپهر سراسیمه بدمی رود[1]

In the above couplets Ṣūfī has not produced a real picture. No doubt the patterns he has employed are the patterns of the Persian poets and the descriptive talent is their, but it is suppressed by his conscious attempt to soar into the imaginative domain.

Again both have written a few couplets in praise of the fourth Caliph, Ḥazrat Ālī which runs as follows.

Aujī

ولی خدا شاه مردان علی لبالب ز مهرش خفی و جلی

زگلشت عطایش فلک دانه‌ای ز شمع رخش مهر پروانه‌ای

ثنا سزهٔ فر یزدان علی است شهنشاه اقلیم احسان علی است

علی مظهر دین فرزانگی است علی گوهر کان مردانگی است

ازین پیش آئینه جان در گلم بمهر علی شد مجرد دلم

مرا داغ او بر جبین دل است مرا مهر او از جهان حاصل است

ز رامشگری نور فرمان اوست فلک زورقی بحر احسان اوست[2]

Ṣūfī

بده ساقی امروز داری بده لبالب ز ... جامی بده

علی آنکه یزدان علیم ولیست دو عالم دو لشکریم ولیست

زمینها که او فلک محکم است بر اندام او قطرهٔ انجم است

دوام بمهرش چنان شادمان که عالم بخورشید و تابد بجان

ز مهر جبین بیاییم بدرگاه اوست

شب عمر من روشن از ماه اوست[3]

By comparing and contrasting, one finds that the imaginative flight of both are at their Zenith, but in Aujī's couplets there

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1. Qazvīnī, Ābdun Nabi, Maikhānah, pp 348-349.

2. Ibid, p 356. 3. Ibid, p. 496

is a note of emotional sincerity and clear exposition which Ṣūfī lacks.

What distinguishes him from Ṣūfī and many other Persian poets is that in the Sāqī Nāmah he has not tried to bewilder the reader by leading him through a labyrinth of allusion. Ṣūfī says:

بیا ساقی آن مرکب روح را ÷ همان جام چون کشتی نوح را
بمن ده که راهم درازست و دور ÷ درین راه شاید جز از می ستور
براق اندرین ره بیفگند سم ÷ شد است اندرو خضر و الیاس گم
زبان دان مور و مرغ انس و جان ÷ سلیمان درین ره نفهمد زبان
در آتش روم گر بسان خلیل ÷ چو موسی روم گاه در قعر نیل
چه اندیشم در هر دلی ره کنم ÷ گهی چو علی سر فرازی کنم[1]

Aujī's Sāqī Nāmah is also not devoid of melody and harmony. The current note of 'Radīf' or double rhyme creats a rhythmic pattern of extraordinary beauty.

بیا تا مرادی بدست آوریم ÷ بمینای گردون شکست آوریم
بیا تا بمی چهره گلگون کنیم ÷ ز اشک آسمان را جگر خون کنیم
دگر ساقیا انتظارم مده ÷ بده می بدست خمارم بده
ملون ز گل دشت و صحرا شده است ÷ صفای چمن خاطر آرا شده است
دلم سرخوش نغمهٔ بلبل است ÷ هم آغوش گل طرهٔ سنبل است[2]

But on the other hand Ṣūfī's voice is horrible just like a

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1. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p 350.
2. Ibid, p 494.

thunderbolt or drums of bettle field causing horror.

شنیدم که اندر خرابات ما ÷ همان جای فخر و مباهات ما
یکی آتش آمد سحر در وجود ÷ که ابلیس ننمود پیشش سجود
ازان آتش ای کودک می گسار ÷ شراری بنزد من اکنون آر
که در خانۀ دین و مذهب زنم ÷ پس آنگاه در روز و در شب زنم
بسوزانم این وادی خام را ÷ براندازم این ناخوش ایام را [1]

From the above quoted couplets of Auji and Sufi it is obvious that Aujī is not only melodious, his style is also harmonious. But on the other hand Ṣūfī's tone is harsh. It seems as if he is bent upon fighting and has made up his mind to wreak vengeance upon all the worldly phenomena.

Auji was conversant with all the figures of thought and words, this is why he has made a conscious attempt to borrow his imagery, similies, metaphors, hyperbole etc. We here mention a few figures of speech giving only one example in each case.

ALLUSION TO THE SUBJECT: براعت استهلال

چنین تا بکی ترک ساغر کنیم ÷ لب از دل ز خون جگر تر کنیم [2]

This is the opening line of Auji's Sāqi Nāmah, which fully refers to the subject matter contained in the Maṣnavī.

SIMILE تشبیه :

کنارم پر از اشک چون اخگر است ÷ ز خون خوردن دل دماغم تر است [3]

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1. Qazvīni, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah., p 347.
2. Ibid, p 493.
3. Ibid, p 493.

In the above couplet the poet has similized اشک (tears) with اخگر (ember) on account of its hotness and redness.

METAPHOR استعاره :

بیا ساقی آن شوخ آتش عذار ÷ بیان ترک سرمست ساغرسوار

In this verse the poet by the phrases شوخ آتش عذار and ترک سرمست ساغرسوار does not emphasize literal meaning or the dictionary meaning but in some other sense which may be called borrowed or properly speaking the 'Figurative meanings' (معنی مجازی). By these phrases the poet means to say wine (شراب).

ANTITHESIS تضاد :

مرا باده بی او غم انگیز شد ÷ طرب بی رخش اندوه آمیز شد[2]

This verse bears the words غم (sorrow) and طرب (glee or happiness) which are of opposite meaning

HYPERBOLE مبالغه :

چنان در غمش دیده خونبار شد ÷ که شب جای خوابم جگرزار شد[3]

In the above quoted verse the poet has expressed his ideas hyperbolically. What he wants to say is that he wept bitterly for the whole night. But he says that instead of tears pieces of liver came out of his eye, and his sleeping room was littered with livers.

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1. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p.495.
2. Ibid, p. 494.
3. Ibid, p. 494.

This exaggeration is beyond the limits of both reason and experience, so the above quoted verse is an example of " غلو "

CONGRUITY مراعاة النظیر :

کنون ساقیا گل سحرخیز شد ٭ نسیم چمن عنبر آمیز شد[1]

Here the words گل (Rose) نسیم (breeze) باغ (garden) are associated together.

PROVERBIAL COMMISSION ارسال مثل :

بجو عافیت در جهانِ خراب ٭ بجو نیم شب پرتو آفتاب[2]

Here the poet has similized this world with midnight and عافیت (prosperity) with آفتاب (sun). It is a fact that the sun cannot be seen in the midnight. Similarly the world is full of grief and sorrow, so no one can have prosperity in this world.

These are but a few examples to show his talent in this respect otherwise there is no dearth of such figures of speech in his Sāqī Nāmah.

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1. Qazvīnī, 'Abdun Nabī, Maikhānah, p. 494.

2. Ibid, p 496.

BAZURGĪ KASHMIRI

Bazurgi was one of the inhabitants of Kashmir. Only Sher Khān Lodhi the author of Mirāt-ul-Khayāl[1] and Rattan Singh Zakhmī, the compiler of Anis-ul-Ashaīn[2] have mentioned her name. In a few lines they have tried to throw some light on her which is of course quite insufficient and in no way helps the reader to derive any conclusion out of it. Moreover, Zakhmī has expressed the views of of Sher Khān in other words . What these two 'Tazkirahs' indicate about her is :

لولی بود۔ گویند در عهد جهانگیر بادشاه از غایت علو فکر ترک پیشهٔ خود کرده در گوشهٔ قناعت و توکل خزیده بود، روزی چهار شاعر برای دیدن او رفته بودند بار نداد درین ضمن عرب بچه دیوانه وار از سر دیوارش نالهٔ درد آمیز کشید و بزرگی او را پیش خود طلبید این سخن بر خاطر شعرا گران آمد و این رباعی نزد وی فرستادند

ای شیوهٔ کفر و دین بهم ساختهٔ ٭ هم را بوجود خود عدم ساختهٔ

آثار بزرگی از جبینت پیدا است ٭ که با عرب و که به عجم ساختهٔ

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1. Sher Khān, Lodhī, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p 336.

2. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anis-ul-Ashaīn, Ms, foll. 81b & 82a.

" She was a prostitute. It is said that in the reign of Jahāngīr (A.H. 1014- 1036- A.D. 1605-1627) After deep meditation she left off all those bad habits, and kept herself in the corner of contentment and confidence in God. On one occassion four poets went to see her, but she did not show her inclination for their admission, when in the meanwhile an Arabian youth, madly heaved a painful and torturing sigh under the walls of her house. Bazurgī called him in. This displeased the poets very much and they readily sent this Rubā'ī to her.

O you, who have amalgamated the ways of religion and irrligion
You have by your existence made sorrow vanish.
The traces of greatness are apparent from your forehead, when
have you established a relation between Arabian and non Arabian

They further say:

بزرگی فی البدیه این بیت نوشته بیرون فرستاد ـــ

روزی که نهادیم درین دیر قدم را ؛ گفتیم صلاخ است عرب را و عجم را[1][2]

Bezurgī too instantaneously wrote the following couplet and sent it out side.

The day when we put our foot on this world (earth), we allowed Arabian and non Arabian to pay us frequent visits.

The following couplet is also said to have been of hers.

مو بمو در نالهام گوئی که استاد ازل ؛ رشتهٔ جانم بجای تار در طنبور بست[2]

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1. We are of the opinion that the second hemistich should be like this گفتیم صلا است عرب را و عجم را ie. without " ح ".

2. Sheir Khān, Lodhī, Mirāt-ul Khayāl, p 396 and Zakimī , Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-'Āshqīn , Ms, fol. 82b.

Each and every hair of mine is a sigh so you might say that the teacher of Eternity tied the thread of my life with the guitor instead of with wire.

At present, however, it cannot be said as to how many couplet or odes etc., were written by her. It is still a secret whether or not she had compiled any 'Dīvān' or even whether she was a poetess. Except the above two, none of the 'Tazkireh' writers has even mentioned her name. So, as far as her poetical talents are concerned no definite view can be expressed.

JAMĪL BAIG ʿALVĪ

Jamīl Baig ʿAlvī who has been introduced to us by Taqī Awḥdī was an orthodox Sunnī. According to Taqī Awḥdī he was prejudice and used to tease Shiʿas. Commenting on this Ārzū writes:

آرزو گوید که این قسم تعصبات از جانبین است[1]

" Ārzū says, such like prejudices are from both the sides."

Taqī Awḥdī writes that he had ʿAlvī as his nom de plume, but Shafīq on the basis of internal source says that he had Jamīl as his Takhallus. He has presumed it perhaps from the following verse.

جمیل از اہل معنی ہرکہ بود چون شود روشن ؛ چراغ دودمان از شعلۂ شوق ہوس زادش

However Shafīq does not stress upon it. His verdict is:

تقی اوحدی تخلص جمیل بیگ علوی نوشته و مقطعی که آورده

جمیل تخلص دارد، شاید ہر دو تخلص اختیار کرده باشد[2]

Taqī Awḥdī has written the Takhallus of Jamīl Baig, as ʿAl-vī but the last line which he has written bears Jamīl as 'Takhallus, perhaps he observed both the nom de plumes. He died in 1020 A.H.(1611 A.D)

Following are the verses which extent now-a-days.

زطرف این نقابم جلوۂ جنون کرد شوقش ؛ بیک نظاره جان رفت و کنونم زنده از یادش

زلی گرم شکایتهای اوبی تابانه رشکم ؛ شد از روی غضب او آتش سوزان دمن بادش

جمیل از اہل معنی ہرکه بود چون شود روشن ؛ چراغ دودمان از شعلۂ شوق ہوس زادش

دوشینه بجان شورش شوق تو درفتاد ؛ ہر چاک که در جیب زدم در جگر فتاد[4]

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1. Arzu , Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p. 406.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol 198 b.
3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p 406.
4. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 198 b.

MĪR ʻABDULLAH FARAIBĪ

Mīr ʻAbdullah had for his nom de plume Fareibī. He was called as he had eyes twinkling almost constantly when talking. ʻAbdun Nabī Qazvīnī, who met him in Kashmīr writes in Maikhānah.

شعر را هموار می‌گوید و ابیات متفرقه بسیار دارد، و لیکن دیوان ترتیب نداده
است. مسود این اوراق را با آن در دمند در دار العیش کشمیر ملاقات
واقع شد، مولدش از شهر مذکور است در آنجا بسن رشد و تمیز رسیده
نشو و نما نموده است و هرگز از برای سیر صعوبت سفر اختیار نفرموده [1]

" He writes smooth verses, and has isolated verses in abundance, but he has not arranged his 'Dīvān'. The writer of these pages has seen that afflicted one in the pleasure house of Kashmīr. His birth place is the said city. He reached the age of discrimination and also bred up there. He never took the trouble of travelling for the sake of excursion."

From the above statement of Qazvīnī it is evident that he was averse to travelling and he has not arranged his verses in the form of a 'Dīvān'. Qazvīnī has quoted the following verse as a specimen of his poetry.

تا دلی از زلف تو با شانه نیاید بیرون ※ که بآن صد دل دیوانه نیاید بیرون

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1. Qazvīnī, ʻAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah , p 571- 572.

2. Ibid, p 572.

MUHAMMAD IBRĀHĪM ṬALŪ'Ī

We have but little information about this poet who lived in the reign of Jahāngīr. The Tazkirah writers say that this Muḥammad Ibrāhīm who had Ṭalū'ī as his nom de plume was a poet of considerable merits and had arranged a 'Dīvān' Khushgo writes about him.

محمد ابراهیم طلوعی تخلص کشمیری بود - در عهد جهانگیری ظهور یافته وارستگی دریافت
شجاع بی‌مثل بود و از فنون سخن بهرهٔ وافر برداشته بمتانت گفته دیوانی گذاشته[1]

"Muḥammad Ibrāhīm who has Ṭalū'ī as his 'Takhalluṣ' was a native of Kashmīr. He appeared in the reign of Jahāngīr and sought Salvation. He was a matchless brave and knew the art of poetry to a considerable degree and used to said smothly. He has left a 'Divan'.

Besides Khushgo, Shafīq, Beikhabar, Aḥmad 'Alī, Ārzū and Mardān 'Alī Khān have mentioned him in their respective works but all these have not added any thing new to our information. Majority of them have mentioned his name and Takhalluṣ and two or three verses as specimen of his poetry. The following are the verses which extant up to this day:

از جمع طالب فیض که صاحب نفس اینست * دامان سحر گیر که فریاد رس اینست[2]

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1. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 174 b.
2. Mardān 'Alī Khān, Muntakhabul-Ash'ār, Ms, fol. 90a.

فلک بپائی دامان ماتم می خورد ؛ کنون ز سنگ سنگ از کوی ما گریزان است
خوشم که هیچ ملامی مرا بلبهٔ دل ؛ زبان ز خواهش دست از دعا گریزان است

دل شکسته و عهد درست می خواهم ؛ وگرنه مهر سلیمان و جام جم کم نیست [1]

ما پای نیاز در آز راهی کردیم ؛ قطع نظر از نمود و از وی کردیم
در راه طلب چو پا نهادیم ز شوق ؛ کونین بگام اولین طی کردیم [2]

ز چاک پیراهن یوسف این قدر دانم ؛ که عشق پرده دری کرد و از زلیخا نیست

نه خوب دانم و نه زشت این قدر دانم ؛ که حرف نیک و بد از خامهٔ یک استاد است

فصل گل و مل گذشت و ما بی خبریم ؛ آب از سر پل گذشت و ما بی خبریم
ایام جوانی که بهاری خوش داشت ؛ چون موسم گل گذشت و ما بی خبریم [3]

We know nothing about his 'Dīvān'. Its extent is doubtful.

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 190 a.
2. Beikhabar, Azmat Ullah, Safīnah-i-Beikhabar, Ms, fol. 77a.
3. Ahmad Ālī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 203 a.

HĀFIẒ MUḤAMMAD KHAYĀLĪ

Khayālī whose name was Muḥammad, was enjoying his days of life during the reign of Jahāngīr. From the word Hāfiẓ, which occures before his name, we can easily derive this conclusion that he had committed the holy Qurān to memory. Only Roz-i-Roshan, a 'Tazkireh' which had been compiled a century ago sheds only this much light.

حافظ محمد کشمیری از شیوا بیانان عهد جهانگیر بادشاه است سخنوران بمعصرش انوری ثانی می خواندند[1]

" Hāfiẓ Muḥammad of Kashmīr is from amongst the eloqunts of the reign of King Jahāngīr. His contemporary poets used to call him Anvarī the second.

We do not know where from the compiler of this Tazkireh has received this information that the poets of his time used to call him Anwari the second. This statement is at least doubtful. Had he been a poet of such celebrity as to stand a match for Anvarī who is familiar to all those who have a little taste for Persian literature, the extant number of his verses would not have been one. However, his immortality is due to the following one couplet which is being copied from Roz-i-Roshan.

بعشوه کشتی و بازم بغمزه جان دادی نگر از خدای نترسم ترا خدا گویم[2]

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1. Ṣabā, Husain, Muẓaffar, Muḥammad, Roz-i-Roshan, p. 308.
2. Ibid, p. 308.

M U L L Ā   Ḥ A M D Ī

Mullā Ḥamdī[1] is one of those unfortunate poets of Kashmir whose name is not known. He is famous by his pen name. None of the Tazkirah writers has given a detailed account of his life. The information conveyed by Khushgo in his 'Tazkirah' is as follows:

ملا حمدی کشمیری الاصل بود - اواخر عہد اکبر شاہی ظہور یافتہ و با سخن سنجان عصر جہانگیری

..... بود و باخلاق حمیدہ اتصاف داشتہ و شعر در غایت عذوبت می گفت

صاحب دیوان است. ازیر بیت از قصیدہ البیت کہ در منقبت گفتہ[2]

Mullā Ḥamdī was the native of Kashmīr. He appeared in the end of Akbar's regime, and was from the poets of Jahāngīr's reign He was charecterized by good morals. He used to write most eloquent verses. He is the owner of a 'Dīvān'. The following couplet is from the qaṣīdah which he wrote in praise of ʿAlī.

From the above quoted statement of Khushgo it can be ascertained that he was the author of a 'Dīvān' and his 'Dīvān' contained not only 'Ghazals' but Qaṣīdahs. It is matter of great sorrow that

1. Shafīq, Sanbhalī, Walah Dāgistānī wite his 'Takhalluṣ' Hamidi. (ref. Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 107a., Tārīkh-i-Hussainī, p 104.and Riyāẓ-ush-Shuʿrā, Ms, fol. 117a.)

2. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 146a.

no details whatsoever have been given by Tazkirah writers and it is very difficult for us to recognise him. Ṣarfī's Maghāzī-un-Nabī however, acquaints us with one Aḥmad Ḥamdī, who was the son of Husain Ginā'ī, This Husain Ginā'ī, as we are told by Ṣarfī, was his uncle and was only one or two years elder to him. He was a poet too. He had two sons namely Aḥmad Ḥamdī and ʿAbdul Azīz. Ḥamdī was a poet and had studied various sciences. ʿAbdul ʿAzīz had earned a name as caligraphist It is better to quote Ṣarfī here.

مرا بود عمّی ز اہل کمال ÷ بعمر من افزون نه جز یک دو سال

مسمّی باسم حسین آمده ÷ مبرّا ز ہر شین و رین آمده

بسی فاضل و عالم با عمل ÷ بتجوید قرآن عدیم البدل

مهارت بہر علم اورا تمام ÷ بشعر و معما برآورده نام

دو فرزندی از عمّه ام مانده بود ÷ که ہر یک بفنی ترقی نمود

یکی احمد حمدی آن نامور ÷ بشعر و جمیع علوم دگر

دوم خوش خط وقت عبد العزیز

بحسن خط اندر زمانه عزیز [1]

It would not be incoherent to mention here that nowadays

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1. Ṣarfī, Yaʿqūb, Shaikh, Maghāzī-un-Nabī, p. 10.

his 'Dīvān' is not available. The number of verses that extent does not reach the two degits.

According to the version of Ahmad Ali he died in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.). He writes:

عزیزی تاریخ وفاتش چنین یافته - " شد به بهشت "[1]
1018

" A dear one got the chronogram of his death like this..... ...... to paradise."

The words شد به بهشت (went to paradise) give the required year. The numerical value of these words is 1018.

Ahmad ʿAlī praises his verses by saying :

اشعارش خالی از لطافت نبوده[2]

" His verses were not void of grace."

It is very strange to note that all the 'Tazkirah' writers praise his poetry; but no one has quoted ample examples of his literary out come. Little is known of Hamīdī's (Hamdī's) life. His lasting fame is built on a few couplets which we will quote in the end, or rather only the following couplet.

مرتضیٰ آنکه شه مسند عالی نسبی ست ٭ آفتابیست که برج شرفش دوش نبی ست

Only this verse has been quoted by Sanbhalī, Shafīq, and Wālah Dāghistānī. The first two compilers of the Tazkirahs praise him in the following words before writing the said couplet.

بانی بنیان خوش تقریری ملا حمیدی خوش گوست[3]

" Builder of the foundation of eloquence, Mullā Hamdī is an eloquent."

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1. Hāshmī, Ahmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib. Ms, p. 1482.
2. Ibid, p. 1482.
3. Sanbhlī, Hussain Dost, Tazkirah-i-Hussaini. p 104.

حمیدی کشمیری بلبل رنگین صفیر است و از نواسنجان کشمیر جنت نظیر[1]

" Hamdī Kashmīrī is a beautiful singing nightingale and is the singer from the Kashmīr, the paradise on the earth."

Following are his verses:

رسید موسم گل نگری گساران چیست ÷ من از صلاح گذشتم صلاح یاران چیست

شنیده ام که ز من یاد کرده یار امروز ÷ نگر به بوالهوسانش فتاده کار امروز[2]

مرا که افسر شده منصب عالی نسبی ست ÷ آفتابیست که برج شرفش دوش نبی ست[3]

بکسم نماند دیگر سرو برگ آشنائی ÷ که نیرزد آشنائی به مشقت جدائی[4]

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 107 a.
2. Hāshmī, Ahmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, p. 1482.
3. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo, Ms, fol. 146 a.
4. Ṣabā, Husian, Muzaffar, Roz-i-Roshan, p. 184.

CHAPTER V

POETS OF SHĀHJAHĀN'S REIGN

1. Mullā Muḥsin Fānī.
2. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ghanī.
3. Mullā Ḥasan Faroghī.
4. Mullā Ṣubḥī.
5. Darvaish Yūsuf.
6. Muḥammad Zamān Nāfi'.
7. Mullā Muḥammad.
8. 'Abdur Rasūl Isteghnā.
9. Mawlānā Nāṭiq.

MULLĀ MUḤSIN FĀNĪ

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY CAREER:

Of the exact date of his birth there is no reliable contemporary record. All the biographers are silent on this point. Dr. Ṣūfī who is a scholar of the present age has fixed 1025 A.H. (1615 as the year of his birth. He writes in Kāshir:

" He might have been born some times in the earlier part of the eleventh century A.H. or the seventeenth century of the Christian era (about 1615 A.C.)[1] "

The christian year 1615 A.C. falls on 1025 A.H. The learned scholar has not given the name of his source. We do not even know what known facts led him to reach this inference. According to our point of view this year of birth is contrary to authentic history in many points. We shall now have a discussion on these points.

Dr. Ṣūfī has perhaps based his views of Muḥsin's birth on the statement of Riew who writes about the author of Dabistān that

"He was born shortly before A.H. 1028, in Patnah at the head quarters of the sect, and received in his infancy the blessings of the four chief disciples of Āzar Kaivān its great apostle (who had died in the same city A.H. 1027)[2]"

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1. Ṣūfī, Dr. Muḥayy-ud-Din, Kāshir , Vol. II. p.

2. Riew, Charles Catalogue of Persian Ms. in the British Museum, Vol. I, p 141.

It seems to us that taking into view the infancy and ~~the death of~~ Āẓar Kaivān's year of death which is 1027 A.H. (1617 A.D.) Dr. Ṣūfī presumed that Muḥsin Fānī's birth took place in or about 1025 A.H. (1615 A.D.) as according to his point of view Mullā Muḥsin Fānī is the author of Dabistān about which we will write later on.

What may be the source of this learned scholar we cannot accept it as correct, for there are reasons to believe that Fānī was born far earlier than this year. Following are the facts which dis-approve of the said year of Fānī's birth.

1. According to Aḥmad Alī the compiler of Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib Shafīq the author of Gul-i-Ra'nā and Sayyid Alī Ḥasan the writer of Subḥ-i-Gulshan, he was one of the pupils of Mullā Ya'qūb Ṣarfī Kashmīrī. Aḥmad Alī writes:-

او شاگرد ملا صرفی کشمیری است [1]

" He is the pupil of Mullā Ṣarfī Kashmīrī."

Shafīq says:-

شیخ محسن فانی اکتساب فنون از ملا یعقوب صرفی کشمیری نمود [2]

" Shaikh Muḥsin Fānī received his education from Mullā Ya'qūb Ṣarfī Kashmīrī."

'Alī Ḥasan's findings are:

در تلامذهٔ ملا یعقوب صرفی کشمیری نادرالنظیر بود [3]

" He was amongst the pupils of Mullā Ya'qūb Ṣarfī of Kashmīr,

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1. Aḥmad 'Alī, Hāshmī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol 272b, (Margin)
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 239 a.
3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Subḥ-i-Gulshan, p 308.

the unrivalled one."

Ethe confirms this view in his catalogue of Persian Ms. in the Library of India Office under the caption '<u>Dīvān-i-Fānī</u>', He write

" Lyrical poems of <u>Shaikh</u> Muhsin Fānī of Kashmīr, pupil of Mullā Sarfī of Kashmir.[1]"

Taking into view these statements it is fair to infer that he was born in the end of the tenth century of hijra as it is admitted by all, that Ya'qūb Sarfī breathed his last in 1003 A.H.(1595A.D)

2. It is also an admitted fact that Mulla Muhsin Fani was the teacher of Mullā Muhammad Tāhir <u>Ghanī</u>, a well known personality in the literary history of Kashmīr. About his birth we have discussed in detail in our thesis on this learned poet of the valley (a brief account of that discussion will also be noticed by the reader under his biography . see.pp 538-40 infra) and we have come to the conclusion that Ghanī was born in 1020 A.H. (1610 A.D.) or a little after this year. Hence, is it not rediculous to think that the teacher was five years younger than his pupil ?

We cannot, however, definitely say the exact date of Muhsin's birth, as there is no authentic history available which may shed light on the subject. It is still a mystry and to fathom this mystry is beyond our control. But inspite of this we cannot believe that he was born in 1615 A.D. (1025 A.H.)

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1. Ethe, Herman, <u>Catalogue of Persian Ms. in the Library of India Office, London, p.</u>

HIS ANCESTERS AND CLAN:

Mullā Muhsin Fānī who was a man of eclectic views and scholarly disposition was the son of Hasan whose father's name was Muhammad. From Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmir, his relation to another noteable figure of Kashmir Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī is evident. A'zam writes:

از اکابرزادهٔ کشمیر است از بنی اخوان حضرت جامع الکمالات شیخ یعقوب صرفی است[1]

" He is from amongst the big personalities of Kashmir and from the relatives of Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī the collector of perfectness."

From this statement of A'zam we can say that he (Fānī) had decended from a family which enjoyed a reputation for culture and learning.

HIS EDUCATION:

We are ignorant about his academic career. Even the contemporary historian Muhammad Sālih Kanboh Lāhorī and the Tazkirah writer Shair Khān Lodhī etc, have not thrown any light on the subject. They are silent on this important point though the former has wasted his vocabulary in praising his poetical loftiness while the other has paid attention towards the most unimportant anecdote of his life which is his love with a prostitute named Najjī. Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush, another contemporary 'Tazkirah' writer

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmir. Ms, p. 261.

(biographer), does not write anything conducive to our findings. Under these circumstances we cannot help doing guess work.

We have stated above that he belonged to the family which gave birth to men of letters, so we can imagine that every effort must have been made to make him an educated person. Being a member of an educated family he must have at first studied at home, and would have been able to complete the preliminary course at least in a comparatively short time. We cannot say whether or not he joined any Maktab or school. We have not been made acquainted with any teacher of his except Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī. It is, however, evident from his travels that his thirst for learning was not quenched in Kashmīr and he was obliged to leave the valley----the very paradise on the earth----for advanced education.

HIS TRAVELS:

We, with much regret, state here that our research fails to indicate some definite date about his travels. Only this much has been told by one historian named Ḥasan that Fānī after completing his education went to various parts of India and got a lot of experience. He writes in his history:

ملا محسن فانی ...... بعد تحصیل کمالات علوم عقلی و نقلی اطراف و اکناف ہندوستان
را سیاحت نمود و نیک و بد زمانہ بسیار آزمود و با ہر ملت آشنائی کردہ
تحقیقات حالات مذاہب و ملل بخوبی ساختہ[1]

" Mullā Muḥsin Fānī....... after completing the study of religious and intellectual sciences made a tour of the various sides of India and experienced many good and bad of the age. He,

1. Ḥasan Shāh, Pīr, Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan, Ms, p 250.

having made acquaintance with every creed, did research about various creeds and religions."

From the last line of this statement it can be concluded that Muhsin Fani went out from Kashmir to know the pros and cons of other religions. In short, from this evidence we can say that he visited many places and freely mixed with all sorts of people professing different creeds. The Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, which was written by this learned poet of ours indicates that he visited Lāhore, Sūrat, Hayder Ābād, Mashhad, Sarā'i Kākul, the capital of Kālinga on the coromandel coast.

HIS RELIGION:

Here we shall again quote Tārīkh-i-Hasan, the only history which throws some light on the subject. It reveals to us the following information:

می آرند که در اوائل بمذهب آزاد بود و با هر ملت صلح کل میداشت
و مذهب حکما را رونق میداد اما در آخر عمر بخدمت حضرت میان محمد امین دار
مشرف شده و دست انابت بدامن عاطفت ایشان زده از خیالات باطل
درگذشت و عقیدهٔ کامل بهم رسانید و به علوم معنوی و تعلیم و تلقین آنجناب
بهره مند گشت آنگاه تا حین حیات در گریه و زاری و توبه و استغفار اوقات بسر برد [1]

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1. Hasan Shāh, Pīr, Tārīkh-i-Hasan, Ms, p. 250.

" It is said that in the beginning he was a man of eclectic views. He used to keep company of the followers of all the religions; and put much reliance on the religion of philosophers. But in the later part of his life he came under the influence of Mian Muhammad Amīn Dār. He put his hand of repentence on the skirt of their kindness and left the heritic views and became perfect in his faith and gained profit from the spiritual instructions and education of that one. Since then till death he passed his time in weeping, moaning, repenting and seeking forgiveness from God."

It must be pointed out here that in his Masnavi which is known as Masdar-ul-Āsār he praises one Sheikh Muhib Ullah and says:

آنکه ز اسرار یقین آگه هست ✽ قطب زمان شیخ محب الله است[1]

No doubt he was a man of scholarly instincts, but of liberal disposition which lead him to attend to the arguments of the exponents of each faith patiently, and perhaps this made him a man of eclectic views in regard to religion. When and how he was prompted to study other religions we cannot definitely say. Was he dissatisfied with the controversies of the Muslim faith. It seems to us that the controversies which began during the reign of Akbar had their effects on the minds of the people. Even in the reign of Shāhjahān free thinking was encouraged. History tells us that Dārā Shikoh, the most beloved son of Shāhjahān under whose influence this learned poet of ours came, used to mix with the followers of other faiths and study the doctrines of the Vedanta, the Puranid

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1. Fāni, Muhsin, Mullā, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms, fol. 106a.

the new and old testament and the works of Sufi writers. It was he who caused a Persian version of the Athera veda and the Upanishads to be made with the assistance of some Brahman scholars and aimed at finding a modus vivendi among the apparently hostile credd Perhaps under his influence Muhsin Fānī went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zorastrian, a Hindū, or a christian. On the other hand it is also possible that he attained the knowledge of other religions before entering the service of Dārā Shikoh and his eclectic views might have attracted the attention of the prince This seems to be more plausible. So far as Fāni is concerned he was not converted to any religion and there is no reason to exaggerate the influence of Zoroastrian over him more than that of any other religion. No doubt in Dabistān, the chapter on Islām is rather long and technical in its nature, and perhaps for this he incurred the displeasure of the orthodox members among his co-religionists who went against him. In short, Muhsin Fāni on account of his profound philosophical studies, his extensive travels, his intercourse with men of all sorts of religions made him a renegade for sometimes but this renegation came to an end when he came in contact with Miān Muhammad Amin Dār, a scholar and saint of the day, burried in Kūchak Āghā'i, Fateh Kadal, Srinagar

SERVICE:

About his service in the courts of the suzerions of the time we have only one, some what contemporary, source and that is Shair Khān's Mirāt-ul-Khayāl which tells us that he remained for

some time in the service of Nazar Muhammad Khān the ruler of Balkh and this service eclipsed his shining star when the conquest of Balkh by prince Murād took place in 1056 A.H. Lodhī writes:

چون فتح بلخ بردست سلطان مراد بخش اتفاق افتاد و نذر محمد خان تخت نشین
آنجا جریده بگریخت و اموال وی ضبط شد در کتابخانه اش دیوان محسن فانی
مشتمل بر مدح خان مذکور یافتند ازان روز از نظر پادشاه افتاد و از منصب شد[1]

" When the conquest of Balkh was made by Sultān Murād Bakhsh and Nazar Muhammad Khān the ruler of that place ran away alone and properties were forfeited; in his library they found a 'Dīvān' of Muhsin Fānī comprising the panegyrics in praise of the said Khān. From that day he fell from the eyes of the king and was deprived of his office."

Now turning our attention towards Indian history we find that "ever since the beginning of his reign, the Emperors heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, which were hereditary territories of his house, and the keys to the acquisition of Samarqand, the home and capital of his great ancester Taimūr. But the difficulties of mobilising a large army through the lofty ranges of the Hindūkush were great and the utility of the enterprise for the Moghal Empire was very doubtful. Shāhjahān, however, did not consider this. In short, in 1646 A.D.(1056 A.H.)[2]

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1. Lodhī, Shair Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl. p 254.
2. There is a chronogram in Majma'-us-Sanā'i (مجمع الصنائع) written by Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad son of Muhammad Aslah in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) under the heading At-Tārīkh :

circumstances being favourable owing to the out break of a civil war in the ruling house of the Oxus region, prince Murād and ʿAlī Mardan occupied Balkh and Badakhshān[1]?

From this it is obvious that he was in the service of Nazar Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh far earlier than 1646 A.D. (1056 A.H.) because on his return to India his talents attracted the notice of Prince Dārā Shikoh, who, like him, was a man of eclectic views. Aʿẓam writes:

(Continued from p. 466)

میرزا عبدالرزاق جهت تاریخ فتح بلخ بدخشان و تنها برآمدن رفتن نذر محمد خان این بیت گفت ـ

شده ز بلخ بدخشان نذر محمد خان ۔ زر و قبیله و املاک را گذاشته دران

چون از اعداد بلخ بدخشان اعداد نذر محمد خان بدال مهمل برود اعداد زر و قبیله و املاک

افزوده شود سال هزار و پنجاه و شش بر آید که دران سال ولایات مذکور تسخیر

اولیای دولت بادشاه شاه جهان صاحبقران ثانی کرده

(مجمع الغرائب نسخه خطی ورق ۱۰۱ ب)

Here we would like to point out that both the time the scribe has not written " و " between Balkh and Badakhshān which is necessary to give the correct year. The solution of the chronogram is as follows.

بلخ و بدخشان - نذر محمد خان + زر و قبیله و املاک

1056 = 458 + 997 - 1595

Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā also gives this very year. The chronogram was written by one Naṣīrā. It runs thus: والی توران بر آورد از ملک توران بعد از ان / ثانی صاحب قران نشاند بجائش کن حساب

ملک توران — والی توران + ثانی صاحب قران

1056 = 1012 + 694 - 742

2. Mujamdar, R.C. Advanced History of India, p. 481.

چون فن شعرش غالب آمد و بشهرت علمی باریاب خدمت داراشکوه شد[1]

" When the art of poetry overpowered him, he due to celebrity in knowledge entered the service of Dārā Shikoh."

He was subsequently appointed to the office of Ṣadārat or judgeship at Allah Ābād, as has been stated by Lodhī.

چندروز درصوبه الهٔ آباد خدمت صدارت داشت[2]

" He, for a few days, served as a judge in the province of Allah Ābād."

He was later on suspended and was deprived of his office and of all his privileges and was dismissed from the court with a paltry subsistence allowance. Lodhī writes:

از خدمت صدارت معزول گردیده اما سالیانه فراخورش مقرر گشت بعد ازان تا آخر عمر از
کشمیر بر نیامد همواره بدرس و افاده اشتغال داشتی و اکثر از شاگردانش ساده رو بودند
درمیان باغچه حویلی نشیمنی مربع با حوض سنگین ساخته حوض خانه نام کرده بود، هنگام نصف النهار
در آنجا تنها می نشست و یک یک شاگرد بنوبت بجهت سبق می رفت[3]

" He was suspended from the Ṣadārat (judgeship) but an annual allowance sufficient to his needs was fixed. After that till his death he never came out of Kashmīr and always kept himself busy in teaching and often his pupils used to be beardless. In the garden of the house he constructed a tank of stones, square in shape and named it as Ḥoz Khānah. At noon he used to sit there alone and his pupils one by one used to go to him for lessons."

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1. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr , Ms, p. 261.
2. Lodhī, Shair Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p 254.
3. Ibid, p 255.

From the above verdict of Lodhī it is obvious that after his dismissal he retired to Kashmir, where he passed his days ostensibly without any public employment except fostering and imparting learning. The way of teaching and place of teaching is obvious from the above statement of Lodhī. Ordinarily he would read and comment on the writings of certain authors of eminence. Several scholars of note, among whome were Mullā Tāhir Ghani, Ghani's brother Mullā Muhammad Zamān Nāfi' and Hājī Muhammad Aslam Sālim, issued from his school. Out of these scholars the first two will be given room in this chapter while the third one in the next chapter.

Dr. Sūfī in his Kāshir writes, " According to one account, Fānī was again raised to the 'Sadārat' of Kashmir. A desire for a change, however, overcame him, and he went to Khurāsān, whence he came back to his birthplace and took a life of seclusion in a monastry built by Dārā Shikoh . Here it is believed, he wrote, in 1055 A.H. (1645 A.C.) his Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, or 'the School of sects'[1]

It is strange to note that a scholar like Dr. Sufi has not given the clue of his source quoted above. If we give weight to this statement then we are bound to fix the year of his 'Sadarat' of Allah Abad far earlier than 1645 A.D. (1056 A.H.) A'zam has written this much only.

بارباب خدمت دارا شکوه شد و خدمت صدارت کشمیر یافت [2]

1. Sūfī, Dr. Muhyy-ud-Dīn, Kāshir, Vol, I p.

2. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms. p 261.

" He entered the service of Dārā Shikoh and got the post of Sadārat (judgeship) of Kashmīr."

From this statement of A'zam it is clear that after entering the service of Dārā Shikoh he got an opportunity to serve as judge in Kashmīr; perhaps on the recommendation of Dārā Shikoh. The year of this appointment has not been given in any reference book, which we have come accross. We cannot say, where-from Dr. Sufi has inferred the year '1645 A.C.' Moreover, if we think this year as well as the verdict as correct then the result is obvious. Accordingly he was appointed to 'Sadārat' of Allah Ābād far earlier than this year. Here an other question arises and that is whether he (Fānī) had been suspended from this post or he himself resigned? Dr. Ṣūfī has not stated anything about it. His appointment to the 'Ṣadārat' of Kashmīr after coming under the wrath of the Emperor seems to be somewhat contrary to the facts and in presence of the statement of Lodhī who is his contemporary biographer we cannot give any weight to the statement quoted by Dr. Ṣūfī, until and unless the source is known to us.

Furthermore, if we study the statement of A'zam and Lodhī and we presume that both the statements are correct, then we must conclude that his first appointment was Ṣadārat of Kashmīr and the second the 'Ṣadārat' of Allah Ābād, from which post he was suspended in the year 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) when Prince Murād inflicted defeat on Nazar Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh . Under the circumstances the question of his "again rising to the Ṣadārat of Kashmīr does not arise; and none of our sources has revealed it to us.

FANI .... A PROMINENT PERSONALITY:

Fani was a learned man and after his dismissal from the judgeship, the business of his remained to impart knowledge to the boys of the valley who used to come to him. He had now begun to lead a life of ascetic and had preferred to live in seclusion. Moreover, he was, as lodhi remarks, " a man of sweet tongue and good company," so his house was frequently visited by the most distinguished men of Kashmir including the officers of Kashmir. Lodhi writes:-

فاضل متبحر و صاحب جاه و پاکیزه روزگار و خوش گو و خوش صحبت بود و حکام کشمیر بخانه اش می رفتند[1]

" He was an erudite, a man of dignity, sweet-tongued and of good company. The officers of Kashmir used to visit his house."

FANI'S LOVE FOR NAJJI:

Lodhi has given an anecdote of his (Fani's) love which is , no doubt an interesting one, but it perturbs the peace of mind of a man of serious thinking. It is strange that a man like Muhsin allowed himself to be influenced by a woman named Najji who was not of good character. And furthermore, Zafar Khan Ahsan, the governor of Kashmir, also fell a victim to the blandishments of this Najji, but not being successful in his advances to her, Ahsan vented his spleen in a bitter calumny against Fani. In the first

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1. Sheir Khan, Lodhi, Miratu-Khayal. p 255.

instance one is apt to think that Lodhī has tried to sling mud upon Ғānī and Ẓafar Khān, but as he is the nearest source one cannot but give this verdict some place. It would be better to quote here the whole of his statement. It should, however, be remembered that Lodhī is in the habit of slinging mud upon the Moghal rulers and their officers. He has related such episodes about a man like Emperor Aurangzaib. Hence we give very little weight to the story stated by him about Ғānī and Najjī. Lodhī relates the story thus:

گویند شیخ را با یکی از لولیهای کشمیر که نجی نام داشت و در غایت رعنائی و نهایت حسن و جمال بوده است دلبستگی تمام بود - از اتفاقات همدران ایام ظفر خان ناظم صوبه کشمیر نیز بآن لولی تعلق خاطر پیدا کرده هر چند او را به نقد و جنس فریب داده خاطرش بجانب خود مائل نیافت آخر از واسوختگیها غزلی در هجو نجی و شیخ محسن گفته شهرت داد و این دو بیت ازان جمله است ۰

خفته را بیدار سازد باد دامان نجی ؛ مرده را در جنبش آرد بوی انبان نجی

لنهٔ حیفی نمی شد شملهٔ دستار شیخ ؛ رشتهٔ تسبیح او بند تنبان نجی

در ابیات دیگر نیز فحش صریح آورده چنانچه ایراد تمامی ابیات اینجا مناسب ننموده چون این غزل بسمع شیخ رسید بنا بر ملاحظهٔ حکومت ظفر خان ناشنیده انگاشت و خاطر بجواب آن فرد نیاورد[1]

* It is said that Shaikh had allowed himself to be influenced by a prostitute of Kashmir whose name was Najjī and possessed an extraordinary beauty. It so happened that during those days Ẓafar Khān the governor of Kashmir also fell a victim to her, and though

1. Lodhī, Shir Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p 255.

he deluded her by money and commodities, yet he did not see her inclination towards himself. At last he wrote a satiric '<u>Gh</u>azal' and tried to culminate Najjī and <u>Shaikh</u> Muḥsin Fānī. The following are the two couplets from that '<u>Gh</u>azal':

خفته را بیدار سازد باد دامان نجی ؛ مرده را در جنبش آرد بوی انبان نجی

لتهٔ حیض نجی شد شملهٔ دستار شیخ ؛ رشتهٔ تسبیح او بند تنبان نجی

In other verses too, he has explicated depravity, so to copy all the verses here does not look nice. When the <u>Shaikh</u> heard this '<u>Gh</u>azal', he, on account of Zafar <u>Kh</u>ān's government dealt it as un-heard and did not show inclination to its reply.

We cannot say to what extent it is true. It is, however, pointed out here that the name of Fānī's beloved has been written by Dr. Ṣūfī as "Ba<u>gh</u>hī" which is not correct. Her name was Najjī as mentioned in the above quotation from Lodhī's <u>Mirāt-ul-Khayāl</u>. Aḥmad ʿAlī also calls her "Najjī" in his <u>Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib</u>. He writes:

گویند شیخ از لولیهای کشمیر که نجی نام داشت و در غایت رعنائی و زیبائی بود دلبستگی تمام داشت[1]

" It is said that the <u>Shaikh</u> had great love for a prostitute of Kashmir having Najjī as her name and who possessed extraordinary beauty."

<u>MUHIBULLAH & FĀNĪ:</u>

Before we take up the serious question of his death, it

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1. Ha<u>sh</u>mi, Aḥmad ʿAlī, <u>Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib</u>, Ms, fol. 273a.

would be interesting to say that he became the Murīd (followers) of Shaikh Muḥibullah of Allah Ābād when he was the judge of that province. But according to Aḥmad ʿAlī's statement, a rift arose between them with the result that Fānī wrote a satire of the said Shaikh:

خرقه درویشی از شیخ محب الله اله آبادی داشت که ثانی شیخ ابن عربی است و او
معاصر مفید بلخی است باهم یار و مصاحب بودند آخر صحبت برهم خورده ملا هجو شیخ نموده [1]

" He got the cloak of 'Darvaishī' from Shaikh Muḥibullah Allah Ābād-ī who is the second Shaikh Ibn-i- ʿArābī, and was contemporary of Mufīd Balkhī (or Balkh). They were friends and companions. At last the companionship broke, Mullā satirized the Shaikh

The reasons of this strain are not known, but it is strange to note that Mullā vented his spleen in a calumny against Muḥib Ullah to whom he once called his Murshid or spiritual guide and praised him in his Masnavi Maṣdar-ul-Āṣār which he wrote in 1067 AH He writes therein:-

آنکه ز اسرار یقین آگه است ؛ قطب زمان شیخ محب الله است
خرقه ازو یافته اهل کمال ؛ چشم بر او دوخته ارباب حال
خرقهٔ او خارق عادت بود ؛ پوششش ارباب سعادت بود
یک نگرش باعث صد وجد و حال ؛ گام نخستین سلوکش کمال
درگه او کعبهٔ هر مقصد است ؛ سنگ در او حجر الاسود است
زیر آن کعبه گر الیست و شاه ؛ شاه و گدا را است همان قبله گاه

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1. Hāshmī, Aḥmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 272 b.

پر نفسش صیقل مرات دل ٭ پر نظرش تیغ تعلق گسل

دیدهٔ من مهر رخ او چو دید ٭ در دل من صبح سعادت دمید

ساخته در یک نظر آن چاره ساز ٭ از دل من محو علوم مجاز

دست عنایت بسر من نهاد ٭ داد بباد آنچه مرا بود یاد

چشم بر آن پای چو سودم ز شوق ٭ گشت عیان در نظرم تحت و فوق

تافت ز هم صحبتی آنجناب ٭ بر رخم از هر طرفی آفتاب

گشت عیان راز نهانی ازو

ملک بقا یافته فانی ازو[1]

It is also pointed out here that Hāshmī has not quoted even a single verse of Fānī in support of his statement.

FĀNĪ & AURANGZAIB:

Fānī retired in the later part of his life and began to enlighten the valley with his knowledge. Doubtless his main business was to impart learning in accordance with the old method of teaching, but this could not blunt his talent of poetry. He could write excellent verses and could rival the poets of India and Irān who

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms, foll. 106a-106b.

had come to India for achieving their goal. In 1073 A.H.(1663 A.D) when Aurangzaib went to Kashmīr for a change of climate, it is stated in the contemporary chronicals that poets of Kashmīr as well as others presented Qaṣīdahs to the Emperor and the best ones were rewarded. Our learned poet was also rewarded two thousand rupees and a robe. Kāẓim writes:

بشیخ محسن کشمیری خلعت و دو هزار روپیه .. انعام شد[1]

" A robe of honour and Rs 2,600 were bestowed upon Muḥsin Fānī Kashmīrī as gratuity."

FĀNĪ'S DEATH:

We are not definite about the actual date of his birth as the records available throw no light on the subject. His death has, however, been chronicled in 1082 A.H.(1671 A.D.). The chronogram is as follows:

رفت فانی بعالم باقی

Putting together the numerical figures, obtainable from the above chronogram, convey the year of Fānī's death. Lodhī has given 1081 A.H.(1670 A.D) the year of Muḥsin Fānī's death. He writes:

رحلت شیخ در سنه یک هزار و هشتاد و یک افتاد[2]

" The death of the Shaikh fell on one thousand and eighty one."

Fānī's grave is reputed to be in Gurgarī Mahallah (old Quṭb-ud-Dīn Pūrah) close to the Khānqāh of Dārā Shikoh Zīnah Kadal, Srīnagar. What is the condition of the grave now we cannot say; nor

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1. Kāẓim ,Muḥammad, ʿĀlamgīr Nāmah. p 833.
2. Lodhī, Sher Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl. p 255.

can we say as to whether or not over his grave stands any monument of marble etc., with lamentations and eulogistic inscriptions. Dr. Sufi who visited his grave does not throw any light on this point.

FĀNĪ'S MARRIAGE AND OTHER ASPECTS OF HIS LIFE:

About Fānī's marriage we cannot say definitely as ro when and with whom he married and how many children he had. But according to A'zam's statement he gave his daughter's hand in marriage to Khawājah Hāshim Tirmzi who came to Kashmīr, attended Fānī's lectures and during the course of study explained a few points. His explanation on the points satisfied the Shaikh and this persuaded him to take Khawājah Hāshim as his son-in-law. A'zam writes in Waqi'at-i-Kashmīr:

خواجه هاشم ترمذی بعد تحصیل علوم در لباس فقرا بادای مناسک حج موفق گشته بعد سفر
مبارک بطریق سیاحت در کشمیر در محله قطب الدین وارد گشته شیخ مانی را دیده
که در آن وقت در خانقاه درس تدریس میگفت، خواجه داخل حلقهٔ درس شده در میان
نکات و لطائف معانی بیان فرمود شیخ ازو راضی شد و بدامادی قبول کرد [1]

" Khawājah Hāshim Tirmzī after having completed his education went to the pilgrimage in the guise of a 'Darvaish'. After this sacred journey he by way of excursion came to Kashmīr and entered mahallah Qutbud- Dīn Pūrah. He saw Shaikh Fānī, who at that time was teaching. Khawājah entered the circle of his pupils and during the course of teaching explained a few points. Shaikh was satisfied

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 270.

and accepted him as his son-in-law."

FĀNĪ'S PUPILS:

Fānī's main business after his retirement from public life was to teach the boys of the valley. The seekers of knowledge used to gather round him and he used to coach them. The number of his pupils, therefore, cannot be estimated. Two of his pupils are the most famous figures in the history of Persian literature. No one can neglect their names while writing the Literary history of Persian poetry in Kashmīr. One of them is Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ghanī, who is the beloved poet of Iqbāl. The second is Hājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim. Ghanī's brother Muḥammad Zamān Nāfiʿ was also his pupil but about him we have not been able to collect all the required particulars. Ghanī and Salīm compiled a 'Dīvān'. About these two poets we will write in detail and will comment on their poetry in the following pages. Ghanī will be given room in this chapter while Salīm in the next.

FĀNĪ'S WORKS:

Following are the works of Shaikh Muḥsin Fānī.

1. DĪVĀN-I-FĀNĪ:

It contains 'Ghazals' in alphabetical order and Rubā'īs (Quatrains). It begins:

اگرچه آتش عشق تو زنده ساخت مرا ؛ چو شمع سوخت درون و برون گداخت مرا

Rubā'īs (Quatrains) begin thus:

عالم همه ذات حق تعالی باشد ؛ این عالم همه عالم بالا باشد

II. MAṢDAR-UL-ĀṢĀR:

This Maṡnavī was written by him in imitation of Niẓāmī's Makhzan-ul-Asrār He composed it in 1067 A.H. (1656-57 A.D.) It is dedicated to Shāhjahān. It contains a prose preface which begins:

سپاس بیقیاس و ستائش قدسی اساس تحفه الیست لائق بجناب حضرت احدیت

III. DABISTĀN-I-MAẔĀHIB:

It is a famous work on the religions and philosophical creeds of Asiā. It consists of 12 main sections called Ta'līm (تعلیم). It begins thus:

ای نام تو سر دفتر اطفال دبستان ÷ یاد تو ببالغ فردان شمع شبستان

The identity of the author regarding this book is a matter of controversy. About these works of Fānī we will write in detail in the following pages.

These are the works of Muḥsin Fānī on which his immortality is based. The first two works of his are the reflection of his poetical talent, while the third is in prose which shows his meditativeness on religious matters. As the main theme of this thesis is to discuss in detail the poetic works of a poet so we shall be brief with regard to the Dabistān-i-Maẕāhib. Moreover, it would be better to deal with this book first as its authorship is a matter of controversy. Dr. Ṣūfī whose research about Kashmīr is evident from his Kāshir, has given sufficient space to this topic. He has fully discussed this point and he is in full agreement with the views of Pīr Ḥasan Shāh an historian of Kashmīr, who attributes the authorship of Dabistān to Muḥsin Fānī.

We think it sufficient to quote here Kāshir in which Dr. Ṣūfī has discussed in detail about the authority etc.

THE DABISTĀN AND ITS UNSETTLED AUTHORSHIP

It is a famous work on the religious and philosophical creeds of Asia. It consists of twelve main sections called Ta'līm. These are as follows:

1. Parsis.
2. Hindūs, including sikhs.
3. Qara Tibbatis.
4. Jews.
5. Christians.
6. Muslims.
7. Ṣādiqīs.
8. Vāḥidīs.
9. Raushanā'īs.
10. Ilāhīs.
11. Philosophers and
12. Ṣūfīs.

One, however, misses a detailed account of Budhism in the Dabistān. The short chapter on Budhism is rather a description of Jainism, the rival creed in early times to that of Buddha. Perhaps Buddhism was almost extinct in India at the time of the author of Dabistān, while Jainism is still to be found. The belief and customs of ancient Egypt are also omitted.

In the Dabistān which opens with the line

ای نام تو سرِ دفتر اطفال دبستان ؛ یاد تو به بالغ خردان شمع شبستان

Important information concerning the religious of different times and countries has been collected. The author's accounts are

generally 'clear' explicit and derving confidence. They agree on the most material points with those of other accredited authors. The author of Dabistān enlivens his text by citing interesting quotations from the works of famous poets and philosophers, and by frequent references to books which deserve to be known. The whole work is interspersed with anecdotes and sayings, characteristic of individuals and sects which existed in his times. To what he relates from other sources, he frequently adds reflections of his own; which evince a sagacious and enlightened mind. Thus he exhibits in himself an interesting example of Eastern erudition and philosophy. The author most commonly leans to the side of progressive reforms. The 'Dabistān' touches upon most difficult points of science and erudition and comprises in its allusions references practically to the whole of history of Asia.[1]

Now about the identity of the author. The controversy was started by Sir William Jones. He was probably the first publicly to attribute the authorship of 'Dabistān' to Mullā Muḥsin Fānī. In his sixth anniversary discourse before the Bengāl Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones said:

> " This rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions entitled the Dabistan and composed by a Muhammadan traveller, a native of Cashmir, named Mohsan, but distinguished by the assumed surname Fani, or 'perishable' begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hushang."

The date of Sir William's discourse was February 19, 1789.

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1. Introduction to the 'Dabistan', translated into English by D.Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, Vol.I, part II, pp CLXXIX-

But Captain Vans Kennedy, in his preliminary remarks in his paper on "Notice respecting the religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar," said that Sir William Jones was wrong in attributing the authorship of the Dabistān to Muḥsin. Kennedy was followed by William Erskine. Erskine based his authority on the Gul-i-Ra'nā or 'the charming rose', by Lachhmi Nārā'in who flourished at Ḥydarābād, Deccan, at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. William Erskine said that Lachhmi Nārā'yen, who had written a short notice of Muḥsin Fānī did not mention the 'Dabistān' as a production of Muḥsin Fānī. It would appear, therefore, that Erskine's contention is:

> Since Lachhmi Nārāyen does not mention it, we should conclude that Muḥsin Fānī never wrote the 'Dabistān'.

The late Sir J.J.Modi[1] wrote:-

> The fact is that as Troyer (The translator of the Dabistān) says that the name of Muḥsin Fānī is found in more than one copy of the Dabistān, after the usual address to God in the beginning, in a passage beginning with the words" Muḥsin Fānī says." Dastūr Mullā Fīroz thought that that is the name of a writer, with a quotation from whom the author began his work. So, this writer viz., Fānī quoted as an authority, by the author has been mistaken for the author himself."

Sir J.J. Modi then himself adds.

> "Troyer, about 25 years after the discussion, thought that the question was still undecided, but we think

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1. A glimpse into the work of B.B.R.A. Society, Bombay, 1905, pp. 127-128.

that Mullā Fīroz's explanation, approved of by the Erskine, seems to be correct."

Stange enough, in his article, "Kashmīr and Ancient Persians Modi himself calls "Muḥsin Fānī a native of Kashmīr" as "The author of Dabistān[1]" But in his paper read before the sixth Oriental Conference, held at Patnah in December, 1930, Sir, J.J. Modi said that the author of the 'Dabistān' is Āẓar Kaivān. This however, cannot be reconciled to the passage wherein the author of the Dabistān refers to the poem of Āẓar Kaivān, the apostle of the Sipasis, Vol I, page 76 of Shea's translation.

Riew is another scholar who disbelieves in Fānī's authorships of the Dabistān. In his British Museum catalogue published during 1879-1883, in the course of his note, in vol. 1, p 141., on the Dabistān, Riew says:

> "His (the un-named author) glowing account of the Sipasis a sect of the Pārsī or the Irānian religion to whom he gives the first largest place, stands in marked contrast to his description of Islāmism which is that of a well-informed outsider, and not of a born and bred Muslim"

In brief Riew seems to be of the opinion that Muḥsin Fānī could not be the author of the Dabistān, and a certain Mubad may have been its probable author. Riew, however, does not appear to be definte about the exact authorship of the Dabistān.

Ethe, in his India Office Catalogue, published in 1903, has merely followed Riew. But E. Blochet, who published his catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris in 1905, puts down Muḥsin Fānī as the author of Dabistān, but considers him to have belonged to the Sipasi or the Aḥadī sect.

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1. J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. xix, p 248

Blochet further adds that the author was instructed by a disciple of the celebrated Āẕar Kaiwān, named Mūbad Hūshiyār. But Blochet is unfortunately wrong in thinking that Muḥsin Fānī was born at Patnah, vide his catalogue, pages 241-242, Tome No: 1-720 Premier.

H. Beveridge (J.R.A.S., 1908, p 165) accepts Mūbad Shāh instead of Rieu's Mūbad, but apparently rejects his non-Muslim origin. Beveridge considers the author's name to be Ẕulqadar Khān, having the pen name of Mūbad. The basis of Beveridge's statement is Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the Maāṣir-ul-Umrā, who calls the author of the Dabistān Ẕulfaqār Ardistānī. Nothing here, too, can be considered quite definite.

Waldmir Ivanow who compiled the concise Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, published in 1924, says (page 544)

> " The author's name and the date of composition are even at present not yet precisely known although they have often been discussed by various scholars. In the present copy, in the colophon, the author is called Ẕulfaqār Beg, with the Takhallus Muwayyad (or Mūbad ?)"

Beal[1] says that " Mūbad Shāh was a Guebre" who " turned Muselmān and wrote a history of the religions in the time of the Emperor Akbar entitled the Dabistān. The intention of the author appears to have been to furnish to Akbar a pretended historical basis of the religion which this Emperor had invented and which he was desirous of introducing. For this reason, the author commences with a very long chapter on the religion of the Mahabadians which is a

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1. Thomas William Beal's An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 256.

mere web of incoherent fables. Sir William Jones first mentioned the Dabistān. Gladwin published its first chapter in the New Asiatic Miscellany together with an English translation. Leyden in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches translated the chapter on Illuminate, and the text of the whole ~~of~~ work was published at Calcutta in 1809. The Oriental Translation Society also published the whole in English. M. Walter Dunne, publisher, Washington and London, reprinted the English translation of the Dabistān by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, in December, 1901, with a special introduction by A.V. William Jackson, professor of Indo-Iranian language in Columbia University, New York, U.S.A. David Shea began the translation which he left incomplete and the last half was faithfully finished by Anthony Troyer. The translation was published in 1843. Professor Jackson is his "Special Introduction" calls the author "Mohsan Fani of Iranian extraction." and says that " School of Religious Doctrines or Institutes" would be a hapier designation.

To revert to Riew's remarks. To him, the tone of the Dabistān shows that the author was not a born and bred Muslim. But Riew seems to forget that a renegade is, very often, the most relentless critic of his old faith. Still Fānī, if it is Fani, cannot completely supress himself. Does not the author of the Dabistān invoke heavenly blessings for خلفای راشدین و دعوات ائمهٔ دین though obviously he does not refer to the four caliphs and the Imāms. At the same time, the chapter on Islām is rather long and "Technical" The fact, however remains that Muhsin Fāni on account of his profound philosophical studies, his extensive travels, his intercourse with men of all sorts of religious denominations as well as his correspondence with Guru Hargovind, and, above all, his unusual tolerence

did incur the wrath of the 'Ulmā of his age who declared Muhsin Murtadd, or an apostate. This was the age of Akbar, Abul Fazl and Faizī. We must not also omit to mention the influence of the scholarly Dārā Shikoh the most learned child of Shāh Jahān, and the author of several notable works including the Persian translation of Upanishad, of the Bhagvat Gītā, the Yog-Vacista and the Rāmāyana. Free thinking was encouraged, and it paid. However, under the influence of Miyān Muhammad Amīn Dār, a scholar and saint of the day, burried in Kūcha Āshā'ī, Fateh Kadal Srīnagar, Muhsin Fānī is said to have "repented of his sin" Most of the historians of Kashmīr including Khawājah A'zam, a contemporary of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, and Pīr Hasan Shāh have noted this. I shall quote the relevent extract from the Tārīkh-i-Hasan which is a Ms. at the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar. On its folio 250, it is clearly stated that the book 'Dabistān-i-Mazāhib' was written by Muhsin Fānī. Before we persue the extract, we must remember that it was probably Kashmīr's close contact with Tibbat that led Muhsin to include the creed of the Tibetans in his Dabistān. Kashmīr is mentioned a number of times in the Dabistān. There is a reference to the verses of 'Alī-i-Sānī Amīr-i-Kabīr Mīr Sayyid 'Alī of Hamdān whom we have been calling Shāh Hamdān in Kāshīr.

ملا محسن فانی ..... بعد تحصیل کمالاتِ علوم عقلی و نقلی اطراف و اکنافِ هندوستان را
سیاحت نمود و نیک و بد زمانه بسیار آزمود و با هر ملت آشنائی کرده تحقیقات
حالات مذاهب و ملل بخوبی ساخته کتاب دبستان مذاهب تصنیف فرمود......
می آرند که در اوائل بمذهب آزاد بود و با هر ملت صلح کل میداشت و مذهب

حکما را وثوق میداد - اما در آخر عمر بخدمت حضرت میان میر این دار مشرف شده
و دست انابت بدامنِ عاطفتِ ایشان زده، از خیالات باطل درگذشت
و عقیده کامل بهم رسانید و به علوم معنوی و تعلیم و تلقین آنجناب بهره‌مند گشت
آنگاه تا حین حیات در گریه و زاری و توبه و استغفار اوقات بسر میبرد ۱

This evidence is given for what it is worth, but it may be that the final word on this controversy has not yet been uttered."

From this lengthy quotation from Kashīr it is crystal clear that Dr. Ṣūfī is of the opinon that the author of the Dab-istān-i-Mazāhib or 'the school of sects' was none else but Muḥammad Muḥsin Fānī an erudite philospher and poet of Kashmīr, though he writes that "the final word on this controversy has not yet been uttered."

Before we stop discussion on this subject, we deem it essential on our part to refer Dr. Browne, who has, in the first volume of his"Literary History of Persia" has quoted the wording of Sir William Jones about Dabistān-i-Mazāhib but has refrained from commenting on the author ship of the said book. His silence on the point leads to the conjecture that he had no reason to refute it.

Moreover, Sir William Jones is more near to the age of Muḥsin Fānī than the others who have raised objections without any reasonable ground.

In the end we also take the liberty of quoting a few verses of Fānī from his Masnavi Masdar-ul-Āsār which also throw light on the subject.

رفته فرو در مذاهب تمام ∴ سر بدر آورده ز فقه و کلام

This verse slightly touches the subject under discussion and gives a hint that the Dabistān was written by Fānī.

MANUSCRIPTS OF DABISTĀN:

Manuscripts of the Dabistān-i-Mazāhib or 'school of sects' are available in the big libraries of East and west. In India, the Library at Bānkīpūr (Patnah) preserves its manuscript which is in ordinary Nasta'līq and was copied in 1222 A.H. (1808A.D. The description of this manuscript given by Maulvī 'Abdul Muqtadir is as follows.

" Foll. 279, lines 17, size 12½ x 7½; 8 x 4½ "[2]

In British Museum, there are two copies of this manuscript one of the two, which contains Add. 16,670 as its call number is "written in cursive Shikastah Āmīz and dated A.H. 1206 (A.D. 1792)"[3] The second copy containing Add. 25,849 as its call number has 159 folios 12 inch by 8inch, 21 lines 4½ inch long, written in neat Shikastah Āmīz, dated Sūrat October 1812 A.H.1227

In the Library of India Office, we find six copies of Dabistan-i-Mazahib. The manuscript containing No: 2542 is a good copy

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1 Fani, Muhsin, Mulla, Khazan-ul-Asrar, Ms, fol 195b

2. 'Abdul Muqtadar, Maulvī, Bānkīpūr Catalogues, Vol. XVi, pp138-9

3. Riew, Charles, Catalogue of Ms in the British Museum, Vol.I, p141

of this work, which contains an index on the fly leaves. Unfortunately it is undated. A special feature of this copy is that the orignal Sanskrit forms of many technical terms are added on the margin. Its description given by Ethes is as follows.

" foll 431, lines 15, Nast alik, illuminated front piece, a few of the last leaves slightly injured, size 10 7/8 inch by 5 3/8 inch."[1]

Besides these big libraries there is a manuscript of this book in the Cambridge University Library also.

ITS PUBLICATION:

This book which gives an account of the different religions and sects of the East was also published in Calcutta A.H. 1224 (A.D 1810) Tehrān 1266 A.H. (1851 A.D.) and in Bombay in A.H. 1264 (1849 A.D), A.H. 1274 (1859 A.D.), A.H. 1277 (1862 A.D.) and in A.H. 1279 (1864 A.D.)[2]

The popularity of this book is evident from the fact that it was translated in English, German etc.

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1. Ethe, Hermann, Catalogue of Ms. In India Office Library p 1368.

2. 'Abdul Muqtadir, Maulvi, Bānkipūr Catalogue, Vol. XVI. P. 139.

MUHSIN IN THE EYS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES:

Before we proceed with the criticism on his poetry it seems necessary to quote the opinions of the critics and men of literary taste especially those who were contemporary to him and also his own views about himself and his literary out come.

The contemporary men of letters, namely, Ṭāhir Naṣr Ābādī and Shair Khān Lodhī, who wrote 'Tazkirahs' have made but very little comment on his poetry. Ṭāhir says that he was of good disposition.[1] Lodhī, commenting on a Qaṣīdah which Muhsin wrote in praise of Shāh Jahān writes:-

این چند بیت از قصیدهٔ وی که در مدح شاه جهان بادشاه گفته خالی از لطفی نیست

اکثر الفاظ هندی در آن درج نموده و بطریقی آورده که زیبنده و خوشنما است[2]

" These are a few couplets from his Qaṣīdah which he wrote in praise of the Emperor Shāhjahān. It is not without elegance. He has frequently used words of Hindī, but in such a way that they are decorative and look beautiful."

Among the historians, Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Kanboh, the author of ʿAmal-i-Ṣāliḥ showers praises on him and his poetry, which shows that Muhsin had found favour in his eyes. Kanboh writes:

جلوه سنج حسن کلام است و مانند بهار در کشمیر صاحب مقام. شاهدان معانی را باحسن وجوه

بر صفحهٔ بیان جلوه می دهد و سر انگشت قلمش عقده از سر رشتهٔ معانی به نیکو ترین وصفی

می گشاید. فکرش آرائش ده دیوان سخن است و کلکش چهره آرای بتان معنی

1. Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, Badīʿ-uz-Zamān, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p. 477.

2. Lodhī, Shair Khān , Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p 256.

فیض اندوز کمالات طبیعی و الٰهی بوده اوج گرای جمیع علوم است و شاعری
دون مرتبهٔ آن والا فطرت است و سخنوری کهین پایهٔ آن مهین سردار
خطهٔ فکرت است. چون بعض اوقات بفکر شعری پردازد و طرهٔ اشعار
را بشانهٔ قلم می طرازد لاجرم نام آن عالی مرتبت در جرگهٔ شاعران بقلم آورده.
از دیوانش این ابیات که دیوان دستور سخن اند درین دفتر ایراد نموده می آید[1]

" He is the examiner of the splendour of the beauty of speech and like the spring has a rank in Kashmīr. He excellently shows the beloveds of meaning on the paper of eloquence. The finger of his pen opens the knot of the thread of meaning in the most appropriate way. His thought is the decorator of the 'Dīvān' of poetry. His reed pen is the adorner of the face of the idol of subject. Being a collector of profits of metaphysical and spiritual sciences he is inclined to climb the summit of all the sciences. The poetry is below the dignity of that high-minded and eloquency is of low degree to that high cheiftain of the territory of thought. As, he, sometimes keeps himself busy in writing verses and decorates the crest of verses by the comb of pen, undoubtedly, the name of that man of high dignity has been written in the circle of the poets. These verses are being reproduced here from his 'Dīvān' which is the book model of poetry."

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1. Kamboh, Ṣāliḥ. Muḥammad, 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III, p 426.

FĀNĪ........A SWAGGERER:

Self praise ~~or~~ self- laudation is in the nature of man. No doubt beautiful words serve as a smoke-screen but that is of a very short duration. Time always gives away the show. What ever the reasons behind it, we always find people swanking. Fānī, like his fellow poets, is also a swaggerer, and so it is not good to repro--ach him. Fānī praises himself as a man, as a poet and as a reli-gious person. He also praises his poetry. How far that praise is true, we do not know but here are a few verses to show his "self-flattery."

واعظ مگیر کار من از روی میل تنگ ÷ کاری بود شکنجهٔ عقل و هنر مرا
توان بلوح مزارم نوشتن این مصرع ÷ که خاکساری من کرد بوتراب مرا
چون خود نیافتم به جهان صاف طبعی ÷ باشد بشیوهٔ آئینه کردن سفر مرا
چگونه نزدم زند آئینه پیش ما فانی ÷ که هست بر همه روشن صفای جوهر ما
علم گشتم در عالم همچو تیغ از جوهر ذاتی ÷ لباسی به زعریانی نمی زیبد تن ما را
ز بس اشعار نغز من اصلاحی نمی خواهد ÷ نباشد احتیاج باغبان گلهای خودرو را
ز نور ماست روشن در جهان هنگامهٔ معنی ÷ توان دادن لقب در بزم شمع انجمن ما را
دل ما مخزن اسرار عرفانست ای فانی ÷ کلیدی کو که بگشاید در گنجینهٔ ما را
هر که صحبت از اهل دین گردد ز دنیا گوشه گیر ÷ من هم از عالم گرفتم گوشهٔ کشمیر را

The above quoted verses are a few from many which he said in his own praise. To quote some verses in praise of his poetry and 'Dīvān' would not be out of place.

شهرت دیوان مانی در جهان بیهوده نیست ÷ مصحف روی بتان هم حاجت تفسیر داشت [1]

At an other place he expresses the same idea.

نسخهٔ دیوان ما تا یافت شهرت در جهان ÷ مصحف حسن بتان مستغنی از تفسیر شد [2]

از سخن در باغ دل روزی که آیین بسته ایم ÷ دسته‌های گل ز معنی های رنگین بسته ایم [3]

The above verses have been quoted from his 'Dīvān'. The following verses belong to his Masnavī Masdar-ul-Āsār, in which he praises it.

نسخهٔ اعجاز مسیحاست این ÷ داروی بیمار دلهاست این

نقش از پردهٔ چشم منست ÷ معنی این نسخه از آن روشن است

. . . .

بسکه بود معنی او دلنشین ÷ کرده بدل جای چو خلد برین

هر ورقش غنچهٔ باغ دلست ÷ هر سخنش نور چراغ دلست

. . . .

آمده از عرش فرود این کتاب ÷ گشته دعای قلم مستجاب

مصدر الآثار ز بس نام اوست ÷ یک اثر از صورت اتمام اوست

ماند ز من نسخهٔ بس یادگار ÷ یک از این نامه شدم نامدار [4]

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4. Fānī. Muhsin, Mullā, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms, foll. 144a- 145a.

1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 23b.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 52a.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 85b.

FĀNĪ.......A GHAZAL WRITER:

Love poetry is a highly emotive product of mind. It is a compound of music and suggestion. 'Ghazal' changes its external appearance and grandeur but very little. By the passage of time, the ideas expressed in it change . Amplifying it we would say that it is so much bound by its social situation, its rhymic values and its poetic symbols that it is difficult to feel any change in it, though it exists.

Love is the main theme of 'Ghazal'. Fani has made it a point. He therefore, thinks of the old themes of love, wine and the beauty of the beloved. Women, wine and the things attached to them have not been suppressed by theology and his odes in praise of them give expression to the poets emotion. In other words we may emphasise that according to Fānī's point of view, 'Ghazal' is nothing but an expression of the feelings and emotions of love and praise of beauty. Love affairs are the main themes of the Odes (Ghazals). What sort of colours it applies to the portrait of life is not a matter of controversy and hence no body can refuse the importance of this topic. Both modern and classical poets have considered it essential ingredient of 'Ghazal'. In our opinion its expression should not be traditional and conventional. It should be orignal. It may be moulded afresh, so that the 'Ghazal' should display a new form and colouring. The verses should reveal the actions of the real world of the poets imagination. Fānī's genius does not produce orignal ideas. We fail to find particular mental vexation and heart melting. Those particular hints and allusions which have peculiar effects on reader's heart. On the contrary, one is bored

with the frivolity and the internal assonances of the verses, the rigid and homogenous conventionality. Here we take the liberty of quoting a few '<u>Gh</u>azals' of Fānī to serve as examples:

تا کرده دل ز لعل تو دشنام انتخاب ؛ جام شراب تلخ کند کام انتخاب
ساقی بدور نرگس مست تو کرده ایم ؛ دور قدح ز گردش ایام انتخاب
من بو الهوس نیم که بی کام دل کنم ؛ حرف الله وصل ز پیغام انتخاب
کردند روز قسمت اسیران قید عشق ؛ از بخت تیره زلف سیاه فام انتخاب
بیمار چشم یار کند بهر ضعف دل ؛ از بهر علاج روغن بادام انتخاب
از عاشقان مرا سر زلفت اسیر کرد ؛ با آنکه صید را نکند دام انتخاب
فانی گزید داغ دل از بهر رونما
چون جم که کرده آئینهٔ جام انتخاب[1]

از تیغ خط نگشتن من اضطراب چیست ؛ خواهد دمید سبزه ز حالم شتاب چیست
در بزم باده شسته نشیتم منتظر ؛ بیگانه نیست هیچ کس ای حجاب چیست
روزی که عکس زلف سیاهت فتد در آب ؛ روشن شود که سرمه ز چشم حباب چیست
جام جهان نمای دلم گر کند ظهور ؛ روشن شود که آئینهٔ آفتاب چیست
گر شاهد سخن نبود در مقام ناز ؛ از زلف لفظ بر رخ معنی نقاب چیست
جای که تیغ دوست دم از دشمنی زند
فانی بغیر ترک سر از ما جواب چیست[2]

بزم ما و تو جام و شراب مطلوب است ؛ نزول آیت رفع حجاب مطلوب است
ز سر مژه که بچشم کشید بخت سیاه ؛ مرا خیال خط او ز خواب مطلوب است

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1. Fānī. Muhsin, Mullā, <u>Dīvān-i-Fānī</u>, Ms, fol. 19b & 20a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 30b.

به بخت تیره ما مهر یاری باید ÷ چو روز ابر بود آفتاب مطلوب است

خیال خط تو خاطر بچشم تر نکنند ÷ که خضر را ز سر چشمهٔ آب مطلوب است

نشد ز سرمهٔ آن زلف چشم ما روشن ÷ که دیدن رخ او بی نقاب مطلوب است

ز حرف تلخ تو گویا نشد زبان سوال ÷ مرا که زان لب شیرین جواب مطلوب است[1]

ز صفحهٔ دل مانی یافتم فسانهٔ

حقیقتی که ترا از کتاب مطلوب است[1]

امشب از صهبای لب آن نازنین گردیده تر ÷ از شراب آخر سلیمان را نگین گردیده تر

بسکه او نزدیک من هرگز نمی آید مرا ÷ در فراق او ز گریه چشم دوربین گردیده تر

بسکه اشنا مذند بر ما آستین از زهد خشک ÷ آخر از بی دامن این اهل دین گردیده تر

آنکه با والس که در راه طلب ز دفتر ÷ شهسوار ابرا درین ره راه دین گردیده تر

در غم آن پاک دامن از هجوم آب چشم ÷ زاهدان خشک دامن آستین گردیده تر

در دیار سرخ رویی گشت چون آتش علم

تا ترا از خون مانی تیغ کین گردیده تر[2]

A study of these '<u>Ghazals</u>' indicate that they are conventional and the poet has not deflected himself from the traditional track. The aspects of traditional love-affairs are apparent. Here a few

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1. Mānī, Muhsin, Mullā, *Dīvān-i-Mānī.* Ms, fol. 35b.

2. Ibid, ms, fol. 73a.

verses, selected from his 'Dīvān' are quoted which will help to clear our point.

۱- فانی ز تشنه لب او رفته ام ز هوش ÷ آن بچهٔ کجاست که گیرد خبر مرا

2- من بیاد آن دهن گر گم کنم راه عدم ÷ خضر ره نبود کسی جز خطاب فانی مرا

3- ز شام زلف تو ره یافتم بصبح رخت ÷ ببین چگونه در آتش فکنده دود مرا

4- از بار فرقت او خم گشت قد فانی ÷ جز تیر آه لائق نبود کمان او را

5- سیاه روزم و از من نظر دریغ مدار ÷ بچشم خویش مکش سرمهٔ تغافلها

6- بیاد مهر رخسارت دعای صبح می خواند ÷ کسی که در شب زلفت بود سرگرم یاربها

7- فانی لب تشنه را در عالم ناز و نیاز ÷ خوشتر از آب بقا دشنام لطف آمیز است

8- لالهٔ روی ترا هر روز آب دیگر است ÷ نرگس چشم ترا هر لحظه خواب دیگر است

۹- جلوهٔ قد تو در چشم تر ما زیبا است ÷ مصرع سرو سهی بر آب جو موزون تر است

۱۰- دریا بموج حسنت اگر آشنا شود ÷ چشم حباب چشمهٔ آب بقا شود

۱۱- از یاد آن دهن دل فانی حیات یافت ÷ چشمش نظر بچشمهٔ آب بقا نکرد

۱۲- فانی از لعل تو یک حرف شنید و جان داد
زنده می گشت گر این حرف مکرر می شد

Grandeur of '<u>Ghazal</u>' does not lie in the expression of some particular love affairs only. There must be an expression of various sentiments and different emotions and those aspects of

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1. Fani. Muhsin, Mulla, <u>Divan-i-Fani</u>, Ms, fol. 3b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 4a. 3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 4b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 5a. 5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 8a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 9b. 7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 29a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 36b. 9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 39a.
10. Ibid, Ms, fol. 48b. 11. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58 a.
12. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58b.

love should not be neglected which have found a way in the heart of the lover by the passages of time. Depth of vision, felicity of language , beauty of imagery, subtle exposition of delicate ideas and to crown all simple and direct style coupled with sincerity of feelings make the Ghazal attain sublimity. Touches of artificiality and floweriness of diction does not make palatable. A study of Fānī's poetry reveals that he is not a great lyricist, but occassio-nal excellence of his verses cannot be questioned.

It is an open secret that 'Ghazal' has not confined itself to the themes of love and beauty. It has come out of this confinement and we find that it contains ethical, philosophical and mystical aspects. Ghazal has tried to solve these propositions in a laudable manner, and in return has received amplitude and speciousness. Traditional aspects of love, as has already been stated are apparent in Fānī's 'Dīvān', but at places mystical and ethical subjects have also been dealt with in 'Ghazals'. In Fāni 's 'Dīvān', no doubt, there are good verses relating to mystical and ethical subjects, but these are not the out come of ecstasy, they are the result of his constant practice and study. A few verses, say a dozen, are being quoted here to show the quality of his mystical poetey.

1. One who knows his self, knows God.

دیدن بچشم دل همه عالم چه مشکل است ⁝ آئینهٔ که داشت سکندر همین دل است

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī., Ms, fol. 42b.

To view the whole world by the minds clear light

Is not so hard, the magic mirror where,

Sikandar saw all happenings far and near,

Was only this, the spirit crystal sight.

This is an explanation of: من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

The following verses also beautifully explain this.

یک نفس غافل مشو از حالِ خود فانی چو ما ؛ هر که با خود آشنا شد از خدا بیگانه نیست [1]

Similarly:

هر که احوالِ دل خویشتن کماهی دانسته است ؛ سینه را مخزن اسرار الهی دانسته است [2]

2. It is very difficult to resign the worldly affairs. A man tries to keep his attachment with the world and its attractions and also endeavours to attain spiritual advancement. Fani beautifully expresses this idea in the verse quoted below.

فانی سلوکِ راه چه پرگاری کنم ؛ یک پای ما بگردش و یک پای ما بگل است [3]

Fani, thy heavenward march is but gyration,

Like what the compass on the paper draws;

For one foot moves, the other keeps its station.

It is pointed out here that English translation of the verses has been quoted from Kashir. We have quoted English translation of the verses here to show that to translate Persian verses into any alien language, and that too in verse form makes it a most difficult task. An accurate reproduction of the atmosphere, the

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1. Fani, Muhsin, Mulla, Divan-i-Fani, Ms, fol. 39b

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 35b.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 43a.

sense, spirit and the tone of the orignal, requires not only a thorough knowledge of the two language, but a mature literary taste also: the task is not simply mechanical. The translator must feel like the poet himself, otherwise his product will not only evoke no corresponding feeling, but will also be devoid of the grace and beauty of the orignal. The western mind is almost a total stranger to our poetic symbols, therefore, we shall not try to translate the verses in the following pages.

Here are again verses regarding Fānī's mystical poetry.

3. Isolation from the world is a most difficult task.

کلبه فقری بنا کردم چو مانی در جهان ؛ میکنم از خون دل هر لحظه اش تعمیر ها [1]

4. It is useless to b.ow before others except God.

باد چراغ خانهٔ دل یاد ما سوا است ؛ جز ذکر دوست هر چه کنی فکر باطل است [2]

5. This worldly life is a hinderence in the association of God.

بند نقاب هستی خویش وا کنم ؛ کین پرده در میان من و دوست حائل است [3]

6. One who wants to save oneself from the dangers of this world, should make contentment a point.

از خطرها هر که خواهد در جهان گیرد نجات ؛ بایدش اول قدم در راه استغنا نهاد [4]

تخت نشین فقر را نیست به تاج احتیاج ؛ هر که خرابه گرد شد ظل هما چه می کند [5]

دل را سیاه از خط و خال کسی مکن ؛ خود دلبری نظر به جمال کسی مکن [6]

از تیغ لای نفی توان قتل عام کرد ؛ از خود بترس و رحم بحال کسی مکن [7]

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 10b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 42b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 42b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 88a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 66a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 92b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58a.

Mystical and Ethical subjects are the part and parcel of Persian poetry. In the preceeding pages we have quoted a few verses from Fānī's 'Dīvān' which deal with mystical propositions. So far as Fāni's ethical poetry is concerned, though it is sterotyped, yet there is a freshness in the presentation of those ideas. There is a charm and freshness in the presentation of easily assimilated wisdom that is palatable to those who have a little taste in Persian poetry. Here we shall quote a few verses from his Dīvān but like the previous instances we shall not translate the verses.

1. چرا اشک تر نگردد دل کس بوقت مرگ :: آمد بکار عاقبت این چشم تر مرا

It is our every day experience that in this world no body helps the man in trouble. In heydays all pose as friends...rather most sincere friends, and no one imagines that in the days of trouble or at the time of difficulty, they will leave this friend of theirs in the whirl-pool of vicissitudes. This happens and at the time of need the viciousness of those worldly friends comes to light. It is, therefore, necessary that we should not be proud of our heydays. Fānī is, therefore, right in saying:

2. چون گل مشو فریفتهٔ رنگ و بوی خویش :: چون غنچه بسته دار لب از گفتگوی خویش

Because no body helps his so called friends, and it is God Almighty who fullfils the desires of human beings. We should, therefore, have trust in Him (God).

3. گشاده کار تو فانی نمی شود از خلق :: امیدوار ز درگاه حق تعالی باش

It is of no use to go to others and seek help. We should be content and should not pocket insult for any thing, however precious , least of all for crumbs:

1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mulla. Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 3b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 75b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 75 b.

4. برای لقمهٔ چرب آبرو چو شمع مریز ؛ بنان سوخته داغ دل قناعت کن [1]

We will get what our fortune has in store for us. None has the power to add anything to that which we have in our lot; so one should be content, and not hanker after evil pursuits, nor depend on help from others.

5. در راه چو قلم مدد از دیگری مجو ؛ پروانه هیچو نامه ببال کسی مکن [2]

Moreover, every body finds fault with others, but pays no heed to his own bad habits, misdeeds and irregularities. He is a critic of others, but not of himself. This, too, is a bad thing. He should first search his own heart and like an honest man judge and calculate his own good deeds. If his sheet of good deeds is blank and knowing it fully well that his misdeeds and irregularites are in abundance, he has no right to criticise others. He must abandone this bad habit.

6. تا در آئینه تماشای رخ خود نکنی ؛ قدر صاحب دلان هیچ نخواهی دانست [3]

Fānī, in the following vers, re-iterates his idea that the worldly friends are not friends in deed. Sweetness of these friends is not without bitterness.

7. نوش ابنای زمان فانی بغیر نیش نیست ؛ مردم کج خلق باهم کار کژدم می کنند [4]

It is of no use to quote scores of examples, as the above quoted examples can easily serve the purpose. A study of the verses indicates that Fānī re-iterates what had already been said by the poets preceeding his age. He in his own words advises his fellow beings that no one in this world is sincere to anybody. Everything

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 92a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 92b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 36a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 70a.

is perishable. One should not seek help from his fellow beings, and one should be content with what he possess.

Both his mystical and ethical ideas indicate that life is not worth living. What he displays is the negative side of the picture He has paid but little attention to understand life. He does not preach what this life means, and what is the purpose of life. He names the goal, but the way proposed by him is not the proper one.

These verses from the psychological point of view mar the spirit and enthusiasm for work and all endeavours for making life worth living. Such ideas come into the minds of men who have witnessed a catastrophy. At that time people loose the power of thinking and understanding, being bewildered by the un-precedented circumstances. But on the contrary when condition in the country is quite normal and the people are properous, enjoying quite a normal life, such verses seem to be a mere copy. The poet himself enjoyed a good part of his life in prosperity. But, perhaps due to ups and downs of life, which he saw, he was convinced that life in this perishable world was not worth living, so he gave vent to such ideas which in no way help a man to achieve his goal and understand the main idea of this worldly life, but on the other hand put hinderences in a man's avenues of endeavour and deflect him, and lead him to the path of dejection and disgust.

Fānī is no doubt simple in the expression of conventional ideas, and we do not find that floweriness of diction which is visible in his pupil Salim, nor there are figures of thought and words in abudance in his poetry which were appreciated by some poets or men of literary taste of the then sub-continent, but even then an overwhelming majority of his lyrics or odes (Ghazals) does

not derive our attention. Most of the verses of his '<u>Gh</u>azals' do not vibrate our pulses because they are void of that pathos which is an essential ingredient of this form of poetry. There are some verses of a few odes written by him in shorter metres, which have some effects on reader's mind. This, however, shows that Fānī could write verses in the shorter metres which require sufficient skill in poesy. The following '<u>Gh</u>azals' will serve as examples.

آگه از راز دیده‌ام نبود ÷ محرم سوز سینه‌ام نبود

لنگ در دنبال چشم یار دوید ÷ دل کم از آهوی حرم نبود

دل بفکر دهان او گم شد ÷ جای عنقا بجز عدم نبود

حال دل را چگونه بنویسم ÷ محرم راز من قلم نبود

رفتن بکوی یار سربازیست ÷ قطع این راه از قدم نبود

تسکین ÷ درست تر گردد

دل فانی جام جم نبود[1]

برگ گل از تو رنگ و بو دارد ÷ چشم تر از من آبرو دارد

همه بردند آرزو در خاک ÷ خاک دیگر چه آرزو دارد

آسمان از برای اهل زمین ÷ شربت مرگ در سبو دارد

بشنو از نالهای بلبل شو ÷ تا بدانی که گل چه بو دارد

کس نداند بغیر پروانه ÷ کاین شمع ما چه خو دارد

وصف موی میان او فانی ÷ چه نویسد قلم که مو دارد[2]

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1. Fānī, Muḥsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 49a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 53b.

میگریم و چشم تر ندارم ÷ مخمورم و درد سر ندارم

برداشته ام دل از جهان یک ÷ از روی تو چشم بر ندارم

در عشق بکس چسان کنم عیب ÷ من نیز جز این هنر ندارم

داغ است متاع من چو لاله ÷ چون غنچه بگیرد ار ندارم

چو ظل هما ست سایهٔ من ÷ هر چند که بال و پر ندارم

در گوشهٔ باغ خاکساری ÷ جز سایه چو بید بر ندارم

از اهل صفا شدم چو فانی

جز آینه در نظر ندارم

پیریم و بکف عصا نداریم ÷ در دست عنان پا نداریم

بر بر زده ایم بال عنقا ÷ پروای پر هما نداریم

بیگانه ز خویش و قوم گشتیم ÷ جز دست کس آشنا نداریم

کردیم ادا نماز خود زود ÷ هر چند غم قضا نداریم

در کار جهان که هست باطل ÷ جز حق بکس التجا نداریم

فانی ز تو هم نمی پسندیم

چیزی که بخود روا نداریم 2

شب ماه رخت بخواب دیدیم ÷ چون روز شد آفتاب دیدیم

می خوردن ما بنت بی تو جائز ÷ این مسئله در کتاب دیدیم

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1. Fānī, Muḥsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, foll. 81b & 82a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 82b.

3. Ibid, Ms, foll. [illegible].

ما روز بخت روی خود را ÷ در آئینه شراب دیدیم

در بحر وجود خویشتن را ÷ چون موج در اضطراب دیدیم

هر قطرهٔ آب عین دریاست ÷ از چشم تر حباب دیدیم

از بسکه شدیم زود بیدار

فانی همه را بخواب دیدیم[1]

Ghazel or lyrical poetry is a highly emotive product of the mind. It is a compound of music and suggestion. Poetry and music are related to each other, so we cannot think of a poet whose 'Dīvān' is totaly void of music and melody. The following Ghazels will serve as examples, but, it cannot be of course said, that these Ghazels are infalible touch stone of lyrical or musical appreciation; as these do not come under the category of highest excellences.

فصل گل است و کس بتماشا نمی رود ÷ مجنون درین بهار بصحرا نمی رود

ساغر بخنده لب نگشاید درین بهار ÷ تا خون دل ز دیدهٔ مینا نمی رود

نقد حیات صرف شد و کاروان اشک ÷ در چین زلف دوست بسودا نمی رود

در وادی سلوک بود خار و گل یکی ÷ آن را که کفش آید از پا نمی رود

کردم هوای سرو تذرو ناز سر برون ÷ فکرم ز سیر عالم بالا نمی رود

شادم که تا خیال تو در دیده نقش بست ÷ هر دم چو عکس آئینه از جا نمی رود

فانی اگرچه گشت لگدکوب حادثات ÷ چون نقش پا بسجدهٔ درگه نمی رود[2]

1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 89a & 89b.
2. Ibli, Ms, fol. 62 a.

هر که ما را نسبت صهبا پرستی می کند ÷ از تنک ظرفان ببوی باده مستی می کند

تا تواند کرد درک معنی ما نیست ما ÷ هر که در فهم سخن دعوی هستی می کند

گریه می ریزد ز چشم ما گهر در پیش ما ÷ بحر هم اظهار فقر و تنگدستی می کند

دشمن همچو اشکها از چشم مردم اوفتاد ÷ هر دم اقبال بلندش رو به پستی می کند

گریه میگردد پی مستان بگرد میکده ÷ محتسب هم در حقیقت می پرستی می کند

نیست جز یک مصرع برجسته در دیوان ما ÷ در چمن نرگس تخلص گر چه مستی می کند

گر ندارد عشق اثر فانی چرا در سوختن ÷ شمع بر پروانه هر شب پیش دستی میکند [1]

هر چند که از کس خط ارشاد نداریم ÷ استاد تر از خویش کسی یاد نداریم

ما جای گرفتیم در آن زلف چو شانه ÷ در سر هوس شانهٔ شمشاد نداریم

چون برگ چناریم فرو ریخته بر خاک ÷ در دست تهی هیچ بجز باد نداریم

بی یاد تو یکدم دل ما تاب ندارد ÷ ویران شود این خانه گر آباد نداریم

کو سر ز پا افتد و هر کس نکشد سر ÷ پروای کس از بنده و آزاد نداریم

هر نقش که خواهیم توانیم رقم کرد ÷ هر چند که تعلیم ز استاد نداریم

فانی بدر کعبهٔ مقصود رسیدیم ÷ چون مرغ حرم باک ز صیاد نداریم [2]

یاد آن شبها که در میخانه جای داشتیم ÷ همچو شیخ جام از مینا عصای داشتیم

سبحه در دست ما جز قطره‌های خون نبود ÷ تا ز زخم تیغ بر گردن ردای داشتیم

کشتی فانی گسسته روزی که در گرداب ماند ÷ ناخدا رحمی نکرد اما خدای داشتیم

دولت دنیا ندارد یک پر کاه اعتبار ÷ عمرها من هم بسر بال همای داشتیم

تا بیاض شعر فانی بود شب آدینه ما ÷ از برای چشم مردم توتیای داشتیم [3]

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, foll. 70a & 70b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 84b & 85a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll. 80b & 81a.

FĀNĪ'S QAṢĪDAHS:

It is said that Fānī wrote a number of Qaṣīdahs in praise of Nażar Muḥammad Khān of Balkh, which eclipsed the star of his prosperity when the said king was defeated by the forces of Shāhjahān. But it is noteworthy that those Qaṣīdahs are not available. The 'Tazkirah' writers have not quoted even a single Qaṣīdah or a verse therefrom, in praise of the said Khān though they say that this was the main cause that Fānī's services were dispensed with. From the study of his 'Dīvān' we have come to the conclusion that he was not a prolific writer. We do not find him proloific even in his Ghazals which is the case with Sālim, who was his pupil. In Qaṣīdahs prolixity is essential, so the poet who is not prolix cannot be a good Qaṣīdah writer. But it does not mean that he never wrote Qaṣīdahs. He did wrote Qaṣīdahs and this fact is supported by the contemporary chronicles, but it is a matter of regret that these are now not available. In his 'Dīvān' there are a few verses in praise of Dārā Shikoh, the son of Shāhjahān, in whom he found a patron, but these are the last lines (مقطع) of his Ghazals. The number of these verses does not reach two digits although he himself says:

بسکه مدح پادشاه و شاهزاده گفته‌ام ؛ گاهی شاهی شد تخلص گاه سلطانی مرا [1]

In these verses which are four in five in number, he in most cases

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1. Fānī. Muḥsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 3b.

praises himself, and shows his love for the prince. eg.

۱- فانی از داراشکوه، قدسی از شاه جهان ÷ فرق بسیار است از هم آفتاب و ماه را

2- بی نیاز از دولت کونین شد فانی چو دید ÷ مطلع انوار شاهی جبهۂ شهزاده را

3- داغ شد یوسف که ما را از غم داراشکوه ÷ عشق بر عکس زلیخا در جوانی پیر کرد

۴- فانی که سجده بر در داراشکوه کرد ÷ دیگر سرش فرود بهر در نمی شود

In his 'Dīvān' there is also a Ghazal in praise of Zafar Khān Ahsan, the govenor of Kashmir, which reads:

وزید باد بهار و نوید یار آمد ÷ بیار باده که یار آمد و بهار آمد

بوشت لاله شگفت و بباغ سبزه دمید ÷ نهال شیشه و ساغر ببرگ و بار آمد

چو روی یار ببینی لب پیاله ببوش ÷ که فصل توبه شکن دخل آن نگار آمد

بهار گلشن کشمیر ما را ممکن شد ÷ که ابر فیض ظفر خان کامگار آمد

هزار شکر که در چار باغ دولت و بخت ÷ که آب رفته در آغوش جوبیار آمد

درین بهار ز تائید بخت فانی را ÷ عروس دولت و اقبال ما بیار آمد[5]

Moreover, there is a Qaṣīdah in praise of Shāh jahān, the Emperor. This Qaṣīdah, which is incomplete, has been quoted by Shair Khān Lodhī in his 'Tazkireh'. In this Qaṣīdah he has used a number of words which are not Persian. The same is being reproduced here to show his talent in this form of poetry.

نو بهار آمد لبیر گلشن هندوستان ÷ زبیدار طوطی بجای پر برآورد برگ پان

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 14a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 18a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 56a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 55b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 47b.

چشم مردم از سواد هند روشن میشود ÷ گو نیارد کس متاع سرمه را از اصفهان

در چمن هر صبح سینا می کند راگ لسنت ÷ نیست طوطی را بجز کلیان چو بلبل بر زبان

لسکه دارد در چمن میل گرفتاری بسرو ÷ زیبد ار قمری ز طوق خویش بندد آشیان

چینبلی گیرد چو نرگس دست گل چین را بزر ÷ لاله می بندد حنا چون گل بپای باغبان

گل ز شبنم هار چنبیلی بگردن افگند تا ÷ تا تواند شد حریف شاهد هندوستان

باغ و صحرا سبز شد از فیض ابر نوبهار ÷ شد همه صحن زمین همرنگ بام آسمان

چشم نرگس از سواد هند روشن میشود ÷ در گلستان لاله را از سرمه پر شد سرمه دان

گرچه گلها هم غزلها خوانده در وصف بهار ÷ لیک نبود در چمن چون سبزه کس رطب اللسان

لسکه سوسن می کند باده زبان وصف چمن ÷ دور نبود گر ز حیرت غنچه را واشد دهان

تالب و سبزه شد از فیض ابر نوبهار ÷ جدول زنگار دارد صفحهٔ آب روان

سیم و زر را وام میگیرد ز چنبیلی و بیل ÷ نرگس از بهر نثار ثانی صاحب قران

پادشاه قدردان شاه جهان کز فیض او ÷ گوشهٔ باغ جهان شد رشک گلزار جنان

از هوای گرم در هندوستان باکی نیست ÷ بر سرش تا سایهٔ بال هما شد سایه بان

نیست تنها بار بردار وفا را او زمین ÷ بسته گردون هم کمر در خدمتش از کهکشان

جز به از گنج گرفتن پیش او چون عرض بود ÷ همت از حاتم گرفت و عدل از نوشیروان

هیچ کس از سفرهٔ احسان او بی بهره نیست ÷ شد ز دود مطبخش آباد چندین دودمان

در زمان دولتش نبود عدو هم بی نصیب

می کشد در چشم دشمن سرمه از نیل سنان[1]

Fānī in a verse says that he has written a number of stories in encomium of Prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him):

از شفاعت چون تواند بود فانی نا امید ÷ بسکه چندین داستان در نعت پیغمبر نوشت[2]

It is very much regretted that we have not been able to see even one encomium out of 'so many' which he wrote. A manuscript copy of his 'Dīvān' preserved in the Panjāb University Library does not contain this form of his poetry. The manuscripts of his 'Dīvān' available from other Libraries also do not contain these encomiums Further more the 'Tazkirah' writers are also silent in this respect. It is, therefore, impossible to say anything definite about this kind of his poetry. Taking into view his Ghazals etc., it can, however, be said that most of the verses contain common ideas, wanting in any real fervour, expressed for the most part in vague common place metaphors.

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1. Lodhī, Shair Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, pp. 256-257
2. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i- Fānī, Ms, fol. 38b.

BEAUTY OF DICTION:

We have often seen that a man while studying a book, in his heart of hearts suddenly and unconsciously began to recite a verse or a phrase in a bit louder voice. This indicates that the idea of the verse or the phrase, which has been beautifully expressed has vibrated the reader's pulses. The idea may be an ordinary one, but it appeals to mind if it has been expressed in a beautiful manner. No matter if the idea expressed by the poet is logically incorrect, but if it is based upon a certain point it can be explained, not withstanding its incorrectness. The reader or the listener appreciates it, or at least enjoyes its pleasantness.

Essential ingredients of "Beauty of diction" are imagination, similies and metaphors coupled with innovation and subtle exposition of delicate ideas. In Fānī's poetry, we at places find verses which appeal to our mind and we unconciously recite them and appreciate them in our heart of hearts. eg. in the following verse the poet praises his beloved in an indirect manner:

گر شوی از خود اسیر زلف خود نبود عجب ؛ دانۂ خال تو در دام آورد صیاد را [1]

It is not impossible or strange if the beloved should fall in love with her own self, because the grain of her mole and the snare of her treeses can captivate a ravisher of hearts and the beloved herself being one of this number. Ghālib has also expressed this idea in a verse

آئینہ دیکھ اپنا سا منہ لے کے رہ گئے ؛ صاحب کو دل نہ دینے پہ کتنا غرور تھا

1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 2b.

the contrary, the man for whom we have had no regard in his life time we never talk about him after his death. We forget him totally, and it is why we never see him in our dreams. Here the poet expresses this simple idea that people had no regard for him even in his life time, so what regard can they have for me after my

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 2b.

It is a fact that we often see a man in our dreams for whom we have cherished love and to whom we remember very often. But on the contrary, the man for whom we have had no regard in his life time we never talk about him after his death. We forget him total--ly, and it is why we never see him in our dreams. Here the poet expresses this simple idea that people had no regard for him even in his life time, so what regard can they have for me after my death. This idea, though the poet expresses it in very simple words yet we cannot but appreciate it.

چنان بزندگی از چشم مردم افتادم ÷ که بعد مرگ نه بیند کسی بخواب مرا [1]

In the verse quoted below we have a very beautiful expression of an idea. Logically or by reason it may not be true, but poeti-cally it is not untrue. Here we are concerned with the poetry and not logic; so as a matter of fact, our presence in the realm of poetry causes us to appreciate it. Is it not a fact that a weak person cannot walk even a few steps? His feebleness prevents him from walking so how can we, who have gone weak and feeble in love and seperation of our friends, reach their hearts. As it is imposi-ble, so if they do not remember us, it is not their fault but ours. Had we enough strength and power, and had we reached their hearts, they would not have forgotten us:

ما خود از ضعف بدلها نتوانیم رسید ÷ یاد ما گر نکند کس ز فراموشی نیست [2]

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 4a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 36a.

It is, of course, of no use to explain the verses, as they can be felt and not explained. They loose their charm at the time of explanation, so we quote here a few verses so that the reader should himself enjoy them:

1- درین گلشن چنان ماند نهان رازی که هر ساعت ∴ زبان سبزه میگوید بگل حرف لب جو را

2- دل شد فگار و ناله بلب آشنا نکرد ∴ چون کاسهٔ حباب شکست و صدا نکرد

3. کسی غیر از سیه چشمان نداند پارسا ما را ∴ که جز ابروی خوبان نیست محراب دعا ما را

4. ز اشک و آه ما فارغ چون توان بودن در چو مانی ∴ نمی سازد درین گلشن خزان آب و هوا ما را

5- در ازل هنگام نقش سرنوشت کاینات ∴ خامه حرف عشق را در جبههٔ آدم نوشت

6- ساغر از عکس رخت چون گل خندان میشود ∴ مجلس از پرتو می رشک گلستان میشود

7- هر که جا در سایهٔ سرو تو میگیرد برد ∴ هر زمان از عالم بالا بلندی می رسد

8- وصف موی میان او مانی
چه نویسد قلم که مو دارد

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1. Rāni, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Rāni, Ms, fol. 5b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 2a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 2a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 31a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 44b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 54b.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 53b.

ALLEGORICAL COMMISSION:

Every body in this world experience difficulties and troubles from time to time. His efforts bring him joys and happiness while his follies grief and sorrows. Slowly but steadly the time passes, a man by his experiences and wisdom understands the pros and cons of this world and its affairs. He, on the basis of his experiences, derives certain conclusions, so whenever an experienced man announces his verdict regarding certain problems it is accepted by all. No doubt a man of profound knowledge or an erudite philosopher probing into the matter and by his skill and knowledge he may pronounce a sound judgement, but it would be prosaic devoid of beauty and delicacy and without any charm, attraction and allurement. On the otherhand a poet's counsel, or even censure and reproach would be, in beautiful words and fresh phrases, coupled with deep thoughts and sublime ideas. To make the counsel or censure devoid of prosaicness the poet expresses his ideas allegorically. In other words we may emphasise that the poet coats the bitterness of censure or reproach with sweet words which even the opponent, swallows without any difficulty.

In allegorical form of poetry, the poet's reasoning or argumentation is based on resemblance or similitude of quality. A poet's reasoning would be always poetical and not logical. It would be pertinent on this occasion to say that a logician's verdict can become a matter of controversy, and may be turned down logically, but the facts stated by a poet can be neither changed nor eliminated nor the screens of logomachy can obscure them even

for a very short time. This allegorical way of writing appeals to the mind, and it is so effective that the reader accepts it without hesitation. It is, at this place that poetry becomes sorcery. This form of poetry was at its climax in those days. Here we quote a few examples from Fānī's 'Dīvān'.

It is a fact that little boys divulge secrets, so a boy cannot be taken into confidence. The poet similizes tears with a boy of tender age. Tears display the inner sorrows, and let the others know one's secrets; so it is foolishness to trust the boys as they never can be good at keeping the secrets:

اشکِ ما رازِ نهانِ چشمِ ما را فاش کرد ؛ طفل را هم در جهان محرم نباید داشتن [1]

Is there anything to contradict this fact that the moth comes near the candle only at a time when it is burning. So Zulīkhā's love for Joseph was due to his beauty, or in a nut shell, there is no effect without cause:

شمع تا روشن نباشد کی رسد پروانه ؛ حسن یوسف باعث عشق زلیخا میشود [2]

Is it not a fact that an eye which weeps days and nights looses its sight ? So when a man looses his eye-sight, he cannot see anything. The poet proves this fact by saying that a cup full of wine can only see the face of a drinker. A cup without wine is never placed on table, and hence it is unable to see the face of the drinker. In short, from this we can derive the conclusion that a wealthy and prosperous person is always honoured by the people.

جام تا خالی شد از می روی مستان را ندید ؛ دیده چو بسیار گرید بینشش کم میشود [3]

We refrain from explaining the verses, as they lose their charm

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī , Ms. Fol. 93a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 64a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 63b.

and therefore, quote a few verses from Fānī's 'Dīvān' to show his talent in this form of poetry:

۱. محو نتوان کرد نقش خانه ایجاد را ∴ بر نسازد کس بمرهم داغ مادرزاد را

. حسن ذاتی را بآرایش نباشد احتیاج ∴ شانه درکار نبود طرهٔ شمشاد را[1]

2. میل آغوش جوانان نیست هرگز پیر را ∴ میکشند دائم کمان از خانه بیرون تیر را

3. مانی از تقلید نتوان صاحب تحقیق شد ∴ کی دهد نور جوانی چهرهٔ پیر از خضاب!

4. آسمان تیره درون است از مهر مجو ∴ طمع باده کس از شیشهٔ ساعت نکند تا

5. توان در دیدهٔ باریک بینان از ادب جا کرد ∴ هنر بی رشته از سوراخ سوزن سر برون آرد

6. داغ ما روشندلان بر میشود از خون ما ∴ اشک شمع از بهر زخم شمع مرهم میشود

7. کم ظرف هیچ فائده از ما نمی برد ∴ هرگز حباب آب ز دریا نمی برد

8. نشد ز آئینه روشن صفای لعل لبت
که عکس آب گهر را در آب نتوان دید

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī. Ms, fol. 2a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 7a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 19b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 56b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 63b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 64a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 66a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 71a.

FIGURES OF THOUGHT AND WORDS:

Before we conclude our comments on Fānī's Dīvān we take the liberty of quoting a few verses from his 'Dīvān' which indicate the figures of speech. Examples of the figures are very rare and it seems that these have crept in unconsciously. The poet himself has not undergone any difficulty to introduce them in the verses. We now quote a few examples under each figure of speech but we do not think it proper to explain them.

1. ALLUSION تلمیح :

۱- از حسن یوسف گفتگو نبود بمصر آرزو ؛ حالی متاع حسن او تا رفت در بازار که

2- بامید آنکه شاید کردنش لوح مزار ؛ صورت شیرین بسنگ بیستون فرهاد بست

3- از لبش خط سر کشید و سرکشی از سر نهاد ؛ کرد نام خود سلیمان مور بر خاتم نوشت

2. HYPERBOLE مبالغہ :

4- بسکه می روید گل آتش ز آب و خاک هند ؛ هر که می آید بهندوستان سمندر می شود

5- بیاد آن دهن تنگ دل گشا فانی ؛ ره عدم سپرد هر که در وجود آید

6- دریا بموج حسنت اگر آشنا شود ؛ چشم حباب چشمهٔ آب بقا شود

3. استغراق :

۷- عجب نباشد اگر موج شعله گردد ؛ که شد ز تاب رخش آتش آب در دریا

4. POETICAL AETIOLOGY حسن تعلیل :

8- بسکه حسن دوست هر دم جلوهٔ دیگر کند ؛ وا بود پیوسته چشم انتظار آئینه را

5. APPARENT CONCORD ایهام تناسب :

۹- در گلستان نامهٔ با دوستان باید نوشت ؛ چند بیتی از کتاب بوستان باید نوشت

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1. Fāni, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 9a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 30b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 31a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 64b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 48b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 48b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 9b.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 8b.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38a.

6. CONGRUITY مراعاة النظیر :

۱. سبز شد مژگان خار از آب چشم آبله ÷ در ره خار البس است این دیدهٔ گریان مرا

7. SIMILE تشبیه :

۲. جلوهٔ قدِ تو در چشم تر ما زیباست ÷ مصرع سرو سهی بر لب جو موزون است

3. از یاد آن دهن دل فانی حیات یافت ÷ چشمش نظر بچشمهٔ آب بقا نکرد

۴a. ما را بیاد آن گل خندان ز اشک و آه ÷ در نوبهار باغ دل آب و هوا لبس است

8. TROPE OR METAPHOR استعاره :

۴. فانی از لعل تو یک حرف شنید و جان داد ÷ زنده می گشت گر این حرف مکرر می شد

5. شبهای فراقت چند ریزد دیده کوکبها ÷ ز کوکبهاست روشن تر چراغ بخت من شبها

9. ANTITHESIS تضاد :

6. ز شام زلف تو ره یافتم بصبح رخت ÷ ببین چگونه در آتش فکند دود مرا

۷. دولت وصل تو در خواب مگر خواهد کرد ÷ دیدهٔ بخت مرا سر بیداری نیست

10. PROVERBIAL COMMISSION: ارسال مثل

8. بیگانه گشت از من و با دست آشنا ÷ یعنی بیک کرشمه دل من دو کار ساخت

11. REDUNDANT HOMOGENEITY تجنیس زاید :

۹. در زمستان بهر مستان عارفست ÷ آفتاب و لب شراب ناب هم

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1. Fānī, Muhsin, Mullā, Dīvān-i-Fānī, Ms, fol. 6b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 39a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58b. 22a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 58b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 9b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 4b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 40a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 26b.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 81b.

MAṢNAVĪ MAṢDAR-UL-ĀṢĀR

This is 'Maṣnavī' in imitation of Makhzan-ul-Asrār Of Niẓāmī and others especially Amīr Khusrow, Jāmī and Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī of Kashmīr --------- the most famous poets and Ṣūfīs who hold high rank in the realm of Persian Literature. The poet himself points out to this:

شیخ نظامی که دلش زنده است ∴ پرسخنش شمع فروزنده است
رفت ازین میکده بیرون چو برد ∴ مخزن اسرار بخسرو سپرد
خسرو ازان گنج دری برگرفت ∴ تاج سر و زینت افسر گرفت
رفت از افسانهٔ دنیا بخواب ∴ زنگ گرفت آئینهٔ آفتاب
میل خود رفتن مغرب چو داشت ∴ مطلع انوار بجامی گذاشت
بسکه دلش شد لمعی آشنا ∴ یافت از علم معنی ضیا
جامی ازان مطلع صبح وصال ∴ تافت چو خورشید بر اوج کمال
گردش از دامن دل برفشاند ∴ تحفهٔ ابرار بصرفی رساند
صرفی ازان تحفهٔ ابرار شد ∴ بدرقهٔ مسلک الاخیار شد
بحر سخن موج زد از سینه اش ∴ گشت عیان جوهر آئینه اش
ملک سخن را از وفتح باب ∴ یک سخنش فاتحهٔ صد کتاب
صفحهٔ دل از رقم غیر شست ∴ کرد شرف نامهٔ وحدت درست
از نفسش ملک سخن نوریاب ∴ روشنی از وی آئینهٔ آفتاب
ملک سخن گر نه بمیراث بود ∴ مسلک اخیار بمن چون نمود[1]

1. Fānī, Muḥammad Muḥsin, Maṣdar-ul-Āṣār, Ms. foll. 102 a- 103a

Fānī in the prose preface to the Masnavī says that a number of poets have already written Masnavīs in imitation to that of Nizāmī so he also tried to follow them.

روشناس قدر، هیچمدانی محمد محسن فانی معروض میدارد که چون غواصان محیط معانی و
شناوران دریای نکته دانی سفینهٔ طبیعت خود را در بحر مخزن اسرار که بصورت تنگ
و در معنی بیکنار است روان کرده بدست یاری توفیق جواهر بسیار و لآل بی شمار
بکف آورده اند این ابجدخوان مکتب ساده لوحی نیز بدآموز شده و چنگ در دامن
متابعت ایشان زده فراخور استعداد خود خزف ریزهٔ چند بساحل انداخت و از
فراهم آورده مسمی بمصدر الآثار ساخت[1]

Fānī has dedicated this 'Masnavi' to the Emperor Shāhjahān A.H. 1037-1068 (A.D. 1628-1658)

چون این زر قالب در دار الملک اعتبار و سواد اعظم اشتهار کاسد و ناروا بود
لاجرم آن را بنام نامی و اسم سامی حضرت ظل سبحانی صاحبقران ثانی مزین نمود که ـ

از نامش سخن را اعتبار است ؛ نگین از نام شاهان نامدار است
شهاب الدین محمد بوالمظفر ؛ که بر سر دارد از اقبال افسر
شهی کز عدل چون نوشیروان است ؛ امیر المؤمنین شاه جهان است[2]

In the preface of the Masnavī he throws light on the year of writing this Masnavī which is, according to his own statement, the second decade after the coronation of Shāhjahān. He writes:

یک قرن از جلوس همایونش بعدل و داد گذشته و اکمال که

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 79a-79b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol 79b.

بر اورنگ قرن ثانی گشته ذوالقرنین گفته آید[1]

However, in the end of the Masnavī, Fānī clearly tells us that the name of the Masnavī serves as the chronogram:

آمده از عرش فرود این کتاب ÷ گشته دعای قلمم مستجاب

مصدر الآثار ز بس نام اوست ÷ یک اثر از صورت اتمام اوست

بود اثرهاش چو از حد فزون ÷ آمده تاریخ ز نامش برون[2]

This shows that Fānī wrote this 'Masnavī' in A.H. 1067 (A.D.165

It has already been stated by the poet himself that he has followed the foot-prints of Jāmī, Sarfī etc, hence it is desirabl to compare him with the other poets to whom he has imitated but as it is not in the scope of our subject hence we shall be very brief even in comparing him with Sarfī of Kashmīr about whose 'Masnavī' (Maslak-ul-Akhyār) we have already expressed our views(see pp.255-28 Supra).

Before comparing Fānī with Sarfī it seems necessary to point ou here that Fānī some times follows Nizāmī's foot prints and some times Sarfī's. To elaborate our point we may say that Fānī's Masnavī' is an abridgement of both the Makhzan-ul-Asrār and Maslak ul-Akhyār. Fānī's Masnavī Masdar-ul-Āsār contains besides praise to God, two supplimants to God, encomium to the holy prophet, Manqabats (praise) to all the four caliphs (May God bless them). It like Makhzan-ul-Asrār contains a Qasidah in praise of Shāhjahān the Emperor of India to whom the Masnavī has been dedicated.

بادشه عالم کون و مکان ÷ شاهجهان ثانی صاحب قران

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. fol. 80 b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 145 a.

سایهٔ حق شمع شبستان خلق ∴ همچو خدا در پی احسان خلق

رهبر خلق است بسوی خدای ∴ سایه سوی شخص بود رهنمای

ابر کفش ریخته باران جود ∴ جود ازو یافته فیض وجود

جبههٔ او صفحهٔ حسن و جمال ∴ ابروی او مصرع بیتش هلال

نخل قدش سرو ریاض وجود ∴ باغ دلش صحن گلستان جود

آب رخش آئینهٔ عدل و داد ∴ لوح دلش تختهٔ نقش مراد

دهر ز فیض کرمش کامیاب ∴ بحر ز ابر کف او در حساب

بالش دشمن ز پر تیر اوست ∴ خون عدو جوهر شمشیر اوست

فیض ندارد ز عدو هم دریغ ∴ آب بدشمن دهد از جوی تیغ

نیزهٔ او دار فنا را ستون ∴ خنجر او ماهی دریای خون

بسته بخدمت کمر اعتقاد ∴ کرده بحکمش همه کس انقیاد

فضل و هنر یافته رونق ازو ∴ زهد و ورع گشته محقق ازو

قدر سخن گشته بعهدش بلند ∴ کرده فلک را ز سخن بهره‌مند

شکر که از مدح شه ذوالمنن ∴ آب بقا یافت ز مانی سخن [1]

He has praised Shaikh Muhib Ullah who, it is said, brought him to the right path. Praising him he says:

آنکه ز اسرار یقین آگه است ∴ قطب زمان شیخ محب الله است

تاج سر بر دل آگاه اوست ∴ عالم دل را بیقین شاه اوست

خرقه ازو یافته اهل کمال ∴ چشم براو دوخته ارباب حال

یک نظرش باعث صد وجد و حال ∴ گام نخستین سلوکش کمال

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 98a-101a

در گه او کعبهٔ پر مقصد است ∴ سنگ در او حجر الاسود است

زیر آن کعبه گدا لیست و شاه ∴ شاه و گدا راست همان قبله گاه

گشت عیان راز نهانی ازو ∴ ملک بقا یافته فانی ازو[1]

In the beginning of this elogium he has, like Ṣarfī reproached the proud erudite person saying that these worldly sciences are of no value. These, on the other hand, put hinderances in the way of self purification by creating doubts in the mind. Fānī says:

ای شده مغرور بفضل و کمال ∴ غلغله انداخته از قیل و قال

این همه علمی که ترا حاصل است ∴ در ره دین باد چراغ دل است

نقش از لوح دلت حک نشد ∴ حاصل ازین علم بجز شک نشد

چند پی دانه نهی دام علم ∴ وهم دگا نرا چه کنی نام علم

فارغ ازین علم شدن سهل نیست ∴ ظلمت این علم کم از جهل نیست

در دل ازین علم فزاید ملال ∴ علم نباشد بجز از علم حال

علم لیقین در ره حق آگهیست ∴ هرچه جز این آگهی آن گمرهیست[2]

Before proceeding with the orignal subjects which deal with the improvement of self after its purification, it seems necessary to quote some verses from the doxologies. In writing these prayers etc, he has taken much pains and has tried his best to reach near Niẓāmī

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ∴ تازه نهالیست ز باغ قدیم

کرده لب چشمهٔ آن باغ جا ∴ از نم آن یافت نشو و نما

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Maṣdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 106 a & 106b

2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 105 b-106a.

در خور آن نخل جز این آب نیست ÷ برگ درین سرو جز اعراب نیست

کرده در آن صحن چمن این درخت ÷ چون شجر خلد رگ و ریشه سخت

سوره سر انداخته در پای او ÷ گم شده در سایه بالای او

بس که گلستان سید بد از قد دوست ÷ هر که بود در پی تضمین اوست

دانه اش از نقطه و برگش ز حرف ÷ شاخچه هایش کلمات شگرف

بلبل این باغ زبان رسول ÷ گشته نوا سنج فروع و اصول [1]

In preise to God Fānī writes:

حمد خدا مطلع دیوان ماست ÷ سر سخن گنجینه ایمان ماست

در سخن از حمد شود فتح باب ÷ حمد بود فاتحه هر کتاب

حمد بود گلشن توحید گل ÷ هر دم ازین باغ توان چید گل

گر بتحقیق نگری پیش و پس ÷ حامد و محمود جز او نیست بس

آئینه ظاهر و باطن هموست ÷ مظهر اعراض و جواهر هموست

خال لب دلبر نامهربان ÷ داغ دل عاشق بی خانمان

اوست مبرا ز همه رنگ و بو ÷ اوست منزه ز همه گفتگو

اوست زبان دانی هر بی زبان ÷ اوست توانائی هر ناتوان

چرخ زنان بر در او آسمان ÷ رقص کنان در ره او انس و جان

دیر و حرم مسکن و ماوای اوست ÷ دیده و دل جای تماشای اوست

عقل درین راه بهر سو دوید ÷ خاک به سر کرد و نشانش ندید

دل که به راه طلب او شتافت ÷ رفت برون از خود و در خویش یافت [2]

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-u-Āsār, Ms. fol. 82 b.
2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 85a & 85 b & 86a.

Similarly in the first doxology he says:

ای تو سزاوار مناجات ما ÷ قفل گشای مناجات ما

حاجت هر کس ز تو گردد روا ÷ از تو دوا یافته هر بی نوا

مجمر گردان ز تو شد پر شرر ÷ از تو برافروخت چراغ قمر

بود و نبود همه از بود تست ÷ گنج وجود و عدم از جود تست

جز تو که آورد برون گل ز خاک ÷ جز تو که زد پیرهن غنچه چاک

جعد شب از سلسله موی کیست ÷ ماه نو از جنبش ابروی کیست

آب بریز این گره خاک را ÷ خاک نشین کن همه افلاک را

پردهٔ شب را برخ روز کش ÷ دود ز خورشید جهانسوز کش

گرد تن از چهرهٔ جان پاک ساز ÷ جامهٔ هستی جهان پاک ساز

نه ورق چرخ بهفت آب شو ÷ از قلم و لوح کن گفتگوی

تخم دل از آب و گل تن برآر ÷ تا بدهد میوهٔ عشق تو بار

بیتم از هستیت آباد کن ÷ هر نفس از یاد خودم شاد کن [1]

In an encomium of the Holy Prophet the following verses will serve as pattern.

ای دهنت چشمهٔ آب بقا ÷ خورده لبت آب ز عین فنا

عین عیان میم دهانت ندید ÷ موی میانت ز میان ناپدید

لعل لبت رشک شراب طهور ÷ هر لغتت موجهٔ دریای نور

باغ رخت گلشن حسن و کمال ÷ بلبل آن باغ دل اهل حال

فانی اگر شرع ترا رهنماست ÷ شمع رهت دوستی مصطفی است [2]

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1. Fani, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Asar, Ms. foll. 86 a & 88a
2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 92a+93b

It is of no use to lay down heaps of quotations. The verses copied are sufficient to help the reader to form an idea about the elevation of his poetry. A comperative study of these verses will indicate that the salient features of these verses are new simlies and metaphors. The poet describes one and the same idea in different manners using new simlies and metaphors in each case. This shows mastermindedness and effusion of the poet who in each case avoids circumlucution. This adds charm to a familiar style and shows adroitness of the poet in expressing his ideas. He has not picked up hackneyed phrases or discarded simlies and metaphors which tarnish the reputation of the poet and persuade the reader to call him a 'Barren pretender' Magniloquence and ornate language is evident here and there which add beauty and charm to his style.

Leaving aside this critical appreciation of his poetry we divert our attention to the intrensic value of Maṣdar-ul-Āṣār.This Maṣnavī has been written in imitation to Maslak-ul-Akhyār and the poet (Fānī) has chosen the same subject as the venue of discussion which had been chosen by Ṣarfī Kashmīrī with the exception of one or two. Like Maslak-ul-Akhyār we find a good deal of introductory matter and doxologies, but there are only eight 'Āṣārs' in Fānī's Maṣdar-ul-Āṣār while the Maslak-ul-Akhyār contains twenty Maslaks.

Before discussing those Āṣārs he stresses upon the purification of self which is possible by the help of a spiritual guide.

شرم نداری گمر از روی پیر ∴ چند کنی شکوه ز نفس شریر

مهر ادب زن بلب گفتگو ∴ حرف دل و نفس ازین پس مگو

پیر ز احوال مرید آگه است ∴ تا همه جا همچو خدا آگه است

صورت من در دل تو نقش بند ÷ تا رسد ذاتت نفست گزند

تیغ ز ابروی من آور بدست ÷ تا سگ نفس تو بباید شکست

جبههٔ من قبلهٔ حاجات ساز ÷ تا نکند نفس خلل در نماز

هر چه درین سلسله کردم بیان ÷ رابطهٔ پیر و مرید است آن

رابطه با پیر چو کردم درست ÷ لوح دلم از رقم غیر بشست

آئینهٔ دل بدلم وانمود ÷ زنگ ز آئینهٔ خاطر زدود

چون زدم پیر دلم شد جوان ÷ داد خزانش ز بهارم نشان

گفت که ای تشنهٔ یک جرعه مست ÷ آب رخت آتش دل برده پست

جام صفت تشنه لب باده باش ÷ سر در میخانه ام افتاده باش

تا بلبت ساغر دیگر نهم ÷ باده ز پیمانهٔ دیگر نهم

دل چو شد از بادهٔ دیدار مست ÷ گشت درین میکده صورت پرست[1]

and further says:

جام حقیقت بلب جان بنوش ÷ تا فکند این خرقهٔ جسمت ز دوش

از می توحید بر افروز چهر ÷ تا شودت مهر دل و تن سپهر

وهم هوس سرکشد از پای خم ÷ نفی سوا الله کند لای خم

بلبل شوقت بهوا می پرید ÷ لیک پرش رشتهٔ حبل الورید

در نظرت پر زند از ماسوا ÷ قطع کنش زود بمقراض لا

در ره وحدت همه جا سیر کن ÷ کعبهٔ دل را تهی از غیر کن

از می توحید چو خورد جام ÷ تا شنوی از لب ساغر کلام

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1. Fāni, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 108 a-109 a.

هرکه ازین می قدحی نوش کرد : حرف بد و نیک فراموش کرد

گاه شدم ساقی و گاه جام می : گاه شدم نای وگه بانگ نی

زندگی از مردن خود یافتم : آمدن از رفتن خود یافتم[1]

Fānī contrary to Ṣarfī, first deals with the theological subjects and after that ethical. The theological subjects are nothing but the five fundamental principles of Islām ie. کلمه، نماز، روزه، حج، زکواة. The ethical subjects dealt with by Fānī are توبه، تواضع and توکل. The theological and ethical subjects have been discussed first in abstract form and then they have been illustrated by an apologue. Let us now express his views briefly under each head.

He under the caption Kalma says that verbal acceptance of God's one-ness and Muhammad's (May peace be upon him) prophethood is of no use unless it is certified by heart or in otherwords we may say that he stresses upon اقرار باللسان و تصدیق بالقلب. He says that Kalma is foundation of the house of the religion (شرع).

ای زده از پیروی شرع دم : گشته بآئین شریعت علم

شرع چه قصر بود از سروری : نیست در قصر جز ایمان دری

. . . .

کس ندهد راه برین در ترا : رهبر اگر نیست پیمبر ترا

راه نمائی چو پیمبر کند : شاهد حق جلوه ازین در کند

این در رحمت برخ انس وجان : وا نشود جز بکلید زبان

لیک ازین در نتوان سر کشید : در کف دل تا نبود این کلید

پای دل از دامن این در مکش : سر ز خط کلم پیمبر مکش

. . . .

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Maṣdar-ul-Āṣār, Ms. foll. 109a-112a.

تا نشود دل بزبان هم سخن ؛ از سخنت به بود آب دهن
حرف چنان به که برآید ز دل ؛ ور نکند زود زبان را خجل
. . . .
حرف شهادت بخدا و رسول ؛ نیست قبول ار نکند دل قبول[1]

2. Before expressing his views about prayer (نماز) he explains the meaning of performing ablutions (وضو). A few verses would suffice.

آب وضوئیش سبزد از خون دل ؛ خاک تیمم ز تن منفعل
دست بشو از همه ما سوای ؛ نیست جز این بر تو طهارت روا
ذکر خداوند تعالی بگوی ؛ دایم ازین آب دهن را بشوی
بینی خود پاک کن از بوی غیر ؛ چند دهی آب وی از جوی غیر
روی بشو این همه از آب جوی ؛ روی تو طاهر نشود از آب روی
آب رخت رونق آورد لست ؛ آب ابد در چشمهٔ جو برد لست

. . . .

پای بشو از گل آلودگی ؛ رو بسوی مسجد آوردگی[2]

Turning towards the prayer he says:

دست چه بندد پی تحریمه کس ؛ تا نکشد دست ز حرص و هوس
. . . .
گر سرت از بهر رکوعست پست ؛ تا ستت از بار قیامت شکست
به که بود دال بوقت رکوع ؛ پشت تو بر بار گران خضوع
قد بکنی از سر نخوت علم ؛ به که شوی در خم محراب خم[3]

3. FASTS:

To keep fasts in the month of the Holy Ramzān is the duty of a true Muslim. What is the benefit of these fasts is being explained by Fānī in the following verses.

ای شده سر تا قدم انبان حرص ؛ پخته تنور شکمت نان حرص

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 112 b-113b.
2. Ibid, Ms. foll. 116a-116 b. 3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 117a-117b.

کاسهٔ سر ساخته دیگ حرام ÷ پخته دران دیگ خیالات خام

معده پر از نان هوا و هوس ÷ تنگ نمود ساخته راه نفس

قوت شب و روز زیک نان شام ÷ بهر تو کافیست چو اهل صیام

شکر که هر سال بر اهل نیاز ÷ سی در شهر رمضان است باز

شهر بزرگیست که در راه دوست ÷ گردی اگر در بدر این جا رواست

خلق که از روزه دهان بسته اند ÷ رخنهٔ شهر رمضان بسته اند

شهر قدیمی است که تعمیر آن ÷ فرض شده بر همه اهل جهان

هر که درین شهر رسد از راه دل ÷ یاد نیارد وطن آب و گل

خواب و خورش هست درین شهر کم ÷ خفتن و خوردن نبود درارم

روزه واجب ز سحر تا بشام ÷ ترک جماع است و خورش نزد عام

لیک بود معنی آن نزد خاص ÷ نفی سوی الله و حق اختصاص

4. Ḥajj: حج

Performance of Ḥajj is necessary for those who can afford. It is, therefore, not good to beg money from others to meet the expenses of the way. He says it is of no use to go to pilgrimage with a heart full of greed. And essential to all is the purification of self.

ای لبت فکر سر انجام حج ÷ بسته دلت بر نفس احرام حج

حبه ز هر کس مدد زاد راه ÷ کرده طلب از همه امداد راه

گشته ز فکر زر و سیمت مدام ÷ کاسهٔ سر کیسهٔ مال حرام

در املت نیت حج سلب شد ÷ قلب تو صندوق زر قلب شد

خیز چو عنقا ز میان گوشه گیر ÷ چون زغن از جیفه مشو توشه گیر

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1. Fānī, Muḥammad Muḥsin, Maṣdar-ul-Āṣār, Ms. foll.119a-120b

در سرت ار هست سر این سفر ÷ پای ز سر ساز و کن این راه سر

هر که لبِ بادیه پیما شود ÷ چشم ترش آبلهٔ پا شود

آبلهٔ پا چو شود چشم تر آ ÷ قطع توان کرد ره بحر و بر آ

کشتی دریای دل از صدق جوی ÷ تا لب وی کعبهٔ مقصود روی

ساز هوای همه از سر بدر ÷ تا نشود پایت ازین آب تر

باد مخالف بود امداد کس ÷ یاد خدا باد مراد تو بس

باد مرادی گرت از دل رسد ÷ کشتیت از بحر لب ساحل رسد

در ره معبود مکن یاد کس ÷ معنی احرام همین است و بس

گر بزند در نظر آن ذات برق ÷ تا حرم از مسجد دیگر چه فرق

هر که بیاورد حق اینجا بدست ÷ بخت سیاهش حجر الاسود است

سنگ دلت گشته سیاه از گناه ÷ سیرت ترا بهره ز سنگ سیاه

سنگ دل تو حجر الاسود است ÷ آئینه صورت بخت بد است

دامن تر از نزهٔ تر لب شوی ÷ تا مثنو زمزم بدهد آبروی

5. Zakāt: زکاة

Payment of Zakat is necessary for wealthy persons. Collection of money is of no value if it is not spent even in the way of God.

ای دلت از خواهشِ مالِ جهان ÷ گشته چو مارِ سیه گنج نهان

چند ز افسانهٔ دنیای دون ÷ میدمی این مار سیه را فسون

حرف زر و سیم در گوش تست ÷ وردِ زبان لب خاموش تست

هر درم ریختهٔ چشم تو دُر ÷ گشته چو نرگس ز زر و سیم پُر

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 124b-125a

بر صفت نام به بخشش برآر ∴ تا دُر و گوهر رسدت در کنار

خم شده از بار درم پشت تو ∴ هیچ بجز باد نه در مشت تو

زر چو شود جمع زکوةست فرض ∴ بر غنی از صاحب افلاس قرض

نیست ترا سود ز مال جهان ∴ تا نکنی صرف پی این و آن [1]

He then says:

هر صفت و ذات ز ذات دلیست ∴ ذات و صفات تو ز کواه دلیست

ذات و صفت را تو هم ایثار کن ∴ جوهر ذاتی خود اظهار کن

هستی خود صرف نمودن ز جود ∴ هست کلید در گنج وجود

چشم ز خود پوش نظر کن درست ∴ در نظرت گنج همه گنج تست

گنج توی لیک ز خود بی خبر ∴ بر رخ خود بسته ز هر باب در

تا نکنی گوهر هستی نثار ∴ گنج تو بر تو نشود آشکار

میل زرت هست چو پیش ای لئیم ∴ یک بده و ده بستان از کریم [2]

6. Penitence: توبه

To achieve the goal one should do penitence from carnality and sexsual excesses. This blackens the heart. Woman and wine put hinderences in the way of the seeker, so he should not pay heed to these.

ای دلت آئینه نقش گناه ∴ روی تو از نقش گناه هست سیاه

گشته خم از بار معاصی قدت ∴ نفس بدت ساخته دیو ددت

چند زنی بوسه بی اختیار ∴ بر لب پیمانه و بر روی یار

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1. Fāni, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 128b-129b
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 129b-130b.

چند پی سر بدم تیغ تیز ؛ زود زابروی بتان کن گریز

چشم سیه کرده ترا دل سیاه ؛ رو بشو زین خواهش باطل سیاه

اشک بیاد رخ خوبان مریز ؛ آب در آئینهٔ یزدان مریز

عارض شاهد بنظر تا بکی ؛ جستن ازو نور بصر تا بکی

ای شده لغزست قوی از ضعف تن ؛ قوت دل جسته ز سیب ذقن

دل ز غم سیب ذقن کن تهی ؛ آخر ازین سیب نه بینی بهی

توبه کن از بادهٔ عشق مجاز ؛ از هوس بیهده باز آی باز

توبه بود سرمهٔ چشم یقین ؛ روشنیٔ دیدهٔ هر پاک بین

توبه بود آئینهٔ وصل حور ؛ توبه بود جام شراب طهور

روی درین آئینه دیدن سزا است ؛ باده ازین جام کشیدن روا است[1]

7. Politeness: تواضع

A rude person is never respected by any body. No body likes him. Hence to gain respect one should be polite.

ای زده در راه تکبر قدم ؛ کرده سر خویش ز نخوت علم

مست ز هستی شده مغرور وار ؛ کرده سر خویش ز نخوت بدار

از سر خود افسر هستی بنه ؛ سایه صفت روی به پستی بنه

خاک بود جای تو از جا مرو ؛ سرو نهٔ این همه بالا مرو

راه تواضع چو قلم گیر پیش ؛ سر مکش از نامهٔ اعمال خویش

چون قلم این راه ز سر کرد طی ؛ برد بسر منزل مقصود پی

قامت محراب که دایم دو تا ست ؛ در همه جا قبلهٔ اهل صفا ست[2]

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1. Fānī, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Āsār, Ms. foll. 131 a-134 a

2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 135 b- 136 b.

8. Reliance upon God. توکل

Patience is necessary for the seeker of God. He should rely upon God and need not worry.

ای شره باهل جهان در ستیز ÷ سی و دو دندان طمع کرده تیز
بر در دونان شده از بهر نان ÷ روی سیه کرده ز بهر دیگدان
قطرهٔ اشکت نمک خوان حرص ÷ کاسهٔ چشم تو نمکدان حرص
پوششش هر شب به تنت پوست بس ÷ خوردن هر روزه غم دست بس
طفل صفت باز مکن مشت خویش ÷ در دهن خویش نه انگشت خویش
سلطنت هر دو جهان فقر تست ÷ فقر تو گردد بتوکل درست
پای ز دامان توکل مکش تو ÷ سر بگریبان تنزل مکش تو
فقر کم از دولت جاوید نیست ÷ فقر کم از دولت جمشید نیست
صبر چراغ شب تاریک تست ÷ صبر عصای ره باریک تست
صبر بود دولت دنیا و دین تو ÷ گفته حق الله مع الصابرین
صبر ندارد ز توکل گزیر ÷ صبر بود تاج و توکل سریر
هست توکل بخدا اعتماد تو ÷ چشم طمع دوختن از هر مراد
تا نبود تیغ توکل بدست ÷ لشکر آمال نیاید بدست
تا دم صبح ابد آسوده خفت ÷ هرکه توکلت علی الله گفت[1]

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1. Fani, Muhammad Muhsin, Masdar-ul-Asar, Ms. foll. 138 b-141a.

FĀNĪ AND HIS PUPILS :

In the preceding pages we have discussed the chief characteristics of Fāni's poetry and have tried to display his merits and demerits. Here we shall try to say something about him and his pupils.......Ghanī and Salim, who were famous poets of their age. Salim and Ghanī, though his pupils, were effected by Fānī's poetical taste only to a negligable extent, perhaps because they were different in nature and disposition and placed in a different environment. In the beginning both found a traditional environment and received its impact, which, however, was not of long duration, because the changing conditions of life diverted their attention, bringing a change in the angle of vision. Fānī's comparative lack of imagination left him behind his pupils.

In the Ghazals of his pupils, there are new ideas and even new themes. In Ghanī's poetry we find a new life and an expression of a new angle of vision. In his verses we visulise his personality The climax of imagination and ideas and the speciousness of thoughts are laudable. This gives orignality to his expression and makes him matchless. Mention Ghanī, oft-felt unsaid things float before the eyes to live again. He is superior to his fellow poets in felicity and simplicity of language....the lyric quality. Terse, sententious, never ornate.....his poetry proves that brevity is the soul of wit.

Similarly Sālim, as a lyric poet ranks very high and no praise would be excessive for the ecstasy of feelings, the felicity of phrase and in some cases the verbal music. His

perenial success in the realm of poetry is largely due to delicacy of similies and metaphors and novelty in presenting even the ordinary ideas. He has given more ideas to Persian literature than any other single poet of Kashmir.

At this place we have no mind to compare Fānī with his pupils. We have great regard for him because he is one of those poets under whose guidance flourished those chaps of Kashmīr who during their life contributed a lot to Persian literature and bequeathed to their country and the men of letters a rich poetical heritage. Here we take the liberty of saying that in Fānī's poetry sentiments and feelings of love have been expressed in simple words and these sentiments and feelings are of very ordinary nature, because Fani is not a poet of nuances and, therefore, he does not deal in that beauty which lives in the veins, in the eyes...the world around. Words never become incadescent, for his is not a living electric imagery.

Moreover, we find a slight change in the back ground of Persi-an poetry in Kashmīr during the eleventh century of Hijra corresponding to the seventeenth century of Christian era, which is evident from the poetical collections of Ghanī and Sālim, but it is strange to note that even the slightest change is not visible in Fānī's poetry. It seems as if Fānī considered its form too rigid and conventional to permit of the expression of any sustained and con-tinuous thought or the communication of a wide range of human experiences. He has not enhanced its value as a fit medium of reasoned meditation. Moreover, Fānī's Ghazals are so formal and conventional and their symbols so sterotyped and common-place,

that they have lost all effective significance. They do not move the audience. We do not want to become the detractors of Rūmī nor we have a mind to show the darkside of the picture, but the fact remains. As a matter of fact, we do not witness his Ghazals carrying a deeper significance with new symbols charged with a new emotional meaning. Fresh experiences have not been assimilated. A new social awareness, an idealised conception of love, a new understanding of the problems of life and a new interpretation of man's deeper emotions have not found expression through his Ghazals. Hence, we are of the view that when the spiritual biography of his contemporary thought is written, the author will have to omit his name.

MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD ṬĀHIR GHANĪ

NAME & CLAN:

Ghanī's full name is Muḥammad Ṭāhir.[1] The name Muḥammad Ṭāhir was given to him by his father who owed spiritual allegiance to Khawājah Ṭāhir Rafīq Ashā'ī[2], Mullā and Maulānā are his titles and Ghanī his nom de plume. He belonged to the Ashā'ī clan[3] which has been the subject of varied views. Pīr Ḥasan Shāh 's view is that this clan migrated from the village 'Ishāvar which is situated in Khurāsān.[4] This same view seems to have prevailed with Matīn-uz-Zamān Khān the author of the census report of 1911.[5]

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1. Naṣr Ābādī, Ṭāhir, Muḥammad, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p 445.

محمد طاهر نام داشته

" He had Muḥammad Ṭāhir as his name."

2. Ṣūfī, Dr. G.D. Kashīr, Vol. II. p 463.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 226a.

ملا محمد طاهر غنی اشتوی کشمیری ..... اشتی ..... قبیله الیت از قبائل معتبر کشمیر

A'zam writes as Ashyā'ī (اشیائی). cf. Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, p261

4. Ḥasan Shāh, Pīr, Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan.

The original manuscript is preserved in Srīnagar and is, therefore, inaccessable. The relevent text is given by Fauq in his Tārīkh-i- Aqvām-i-Kashmīr, pp 231-232, which runs as follows:

گویند جد آنها از مقام عیشاور که دهی است از مضافات خراسان آمده حالا مردم کشمیر عیشاور را عیشائی تلفظ کرده اند

5. Matīn-uz-Zamān Khān, census report 1911., Part I, p. 205 footnote.

Commenting on this Dr. Ṣūfī writes:

" Despite consulting detailed Atlases, Scholars of Persian and wide awake travellers to Iran, I find no clue to the existence of this village in Khurāsān and Irān. Either it is far too small and far too insignificant or Pīr Ḥasan Shāh is mistaken![1]

The author of Rozatul Abrār writes about this clan that the progenitor of Ashā'ī clan was Khawājah Sangīn who accompanying Shāh Hamdān (Ḥazrat Amīr Kabīr 'Alī Hamdānī) went to Kashmīr, He as well as his sons was pious. They were business-men. He (the father) used to remain in the mosque from the after noon prayer(نماز عصر) till the prayer of 'Ishā'(عشاء), and as they used to come out of the mosque after 'Ishā' (عشاء) so they began to be called Ishā'ī (عشائی)."

There is another view that Khawājah Sangīn used to dine daily with Ḥazrat Amīr. He particularly never missed the dinner which in his (Ḥazrat Amīr Hamdānī's) term was called Ghizā-i-'Ishā' (غذائی عشاء) food of night. One day, by chance, Khawājah Sangīn' could not come at night. Ḥazrat inquired as to where his 'Ishā'ī was ? The word became a part of Khawājah Sangīn's name, and his family became famous by this name.[2]

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1. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D. Kāshīr, Vol. II, p 463.

2. Fauq , Muḥammad-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr, pp. 232-233. The orignal text is given below.

خواجہ سنگین اول تو غذائے روزانہ ورنہ رات کا کھانا لازمی طور پر حضرت امیر کے دسترخوان پر کھایا کرتے تھے۔
حضرت کی اصطلاح میں رات کے کھانے کو غذائے عشا کہتے تھے۔ ایک دن اتفاق سے خواجہ سنگین عشا کے وقت نہ آ
سکا حضرت نے پوچھا ہمارا عشائی کہاں گیا حضرت کی زبان گویا زبان خلق تھی کہ جو کہا پتھر کی لکیر ہو گیا چنانچہ ساڑھے
چھ سو سال گزر جانے پر بھی عشائی کا لفظ اب تک موجود ہے۔

Here one thing is note-worthy, that almost all the historians and Tazkirah writers write the name of this clan with Alef (الف) and not with 'Ain (عین)[1]. If this is correct then both the preceding views are baseless.

Khawājah 'Abdur Ra'ūf in an article on Ghanī gives still another view. He says:

(غنی) کے مورث اعلیٰ محمد ابراہیم خزانچی سلاطین چغتائیہ تھے جن کے قبضے میں جواہرات کا
خزانہ رہتا تھا وہ ہندوستان میں کشمیر سے آکر آباد ہوئے اسی سبب سے کشمیری کہلائے
اور چونکہ اشیائے جنس بہا ان کے قبضۂ اقتدار میں رہتی تھیں اس لئے انہیں اشیائی بھی کہنے لگے
کثرت استعمال سے یہ لفظ بگڑ کر اشائی بن گیا اور کل خاندان کے لوگ اشائی کے لقب سے نامزد ہوئے[2]

" One of Ghanī's progenitiors was Muhammad Ibrāhīm the treasurer of the kings of Chughtāyah dynasty under whose custody the treasure of diamonds was kept. He came from Kashmīr and stayed in India. For this reason they became known as Kashmīrī and as the precious articles used to be under his control so he was also called Ashyā'ī (اشیائی) and the frequent use of this word changed it into Ashā'ī (اشائی) ie. without ی and this became the title of his (Ibrāhīm's) dynasty.

This reason seems to be a farfetched one, and therefore, does not appeal to reason, though it is according to the spelling invogue. Moreover, Ibrāhīm was Khawājah Sangīn's grand son, and this title has been connected with the said Khawājah Sangīn by the early historians etc.

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 261.
   Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā , Ms, fol. 226a.
   Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād, p. 103.

2. 'Ishrat, 'Abdur Ra'ūf, Khawājah, Dār-ul-Furqān, Sept. 1951, p 30

Fauq writes in Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr that he inquired from one of the respected Aghā'īs who in reply told him:

خواجہ محمد سنگین کشمیری الاصل تھے اور جناب امیر سید علی ہمدانی
کی تشریف آوری سے پہلے ہی مشرف بہ اسلام ہو چکے تھے[1]

Khawājah Sangīn was a Kashmīrī and had embraced Islām before the immigration of Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamdānī."

To support this he says:-

خواجہ مذکور اگر حضرت امیر ہی کے ہمراہیوں میں تھے اور ان کے ساتھ ہی بخارا یا ترکستان کے
کسی مقام سے آئے تھے تو لازماً ان کا قیام بھی حضرت امیر کے ساتھ ہی ہوگا اور سب یاران
ہم صحبت اکھٹے کھانا کھاتے ہونگے صرف انہی کو "عشائی کجا است" کہنے کی کیا ضرورت تھی
اس سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ خواجہ محمد سنگین کشمیری الاصل ہی تھے اور چونکہ وہ اپنے کاروبار سے
فارغ ہو کر عشا کو بزم جناب امیر میں شامل ہوا کرتے تھے ایک مرتبہ نہ گئے ہونگے یا دیر
سے گئے ہونگے تو انہوں نے "عشائی کجا است" کہہ دیا ہوگا[2]

" If the said Khawājah was among the companions of the Amīr and came with him either from Bukhārā or some other place of Turkistān, then necessarily he would be residing with the Amīr and all the companions would have been dining together. The need to say to him particularly as to where the 'Ishā'ī was does not arise. From this it is evident that Khawājah Muhammad Sangin was a Kashmīrī. As he used to go to Amīr at the time of 'Ishā after

1. Fauq, Muhammad-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr, p 233.

2. Ibid, p 233.

having finished his daily task, he might not have gone there once or gone but a little late, he would have said at that time, "Where is ʿIshā'i"

However these are the views expressed by various scholars but these explanations are probable.

Sir Walter Lawrence 's view that " Ashā'is are Moghals[1]" has been confirmed by Chirāgh Hasan Hasrat who writes in his book named "Kashmir."

عشائی اور بانڈے بھی مغلوں کی اولاد سے ہیں[2]

" Ishā'ī and Bāndai are the decendants of Moghals"
He further writes:-

مغلوں کے نام کے آخر میں میر ہوتا ہے ..... مثلاً عبداللہ میر[3]

" Word Mīr comes in the end of Moghals' name.....eg. ʿAbdullah Mīr."

Taking into view this statement of Hasrat, Muhammad Ṭāhir Should have been called Muhammad Ṭāhir Mīr. But it is strange to note that neither any Tazkirah writer nor any historian has written " Mīr" after his name, but all write "Mullā" or Maulānā" before his name.

From this it is evident that the word "Mīr" has been adopted by ʿIshā'is and Bāndai after and before their names respectively for the sake of distinction at a later stage.

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1. Lawrence, Walter, Valley of Kashmir , p. 309.
2. Hasrat, Chirāgh Hasan, Kashmir, p 20.
3. Ibid, p 20.

B I R T H :

Ghanī's date of birth like that of the astonomer poet of Irān 'Umar-i-Khayyām, is a subject of controversy. All the Tazkirah writers have kept silence in this respect. Only Rauq an historian of the 20th century says that Ghanī was born in the year 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) He writes in Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr:

غنی کی پیدائش کا سال تخلیہ ... سے [1]

" Ghani's year of birth is 1040 A.H."

This year of birth has been confirmed by Premnāth pardeisī and Khwājah 'Abdur Raūf 'Ishrat who wrote articles on Ghanī in the "Ājkal [2] " a fortnightly magzine and the monthly "The Dār-ul-Furqan [3] respectively. These two magazines are published in Delhī and Lāhore respectively.

The year of birth given by Rauq is not acceptable as it is incorrect.

Ahmad 'Alī Hāshmī writes in Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib which conotes that Ghanī had friendship with Sā'ib, Kalīm and Qudsī.

وی با اکثر شعرای ایران مثل میرزا صائب وکلیم و محمد جان قدسی صحبت ها داشته [4]

" He kept company with the master minded poets of Irān like Mirzā Sā'ib, Kalīm and Muhammad Jān Qudsī."

Maulānā Shiblī a learned critic of the east who writes under the caption of " Analogy of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm," died 1062 A.H. (1652A.

کلیم. میرزا صائب اور غنی ...... تینوں شاعر کشمیر میں مدت تک

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1. Rauq, Muhammad-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr I p 235.

2. The Ājkal, vol. 5 : 22, p 44.

3. The Dār-ul-Furqan, September, 1951, p 30.
4. Hāshmī, Ahmad Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 245a-245b.

سالہا بہم در کشمیر رہے اور باہم مشاعرے رہتے تھے ۱

" Kalīn, Mirzā Ṣā'ib and Ghanī ......all the three lived long in Kashmir as intimate friends and vied with one another in poetry.

This historical fact has been confirmed by Ḥasrat in "Kashmir"[2] which is definitely based on the statements of Hāshmī and Shiblī. To solve this dilemma and for a proper understanding of this remarkable episode of Ṣā'ib's immigration into India we have to deal with so many different and conflicting and even some fanciful and interesting statements found in the biographical works of Indians and Persians, so we shall discuss this point first and for reasons of space we shall avoid to discuss the statements of men of letters fully, but study in its outline a chronological history of Indian events connected with Ṣā'ib and his patron Ẓafar Khān and his patron's father Khawājah Abul Ḥasan Turbatī.

Khawājah Abul Ḥasan was appointed by Jahāngīr as the governor of Kābul in 1624 A.D. (1033 A.H.) and his son Khawājah Aḥsan Ullah, better known by his title ẒafarKhān was appointed as his assistant. Maāṣir-ul-Umrā tells us under the heading Ẓafar Khān :

پسر خواجہ ابوالحسن تربتی است. سال نوزدہم جلوس جنت مکانی چون صوبہ داری
کابل از تغیر مہابت خان بخواجہ مقرر گشت او بنیابت پدر بر آن جا تعین شد 3

" He is the son of Khawājah Abul Ḥasan Turbatī. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign when the governorship of Kābul was transferred from Mahābat Khān, the said Khawājah was entrusted with the

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1. Shiblī Nuʿmānī, Shiʿr-ul-ʿAjam, Vol. III,, p 198.
2. Ḥasrat. Chirāgh Ḥasan, Kashmīr, p. 85.
3. Shāh Navāz Khān, Maāsir-ul-Umrā , Vol. II, p 756.

task. He, as an assistant to his father, was appointed there.

It was in 1032-33 A.H. (1624 A.D.) that Zafar Khān was sent to Kābul as the governor of that place, and it was there that a year later Mirzā Ṣā'ib arrived on his way to the Moghal capital Āgrah during the reign of Jehāngir, and attached himself to his society of poets and learned men as we learn from the preface written by Zafar Khān himself for his 'Dīvān'[1]

The post of governor was held by Zafar Khān till the first year of Shāhjehān's reign 1036-1067 A.H. (1627-1657 A.D.) when his father relinquished the charge of this post, and Zafar Khān came to the capital. Maāsir-ul-Umrā tells us:

سال اول سلطنت فردوس آشیانی..... تعلقه مذکور از پدرش تغییر شده او بحضور آمد[2]

" In the first year of Shāhjehān........the said land was taken from his father. He came to the court."

From this it is obvious that four years or less 1624-1628 A.D. (1033-1037 -38 A.H.) Sa ib remained in Kābul with Zafar Khān and when in 1628 A.D. (1037-38 A.H.) Zafar Khān hastened towards the Moghal capital, Sā'ib was with him.

When in 1629 A,D. (1038 A.H.) Shāhjehān set out for his campaign in the Deccan Khawājeh Abul Ḥasan as well as his son Mirzā Zafar Khān was entrusted with commands, and Ṣā'ib too formed a member of the party.

سال سیوم هنگامی که ملک دکن مخیم مواکب سلطانی بود همراه خواجه
مذکور به تسخیر ولایت ناسک و ترنبک و سنگنیر دستوری یافت[3]

1. Bankey Bihāri Lāl, A study of Ṣā'ib , (Thesis), p.
2. Shāh Nawāz Khān, Maāsir-ul-Umrā, Vol. II, p 757.
3. Ibid, p. 757.

" In the third year at the time when Deccan was the place of stability of the king's forces, he received orders along with the said Khwājah for the subjugation of the cities of Nāsik, Tarbang and Sangīz."

Ṣā'ib was in Burhān pūr, when he heard that his aged father had come from Iṣfahān with the intention of taking him back to Persia (Irān)[1]. In furtherance of this wish Ṣā'ib wrote a beautiful Qasidah for Khwājah Abul Hasan and his son Zafar Khān asked their permission to start for Āgrah before his seventy years old father travelled all the way from Āgrah to Burhānpūr. The Qaṣīdah begins thus:

اقبال شد آنکه بتائید کردگار ؛ در زیر پا تو کند از اوج اعتبار

This Qaṣīdah popularly called the valedictory Qaṣīdah, affords a very important study as therein Ṣā'ib expressly says that he went to India six years hence, and gives further details of the present event.

شش سال پیش رفت که از اصفهان بهند ؛ افتاده است توسن عزم مرا گذار

هفتاد ساله والد پیراست بنده را ؛ کز تربیت بود بمن آن حق بی شمار

آورده است جذبهٔ شوق کشان کشان ؛ از اصفهان بآگره ولاهورش اشکبار

زان پیشتر که از آگره بمعمورهٔ دکن ؛ آید عنان گسسته تر از سیل بیقرار

این راه دور را ز سر شوق طی کند ؛ با قامت خمیده و با پیکر نزار

دارم امید رخصتی از آستان تو تا ؛ ای آستانت کعبهٔ امید روزگار

مقصود او ز آمدنش بردن من است ؛ لب را بحرف رخصت من کن گهر نثار

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ghulām Ālī, Sarv-i-Āzād, p 100.

با جبههٔ گشاده تر از آفتاب صبح
دست دعا بدرقهٔ راه من برآر[1]

These verses supply us the date to conclude that Ṣā'ib reached India in the latter part of the reign of Jahāngīr 1014-36 A.H. (1627-1657 A.D.) and not that of Shāhjahān, as stated by many biographers.

Ẓafar Khān remained in the Deccan till 1631 A.D.(1041 A.H.) when the governor ship of Kashmīr was entrusted to his father which was again transferred to his son, who soon became the actual governor of that place because of his father's death in 1632 A.D. (1042 A.H.) Shāh Navāz Khān writes in Ma'āsir-ul-'Umrā:

و سال پنجم چون صوبه‌داری کشمیر از تغیر اعتقاد خان شاه‌پور بپدرش مفوض گشت
او بنیابت ...... بدان صوبه مرخص گردید و سال ششم (که پدرش بدار بقا
شتافت) پادشاه صوبه‌داری کشمیر اصالةً باو مقرر کرد[2]

" In the fifth year when on account of A'taqād Khān Shāh Pūr's transfer the governorship of Kashmīr was entrusted to him, as an assistant he was permitted to leave for that province and in the sixth year (when his father died) the king assigned the governorship to him."

From the above it is manifest that the Qaṣīdah reffered to above was written by Ṣā'ib before Shāhjahān decided to leave for the capital and till then more than six years had passed. Thus we

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1. Ṣā'ib, Muhammad 'Alī, Dīvān-i-Ṣā'ib, p 500-501 (Matgin)

2. ShāhNavāz Khān , Ma'āsir-ul-Umrā, p 757.

can safely place the arrival of Sa ib in India about 1624 A.D (1033 A.H.)

Now soon after the composition of the above Qaṣīdah Shāhjahān returned to Āgrah in 1631 A.D. (1040 A.H.) with all the above company. Sa ib had the pleasure of meeting his aged father in Āgrah after an absence of nearly seven years. After their return to the capital, as has already been stated, governorship of Kashmīr was assigned to Abul Ḥasan. Ẓafar Khān worked there as his assistant or representative. After his death in 1632 A.D. (1042 A.H.) Ẓafar Khān , his son became the actual governor of that place. Ṣā'ib accompanied his patron thither, and after a very short sojourn presumably of a few months returned to his native land along with his father and remained in Irān till his death.

Mention cannot be altogether omitted of the episode which led Ṣā'ib to Kashmīr, as it will help us to know that Ṣā'ib went to Kashmīr of his own accord in the company of his patron Ẓafar Khān to see this paradise on earth. There is a Qasidah in Ṣā'ib's Qulyāt which begins thus:

بحر طبعم در سخن چون گوهر افشانی کند ÷ در صدف گوهر ز خجلت چهره مرجانی کند[1]

In this Qasīdah he says:

بهشتی بگذار تا این عندلیب بی‌نوا ÷ بار دیگر در گلستانت نواخوانی کند[2]

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1. Ṣā'ib, Muḥammad 'Alī, Qulyāt-i-Ṣā'ib, p. 693 (Margin)

2. Ibid, p. 694.

From this it can safely be concluded that Sa ib had taken the permission of his patron in the Deccan to leave India for 'Sweet - home'[1] but when he came to know of his appointment to Kashmīr he began to show an inclination not to lose this God-given opportunity of visiting that place---the very paradise on earth, so Sā'ib instead of accompanying his father at that very time accompanied Zafar Khān to enjoy life in the terrestrial "Garden of Eden"[1] For this purpose he took another permission of the Navāb in a conventional manner to accompany him to that place by writting a Qasīdah reffered to above.

Now there does not remain even the least shadow of doubt that Sā'ib visited Kashmīr in 1041-42 A.H. Under the circumstances, when Sā'ib came to Kashmīr, Ghanī at that time would be surely of a year or so. The question of intimacy does not arise.

Once again we would refer to Ahmad 'Alī 's statement in Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib which conotes that Ghanī had friendship with Sā'ib, Kalīm and Qudsī. About Sā'ib we have already discussed . So far as Qudsī and Kalīm is concerned it is an admitted fact that both were among his friends. To justify it, it would not be

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1. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarve-i-Āzād, p 101.

"ہژدہم محرم سنہ اثنین و اربعین والف (۱۰۴۲) ظفر خان را حکومت کشمیر بہ نیابت
خواجہ ابوالحسن مفوض گردید۔ میرزا محمل سفر با ظفر خان بربست و پس از گلگشت کشمیر
جنت نظیر عازم ایران دیار گشت و تا آخر ایام حیات نزد سلاطین صفویہ مکرم
زیست و در مدائح ایشان قصائد غرا پرداخت"

incoherent to refer to a fragment written by Ghanī at the death of Kalīm (d. 1061 A.H.- 1651 A.D.) in which he mentions the name of Qudsī (d. 1056 A.H. - 1646 A.D.) in the following words.

عمرها در یاد او زیر زمین ÷ خاک بر سر کرد قدسی و سلیم[1]

About Qudsī we know that he went to India in the fifth year of Shāhjahān's reign[2] ie. in the year 1041-42 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.) and by the help of ʿAbdullah Khān Fīroz Jang entered the service of Shāhjahān.[3] Qudsī died in 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.)

وفاتش بقول مستندین در ۱۰۵۶ھ / ۱۶۴۶ء در لاهور واقع شد[4]

" His death according to authenticated accounts took place in 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) at Lāhore.

Abū Ṭālib also wrote an elegy at the death of Qudsī. One of his Tarkib Band (Composite tie) yeilds the year of Qudsī's death which is this:

دور از آن بلبل قدسی چمنم زندان شد

Similarly Kalīm was in Kashmīr in the year 1055 A.H. (1645AD) which is evident from Bādshāh Nāmah of ʿAbdul Hamīd Lāhorī. بادشاه‌نامه

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p 135.
2. ʿAbdul Hamīd Lāhorī, writes in Bādshāhnāmah :

" در سال پنجم جلوس اقبال مانوس فراز نده اکلیل کشورستانی حضرت صاحبقران ثانی بهندوستان آمده در سلک مناقب گذاران انسلاک یافت "

(of Badshahnamah Vol. I, Part II, p 351.)

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Khezānah-i-ʿAmireh, p 377 and Sarv-i-Āzād, p 61.

قدسی در سال پنجم جلوس شاهجهانی مطابق ۱۰۴۱-۴۲ھ / ۱۶۳۱-۳۲ء به هند آمد و بتوسط عبدالله خان فیروز جنگ بملازمت شاهجهان بادشاه رسید

4. Qazvīnī, ʿAbdun Nabī, Maikhānah, footnote, p 540.

He writes:

طالب کلیم که در ستائش بادشاه دوران قصیده گفته بود دو لیست مهر انعام فرمودند¹

" It was ordered that two hundred gold coins be paid to Talib Kalīm who had written a qasīdah in praise of the king of the age."

Kalīm died in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) This is evident from the elegy written by Ghanī himself. The year of his death can be derived from the following couplet of the said elegy:

گفت تاریخ وفات او غنی ٭ طور معنی بود روشن از کلیم²

Now taking into view all these facts, if we ponder upon it we come to the conclusion that Ghanī would be a boy of teens when Kalīm went to Kashmīr provided we suppose that Ghanī was born in the year 1041 A.H. (1630 A.D.) and even at Kalīm's death he would be not more than 21 years of age. Intimacy and friendship, therefore, cannot be imagined with a boy of teens by a court poet. But his friendship cannot be denied, because of the elegy written by him at Kalīm's death. Against this reasoning one can say that as Kalīm was a celebrated poet of the age the elegy at his death was the result of that sensational and thrilling news which naturally had its effect on the heart of literary minded persons. Even if it is so one cannot expect such good verses from him as he wrote at the death of Kalīm when he was but a youth having just finished his studies.

Nine years earlier than this Mīr Ilāhī died, when too, he wrote a chronogram which bears Tāhir as his 'Takhallus' Mīr Ilāhī³

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1. Lāhorī, 'Abdul Hamīd, Mullā, Bādshāhnāmah, Vol. II, p 468.
2. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p 135.

death took place in 1052 A.H. (1643 A.D.) which is evident from the following couplet of Ghanī.

گفت تاریخ وفاتش طاہر ∴ برد الہی زجہان گوی سخن [1]

From the above it is evident that Ghanī commenced to write poetry with his pen name as Ṭāhir. At Mīr Ilāhī's death , according to the supposed year of his birth Ghanī would be of 12 years--- an age in which such verses cannot be expected.

Moreover, this year is not acceptable as internal evidence does not support it. The perusal of his 'Dīvān' proves it to the hilt that he died at an advanced age and not at 39. '(His year of death 1079 A.H. - 1669 A.D.)has been accepted at all hands.) To cite the following couplets of Ghanī would suffice to support us:

ز پیری چنان گشته ام ناتوان ∴ که دندان بجنبید جای زبان [2]

ریخت دندان ز دهن رفت جوانی برباد ∴ آه ازین ژاله که در مزرع عمرم افتاد [3]

از ضعف پیری است مرا تکیه بر عصا ∴ گردم هنوز هرزه چو طفلان نی سوار [4]

ز پیری ریخت دندانم نه لرزد تن بباد حق ∴ ببازی آخر این تسبیح چون اطفال گم کردم [5]

موی سر گردم سفید اما خیالت در سر است ∴ اخگر پنهان تر این توده خاکستر است [6]

However, from this discussion, it is clearly proved that Ghanī's birth took place far earlier than 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) our researches lead us to suppose that Ghanī was born in 1020 A.H. 1610 A.D.) and not 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.)

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Divān-i-Ghani, p 135.
2. Ibid, p 112.
3. Ibid, p. 68.
4. Ibid, p 82.
5. Ibid, p 104.
6. Ibid, p 35.

There is a little difference in the shape of digits two and four when written in the Urdu or the Persian way of writing, which is like this ۲, ۴ and if it is written in '<u>sh</u>ikastah' the difference is inconceiveable.

Moreover, even if it had been written in a legible hand it is most probable that the lapse of time would have made the impression very dim, turning illegible and some one might have read it 1040 instead of 1020 A.H. In its support we refer to the statement of <u>Kh</u>aliq in respect of Zaib-un-Nisā Ma<u>kh</u>fi's 'Divan' which is as follows:

دوسرا نسخہ خط نسخ میں ہے...... سنہ بھی مٹ سا گیا ہے مگر جب خوردبین سے دیکھا تو ۱۱۹۶ یا ۱۱۷۶ معلوم ہوتا ہے
(ص ۴۳)

" I got a second copy in the Nas<u>kh</u> handwriting......year was diminished, but when it was seen by the help of microscop it seemed as if it was 1196 or 1176."

The difference between the shapes of the digits nine and seven is great. If owing to dim impression one is unable to differentiate nine and seven, then to dicern two and four is certainly most difficult if not impossible. Notwithstanding this, one thing also attracts our attention and that is the difference between 1020 and 1079 (the year of <u>Gh</u>ani's death) This difference of 59 leads to the conjecture that after the age of 50 <u>Gh</u>ani might have suffered from some such diseases about which he points out in his verses eg. falling of the teeth and pains in the various parts of the body. Hoever, if this assumption of ours that <u>Gh</u>ani was born in 1020 A.H (1610 A.D.) and not 1040 A.H.(1630 A.D.) may be given the value of a testimonial then no hiderence remains that <u>Gh</u>ani met Sā'ib and had friedship with Kalim, Mir Ilāhi etc., as he would be 22 years when he met with Sā'ib. Similarly at the death of Mir Ilāhi and Kalim he would have enjoyed 32 and 41 years of age respectively.

EDUCATION:

Ghanī was born in a middle class family. He was handsome and the vestiges of genius were obvious from his looks.[1]

After having elementary education at home he began to take lessons from Muhsin Fānī (d. 1082 A.H.) who was a learned man of the age. About his education Pardaisī writes:

انہوں (فانی) نے شروع شروع میں دینیات کی تعلیم دی پھر فارسی پڑھائی جب اُنہیں اطمینان ہو گیا
کہ اندر کے نور کے چمکنے کے لیے مطلع صاف ہو گیا ہے تو فنونِ شاعری کی تعلیم دی ..... ملا محسن فانی
ان بحث مباحثوں میں اسے شریک کرتے رہتے جو آئے دن اُن کے ہاں ہوتے رہتے تھے۔ استاد کی
اس شفقت سے غنی کے تخیل میں وسعت، فن میں پختگی اور نظر میں ہمہ گیری پیدا ہو گئی۔ قدرت
نے روزِ ازل ہی ایسا دماغ بخشا تھا جو ہر چیز کی حقیقت اور پرت کا تجزیہ کر سکتا تھا اسپر ملا فانی
کی صحبت و تربیت سونے پر سہاگہ کا کام کر گئی [2]

" He '(Fānī) taught him theology in the beginning and then Persian. When he was satisfied that the ground was prepared for his internal illumination, he educated him in the art of poetry..... Mullā Muhsin Fānī also allowed him to remain present in those discussion which used to take place there every day. By this affection of the teacher, Ghanī gained high imagination and skill in the art of poetry. God had bestowed upon him such a good brain that could understand and attain profound knowledge of every thing. To crown all Fānī's company and affection helped him to a great extent

Sarkhush writes:

طالب علمی بکمال داشت [3]

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1. Pardaisī, Prem Nāth, The Ājkal, 5: 22. p 44.
2. Ibid, p.44.

3. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shʿarā, p 83 footnote.

" He had much inclination to learning."

One of his pupils Muslim by name considers his poetry as a second thing. He writes:

علم را نقاب عرفان ساخته، شعرش پرده داری هردو می نمود، و معارف حقیقی در لباس علوم
رسمی درپوش می ساخت، و از سخنانِ گوناگون مرقع دوخته بر بالای هردو می انداخت[1]

" He made his knolwedge the veil for gnosticism and veiled both of them, and concealed the real knowledge in the disguise of conventional sciences, and with varied form of poetry he sewed a robe and put it on both."

The following verse of Ghani bears the testimony.

ز شعر من شده پوشیده فضل و دانش من ؛ چون میوهٔ که بماند بزیر برگ نهان[2]

Under my verses wisdom and knowledge
Hide like the ripe fruit under its leafage.

How much knowledge he had in other branches of various sciences, it cannot be said, as no other book of his is traceable, nor has any one even mentioned the name of his works other than the 'Dīvān'.

Ṭāhir Naṣr Ābādī writes in his Tazkirah that Ghanī got education from Fughānī Kashmīrī. He writes under Fughānī:

غنی کشمیری تعلیم ازو دارد[3]

"Ghanī Kashmīrī got education from him."

Ghanī might have had his primary education from him but there is no denying the fact that most of his educational career was spent under Mullā Muḥsin Fānī and it was his company that made him a great poet.

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1. Muslim, Preface to Dīvān-i-Ghanī, pp 4-5.
2. Ghanī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 109.
3. Naṣrābādī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p.

BEGINNING OF WRITING POETRY AND DISCUSSION ON HIS NOM DE PLUME :

Sarkhush who is contemporary to Ghanī writes in Kalmāt-ush Shu'arā :

غنی تاریخ ابتدائی شعر گفتن و تخلص یافتن اوست [1]

" Ghanī is the date of the commencement of writing poetry and getting the nom de plume."

The numerical value of word "Ghanī" amounts to 1060 so it has been presumed by all that he began to write poetry in the year 1060 A (1650 A.D.) and as he was born in 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) so he was of twenty years when he brought out his first lyric or verse. It is nothing but arbitrary recombinations of unprecise ideas which is the outcome of some scholar's imagination.

It would be not incoherent here to question " Why Muhammad Ṭāhir selected Ghanī as his 'Takhallus'? " Sarkhush has given no reason for it. Sheir Khān Lodhī who completed his Tazkireh in 1102 A.H. ie 23 years after Ghanī's death and is, therefore, some-what contemporaneous to Ghanī is also silent on the point. His silence in this respect cannot be under valued. Āzād Bilgirāmī though a later biographer gives the following reason for his 'Takhallus.'

غنی بنابر طبعی مجبول بود و باوصف بی دستگاهی بحضور خاطر
بسر میبرد ازینجاست که غنی تخلص می کند [2]

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1. Sarkhush , Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā, p 84.
2. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād , p 103.

" Ghanī was famous for his wealthy disposition and was passing his days without pomp ans show. This is why he keeps Ghanī as his 'Takhallus'."

However, if we take Sarkhush's view for granted even then the year of his birth cannot be considered as 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) If we accept that he in the company of Ṣā'ib, Kalīm, and Muḥsin Fānī gathered a lot of experience even then it is difficult to presume that at the death of Kalīm which took place in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) he became so conversant with the art of poetry that he not only wrote elegy but also in the second hemistich of the last verse wrote the chronogram of his death.

Even a lay man can easily understand that it is impossible and not acceptable. No doubt he was 'Rustam of poetry' but did he traveled the 'Haft-Khwān' of poetry in the twinkling of an eye? Was it the miriacle of 'Kun Fayakūn' that no sooner was it said than it came into existance. The depth of poetry has not up till now, and will surely not in the future, be crossed in a jump. Here one has to proceed with much care and consciousness and after much patientce and perseveirence one may achieve the goal. Even then the result of energetic and sustained endeavours may be one verse as has been said by Iqbāl.

صد نالہ شبگیری صد صبح بلاخیزی ÷ صد آہ شرر ریزی یک شعر دلآویزی

But in the beginning, it is above suspician to say, one is only a rhymist, a verse monger. His imagination cannot be lofty. That can be called versification, but not the one that enchants our fancy. On the other hand, it is sometimes derisive. It appears like a flower having colour but no smell. Slowly and steadily

after practiceing for a long time and continuously endeavouring and putting forth all one's efforts and overcoming all sorts of difficulties and troubles that confront one in the ocean of poetry one may reach the shore. In short it is inconceiveable that after a year's or less than a year's practice one can write such a nice and laudable fragment as is under:

حیف کز دیوار این گلشن پرید ∴ طالبا آن بلبل باغ نعیم
رفت و آخر خامه را از دست داد ∴ بی عصا طی کرد این راه را کلیم
اشک حسرت چون نمی ریزد قلم ∴ شد سخن از مردن طالب یتیم
هر دم از شورش دل اهل سخن ∴ چون زبان خامه می گردد دو نیم
بحرها در یاد او زیر زمین ∴ خاک بر سر کرد قدسی و سلیم
عاقبت از اشتیاق یک دگر ∴ گشته اند این سه در یکجا مقیم
گفت تاریخ وفات او غنی ∴ طور معنی بود روشن از کلیم[1]

A perusal of the above quoted fragment shows that every verse of it is worth appreciation. It contains simile, metaphor, allusion and the hemistich which bears the chronogram طور معنی بود روشن از کلیم is indeed very lofty. Can one develop one's talent and skill in the art of poetry in a year or so ? Reply must be in the negative. To crown all there is another fragment written at the death of Mīr Ilāhī bearing the heading:

بر وفات شاعر میر الهی

" At the death of poet Mīr Ilāhī."

This fragment is cited below:

نیست دور از اثر صحبت او ∴ که لب گور در آید بسخن

1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, pp 134-135.

بر سر خاک وی ارباب زمان ∴ جامه پوشیده سیه چون سوسن

گفت تاریخ وفاتش طاهر ∴ برد الهی ز جهان گوی سخن [1]

1052

Every couplet of this fregment clearly indicates that the poet has just put his foot on the path of versification. Only a few years have passed since he began to practise. Just think over the 'Takhallus'. Is there any need for further reasoning ?

The following verse in his 'Dīvān' also bears Ṭāhir as his nom de plume.

چنان گردید دامنگیر گرد غربتم طاهر ∴ که رنگ شیشهٔ ساعت بود خاک مزار من [2]

This verse is of specific importance concluding that his first 'Takhallus' was Ṭāhir. It is also evident from the above cited fregment that Ghanī used to versify even in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.) so to consider the beginning of his versification in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) is palpably incorrect. The marginal writer rejects it saying:

بدانکه در بعض نسخ این تاریخ نیست شاید که الحاقی باشد و قیاس هم این معنی مقتضی می‌شود زیرا که محمد افضل سرخوش در تذکرهٔ خود غنی تاریخ شعر گوئی او درج نموده پس درین صورت هشت سال پیش از شعر گوئی غنی این تاریخ معلوم می‌شود والله اعلم [3]

" As this chronogram is not found in some copies, probably this might have been inserted afterwards, and imagination too demands this as Muḥammad Afẓal Sarkhush has in his Tazkirah given Ghanī as his date of versification. Hence, under these circumstanc it seems eight years earlier than Ghanī commenced to write poetry

1. Ghani, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghani , p 135.
2. Ibid, p 111.

3. Ibid, p. 135.

God knows how far it is right."

Here now two issues arise-the discussion on which is necessary. Firstly, taking marginal writer's view as correct, the Takhallus in verses cited above should have been Ghanī instead of Ṭāhir as according to Sarkhush (and other Tazkirah writers too) he adopted only Ghanī as his 'Takhallus'. These verses can be connected with him only if he ever adopted Ṭāhir as his pen name. Secondly, if it may be presumed that no verse was ever subsequently attached to his name even then we are bound to accept that his first nom de plume was Tahir as the verses bearing the pen name Ṭāhir testify to it. Furthermore, if for the sake of argument we say that he has never during his life , assumed Ṭāhir as his 'Takhallus', then we shall have to find out the person whose name or 'Takhallus' was Ṭāhir and was contemporary to him. Only one Muhammad Ṭāhir Isfahānī comes to our sight who went to India in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) in the reign of Aurangzaib ie., 16 years after Ilāhī's death. Hence this fragment can not be imagined to be the outcome of his fancy.

To support this fact that Ghanī began to versify prior to 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) we turn our attention to the internal evidence once again. There is a 'Ghazal' in Ghanī's 'Dīvān' which runs as follows:

گلشن کشمیر را امسال شادابی کم است ÷ گر گلی ابر عیان است آن هم بی نم است
در نگارزار سواد هند شادابی کم است ÷ گر در آن جا سبزه‌ای باشد ز تخم آدم است
از بد هوا در هوای گرم می‌جوشد عرق ÷ گر بود خاک رطوبت خیز خاک آدم است
در جهان نتوان نشان از سیر چشمی یافتن ÷ چشمهٔ خورشید هم محتاج آب شبنم است

1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p 35.

A perusal of the above cited couplets indicates that heat, famine and the like held Kashmīr in their grip. Now we turn our attention to history to know when all these calamities fell on Kashmīr. Mullā 'Abdul Hamīd writes in Bādshāhnāmah under the year 1051 A.H. under the caption:

فرستادن ظفرخان به تنظیم صوبه کشمیر

The relevant extract reads:-

در فصل خریف این سال در کشمیر از کثرت امطار بیگاه و فرط طغیان سیلاب بسیاری از مزارع
خراب گردید و غلات فراوان آب برد - و رعایای آن دیار ببلای غلا و صعوبت قحط مبتلا گشتند [1]

" In the Kharīf crops this year (1051 A.H.) owing to heavy rains and floods in Kashmīr most of the crops were destroyed and the food grains washed away by the water. The subjects of that country suffered from the troubles of famine and scarcity of food-grains."

This view that Ghanī commenced to write poetry in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) can also be rejected thus:

In his 'Dīvān' there is only a fragment and one or two verses which bear Ṭāhir as his Takhallus, and except these no ode or fragment etc., bears this pen name. (The same reason is put forward that as no couplet except these bears Ṭāhir as Takhallus so these have been attached to him subsequently.) Now a perusal of the 'Dīvān' indicates that the number of complete odes is very small and single couplet or units are found in abundance. There are a few odes in which 'Takhallus' has been used. Or in other words we may emphasize that the last line is missing. For instance in

1. Lāhori, 'Abdul Hamīd, Mullā, Bādshāhnāmah , Vol. II. p 285.

'Radīf' Alaf (الف) there are 64 single couplets in which only two couplets bear the 'Takhalluṣ' Similer is the case with other 'Radīfs'. The reason put forward for this in the prefsoe is this:

غنی دیوان خود را که از لک بیت برگزیده دو هزار بیت بیاض نگاشته و باقی را آب داده بود [1]

"" Ghanī , whose 'Dīvān' exceeded one lac couplets, threw it into water after writing two thousand verses on a note-book."

This now leads to the conjecture that those couplets which were written by him during the course of practice under the pen name of Ṭāhir and thus did not possess good qualities, such as lofty imagination, delicacy of ideas, new similies and metaphors, were thrown by him into the water. Muḥammad Ḥussin Āzād gives another reason for small bulk of Ghani's 'Dīvān', He writes:

اشعار آپ کے بہت تھے اور مضامین دقیق۔ محمد علی ماہر نے عام فہم اور اچھے اچھے چھانٹ کر دیوان مرتب کیا [2]

" He had many verses having minute ideas; Muḥammad 'Alī Mahir selected those which were good and of common understanding and with them only arranged the 'Dīvān'.

By this unequivocal statement of Āzād even a man of common intellect can understand that those couplets which were written by him in the beginning cannot be ranked among good verses. This also leads us to think that those verses which bore Ṭahir as 'Takhalluṣ' were neglected.

Again, if it may be said that he never adopted Ṭāhir as his 'Takhalluṣ' and began versification only in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) when he adopted Ghanī as his 'Takhllus' then we should not forget

1. Appendix to Dīvān-i-Ghani. p 142.

2. Āzād, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Nigāristān-i-Fāris, p 182.

that since then till his death ie., 1079 A.H. (1669 A.D.) he wrote one lac couplets and from them selected two thousand couplets it would be nothing but to cheat ourself, as it cannot be expected that in the small span of 19 years, he comitted to writing one lac couplets. The total number of days of ninteen years comes to 6940. It means that he used to write 15 couplets daily. This could have been perceived if he were eulogist or a 'Masnavī' writer. An argute person can easily conclude that these are the ellusive statements of the scholars to show that his exuberent fancy was apt to turn reality into effusion of pure imagination and that he did not lack the passion, the intensity of the lyrical poet, o otherwise, it is difficult for at least a poet who writes only 'Ghazals' to write two odes a day approximately. If on the other hand, it may be deemed as correct that his 'Dīvān' consisted of one lac couplets then it cannot be denied that he commenced to write poetry before 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) and when he got skill in this art, he changed his pen name.

It would not be superfluous to mention here that a man attains puberty of reasoning after forty years of age. It is just possible that after the age of forty when he would have attained puberty of reason he would also have had sufficient practice in versification and got skill in putting his ideas in good words, when the surging of the waves of emotions, imagination, metaphors, similes, allusions, sentiments and ideas became able to catch observation, when he would have been able to reflect his imagination by the way of words on the mirror of the readers heart, when sitting in seclusion , he having a stroll in the unkonwn world, was in a position to arrange his vision, observation, he would have thought

that now he was fit to be called a poet so he should adopt such a pen name that may serve as a memorial. The year 1060 A.H. would be passing, so he would have made up his mind to select Ghanī as his 'Takhallus' which may not only suit his circumstances but also serve as chronogrammatic nom de plume.

It is no doubt a supposition but if reasoning may be based upon it, then Ghanī's year of birth would be 1020 A.H. (1610 A.D.) and his first pen name Ṭāhir and the second Ghanī.

DEATH:

Definite date of Ghanī's birth and beginning of poetry cannot be ascertained, but about his death all with the exception of one or two,[1] agree that it took place in 1079 A.H.(1068 A.D)

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1. A'ẓam writes in Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr: (- fol 262)

در کمال جوانی بعد از واقعه شیخ محسن فانی بهشت ماه فوت کرد در سال هزار و هشتاد و سه

"In the prime of his youth, eight months after the death of Shaikh Muḥsin Fānī he died in 1083."

A'ẓam further says: این قطعه در تاریخ وفاتش گفتند

از فوت غنی گشته گروهی غمگین ؛ هر کس شده از ماتم او خانه نشین

تاریخ وفاتش اگر پرسند بگو ؛ پنهان شد گنج گهری زیر زمین (263)

The numerical value of the last hemistich which serves as chronogram does not give 1083. Solution of the chronogram is as follows: پنهان شد گنج گهری زیر زمین

$1044 = 107 + 217 + 235 + 73 + 304 + 108$

The preface of the Dīvān-i-Ghanī written by Muslim shows the

In the preface of the 'Dīvān' there is a fragment written by Muslim. It is in the form of pied verses. The first hemistich of the fragment is in Persian language, the second in Arabic

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(Continued from p. 559)

the above quoted quatrain was written by him, but as follows:

از فوت غنی گشت که و مه غمگین ⁝ هر کس شده در ماتم او خاک نشین
تاریخ وفاتش از پیر سند بگو ⁝ پنهان شده گنج هنری زیر زمین
(ص ۱۵)

The numerical value of the last hemistich comes to 1079 and this is the year of his death. A'zam has not calculated and has, therefore, committed a blunder. He is also wrong in saying:

کسی بتعمیه در تاریخ او گفته عمر بی سخن داد سخن داد غنی (واقعات کشمیر ص ۲۶۲)

In this hemistich we have to calculate only: داد- داد غنی without including the numrical value of the word سخن. Hence the actual words of the chronogram are داد- داد غنی. Their numerical value is as under.

بی سخن داد سخن داد غنی

1078 = 1060 + 9 + 760 + 9 + 760 - 12 -

Nāzim has given a derisive statement. He says:

۱۰۹۰ھ میں وفات پائی

" He died in 1090 A.H.

This date of Ghani's death is palpably incorrect and deserves no contradiction. He perhaps came across the hemistich:

بی سخن داد سخن داد غنی

and perhaps solved it in the following way. بی سخن داد سخن داد غنی

1090 = 1060 + 9 + 760 + 9 + 760 - 12

ie., he only subtracted the numerical value of the word سخن and thought that he died in 1090 A.H. It is strange to note that a few lines before he writes:

۱۰۶۰ھ میں شاعری شروع کی - غنی اسی وجہ سے تخلص کیا کہ اسکے عدد (1060) ہیں۔ انیس برس شاعری کی ایک لاکھ سے زیادہ اشعار لکھے (نگارستان کشمیر ص ۳۰۹)

dialect. It runs as follows:

دوش بمن گفت قائلی که غنی مرد ÷ قُلتُ اُسکُت اَنتَ لَیسَ ذَکیهٌ
اہل دل ای بی خبر بمرگ نمیرند ÷ کَیفَ یَمُوتُ الَّذی یَکُونُ تَقیاً
نیست ومانش جز انتقال مکانی ÷ کانَ تَقیاً و طاہِراً و نَقیاً
زندگی دیگر است مرگ عزیزان ÷ مُرد ولی عِند مَن یَکُونُ عَمیّاً

دل ز خرد سال رحلتش چو طلب کرد
قالَ لَنا اَن تَقُولَ "حیٌ غنیاً"[1]

From the phrase حی غنیاً no doubt the year 1079 comes out but according to Arabic grammar غنیا is in حالت نصبی but it should have been in حالت رفعی and should have been written like this حی غنیٌ. But it seems that the poet has written حی غنیاً to derive the year of Ghanī's death.

In the appendix of the 'Dīvān' we also find a fragment written by Muhammad ʿAlī Mahir indicating the year of Ghanī's death. The fragment given in the appendix is as follows:

چو دادش فیض صحبت شیخ کامل محسن فانی ÷ غنی سرحلقهٔ احباب او در نکته دانی شد
بهی چون کرد بزم شیخ را گفتند تاریخش ÷ که آگاهی سوی دار البقا از دار فانی شد[2]

The second hemistich of the second verse has been written thus by Muhammad Hussin Āzād:

که آگاهی سوی ملک بقا از ملک فانی شد[3]

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1. Preface to Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 5
2. Appendix to Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p 142.
3. Āzād, Muhammad Hussin, Nigāristān-i-Fāris, p. 184.

The numerical value of the former comes to 1110 while that of the latter 849, hence both are incorrect. Both these hemistiches canbe corrected like this: کرد آگاهی سوی دارِ بقا از دارِ فانی شد
ie, instead of دارالبقا or ملک بقا there should be دارِ بقا . In the first case the Arabic phrase should be changed into Persian phrase which is not only appropriate but also corrects the metre and makes the numerical value of the chronogram correct. By this hemistich the chronogram comes to 1079, which is the year of Ghanī's death. Certainly Māhir would have adopted the Persian phrase, but owing to copyist's carelessness this mistake crept in. It is of course a pity that neither the marginal writer nor the publisher has taken the trouble to check the chronogram, inspite of the fact that the publisher has claimed in the internal page of the title that this edition has been corrected with the help of old manuscripts as well as the printed one and no effort has been spared in reading the proofs.[1]

In case of Ghanī's death we have to discuss two issues.

1. Ghanī's death took place in youth or in old age.
2. How did his death take place, whether or not the prevailing version is correct ?

We have discussed Ghanī's year of birth in the preceeding pages,[2] and are sure that the reader will find an element of truth in what we have said.

Some of the biographers opine that Ghanī was born in 1040A.H. (1630 A.D.) which has been perhaps based upon the following statement of Sheir Khān Lodhī who was somewhat contemporary to him.

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1. اس نسخہ کی بابت سے قدیم قلمی و مطبوعہ نسخوں سے تصحیح کرائی گئی ... اور کتابی پروف وغیرہ کی صحت میں بھی اہتمام کیا گیا

2. See pp.538-48 supra.

اما مرغ روحش در عین شباب بسر پنجهٔ شاهین اجل گرفتار گردید[1]

" But the bird of his soul was caught by the claws of the falcon of death in the prime of youth."

The year of Ghanī's death has unanimously been admitted as 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) so in order to make their statement go in hand with Lodhī's verdict they opined that Ghanī was born in 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) and thus remained in this world only 39 years, as after forty no one can be said to be young.

Now a cursury view on the facts and a study of his 'Dīvān' will prove that he died at an advanced age and not at the age of 39. He has in his verses, not once or twice, but many times spoken of his old age, weakness of organs and pains etc., A few couplets will suffice to prove it:

موی گر گردد سفید اما خیالت در سر است ⁛ اخگر پنهان ترا این تودهٔ خاکستر است [2]

بسکه مانند کمان پیکرم از پیری کاست ⁛ تا نگیرد کمرم کس نتواند برخاست [3]

بگذشت عمر و موی سفیدم بجای گذاشت ⁛ خاکستری ز قافلهٔ یادگار ماند [4]

ریخت دندان ز دهن رفت جوانی برباد ⁛ آه این ژاله که در مزرع بختم افتاد [5]

از ضعف پیری است مرا تکیه بر عصا ⁛ گردم هنوز بر زه چو طفلان نی سوار

تن بمردن ده غنی چون قامتت گردید خم ⁛ بهر این خاتم نگینی نیست جز سنگ مزار [6]

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1. Lodhī, Shair Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p. 162.

2. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p 35.
3. Ibid, p. 36.
4. Ibid, p. 62.
5. Ibid, p. 68.
6. Ibid, p. 82.

ز پیری ریخت دندانم نه دادم تن بیاد حق ∴ ببازی آخر این تسبیح چون اطفال گم کردم[1]

ز پیری چنان گشته ام ناتوان ∴ که دندان بجنبید جای زبان[2]

The above quoted verses are but a few examples to show that he had crossed the boundary of youth and stepped into the valley of old-age. His teeth began to fall, hair became grey, weakness increased and owing to weakness of the body he suffered from pains of various kinds. He has written a fragment in which he has given a detailed description of his bodily pains. The fragment consists of 20 verses. A few of them have been copied here.

کلیه از ضعف بدن هر چند دارم بر عصا ∴ بر نمی خیزم ز جای خویش همچو نقش پا

پشت ما گردید خم افزود ضعف تن مرا ∴ گرچه محکم می شود چون رشته میگردد دوتا

گر چنین از درد اعضا خشک گردد پیکرم ∴ میشود انگشت پایم رفته رفته خار پا

در علاج درد اعضا سخت حیران مانده ام ∴ کاش میکردم ز حیرت یک نفس گم دست و پا

گشتن از پهلو به پهلوی دگر معراج ماست ∴ نردبانی بهر ما گردید نقش بوریا

بسکه در اعضای ما افتاده از خشکی شکست ∴ هر رگ ما گشته موی کاسه زانوی ما

قوت جذب پر کاهی بدست ما نماند ∴ کاش بودی استخوان دست ما از کهربا

روزگاری معنی لغزش نفهمیدم که چیست ∴ عاقبت افتاد این معنی مرا در پیش پا

لشکر ضعف ار بتازد بر سر من باک نیست ∴ میگریزم لنگ لنگان در پناه مصطفی

گله از آزار دست ما خجالت می کشد ∴ درد از شرمندگی بر خط بگیرد پای ما

قصه درد ست ندارد هیچ پایانی غنی ∴ تا بکی پیش طبیبان سر کنی این ماجرا[3]

In a quatrain he has also exposed his inner feelings, the

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p 104.
2. Ibid, p. 112.
3. Ibid, pp.137-138.

perusal of which makes it clear that he was so tired of his pain that he used to pray for his death.

دارم دردی که هست جانکاه مرا ∴ باشد ای کاش عمر کوتاه مرا
هرچند که نیست مهلک این دردی ∴ دانم تا مرگ هست همراه مرا [1]

By virtue of these verses and the like cited in the preceeding pages we visulize the description of his sufferings. None in the presence of these evidences can find any point of divergence which may appeal to mind.

In short it is an indisputable fact that Ghani died in 1079 A.H (1668-69 A.D.) All the sensible biographers confirm it.[2]

Now by the internal evidence and our supposition regarding his birth which too is based upon the internal evidence and the yearof his death we are led to the conjecture that Ghanī died at an advanced age and not in the prime of his youth as stated by Sher Khān Lodhī and others.

We now turn towards the second issue regarding his death. Tahir Nasrābādī narrates the following story about his death.

از صحیح القول مسموع شد که بادشاه والاجاه هندوستان بسیف خان حاکم کشمیر نوشت که او را روانه پای تخت نماید - سیف خان او را طلبیده تکلیف رفتن هند نمود - او ابا نموده گفت که عرض کنید که دیوانه است - خان گفت عاقلی را چون دیوانه بگویم - او فی الفور گریبان خود را دریده دیوانه وار روانه خانه شد - بعد از سه روز فوت شد [3]

" It was heard from a truth speaking person that the king of

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Divan-i-Ghani , p. 131.

2. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām Ālī, Sarv-i-Āzād , p. 103.
Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 226a.
'Ibrati, Vazir Ali, Tazkirah Ahrāj-ul-Ahvāl , Ms, fol. 80a.
Muhammad Sadiq Hasan Khān , Sham'-i-Anjuman, p. 340.

3. Nasrābādī, Muhammad Tāhir, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādi , p. 445.

India wrote Saif Khān the governor of Kashmīr to send Ghanī to the capital. Saif Khān sent for him and directed him to leave for India He refused. He said that he should request (the Emperor) that he (Ghanī) was insane. Khān asked how he could write a wise man as insane. He presentaly tore his collar and like a mad-man went towards home. He died three days after this.[1]

Commenting on this Maulvī Muḥammad Ikrām writes:

"قصہ کا وجود شاہِ ہند کے پیغام پر منحصر ہے اور ثابت کرنا مقصود ہے کہ غنی شاہی دربار سے
بے نیاز تھے۔ شاہِ ہند کے نام کی تصریح نہیں کی گئی۔ شاہجہان نہیں ہو سکتا کیونکہ جب غنی فوت
ہوئے تو اورنگ زیب عالمگیر سریر آرائے سلطنت تھے۔ اب دیکھیے مولانا شاہی فرمان
کے تیسرے دن فوت ہوئے تو گویا عالمگیر ہی کا فرمان گیا ہوگا۔ اب یہ تو قریباً ناممکن
ہے کیونکہ بقول علامہ شبلی نعمانی عالمگیر کے "زہد خشک" نے شاعری کا چراغ ہی گل کر دیا۔"[2]

" This story is based upon the message of the king of India and it has been proved that Ghanī was not inclined to the royal court. The name of the king has not been mentioned. He cannot be Shāhjahān, for when Ghanī died Aurangzaib 'Ālamgīr was on the throne. Now see that Maulana died three days after the royal letter; so it would be the order of Ḥaẓrat 'Ālamgīr. Now it is impossible, because according to 'Allāmah Shiblī Nu'mānī 'Ālamgīr's asceticism put out the lamp of poetry."

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1. Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād writes in Nigāristān-i-Fāris at page 182 that he (Ghanī) died after four days.

چار دن کے بعد مرگیا

2. Muḥammad Ikrām, Maulvī, The Ma'ārif, Vol. 20, No: 5, p 355.

This is but ʿAllāmah's exaggeration; it would, therefore, not be superfluous to clerify it.

Without the least shadow of doubt we accept that <u>Ghanī</u> died in the reign of ʿĀlamgīr, but to what extent it is true to think that ʿĀlamgīr was a person unduly rigid in devotion to God, when there are historical facts to prove that he was not such a person as he is being considered , is doubtful.

Maulānā Saʿīd Aḥmad writes in his book, "<u>The rise and fall of the Muhammadons.</u>"

عام طور پر اورنگ زیب کو شعر و ادب کے ذوق سے محروم خیال کیا جاتا ہے حالانکہ واقعہ یہ ہے کہ اسے
شیخ سعدی اور خواجہ حافظ شیرازی کا کلام بہت مرغوب تھا اسکی تحریر نہایت جامع موثر اور
پُر مغز و مدلل ہوتی تھی اس دینی و علمی ذوق نے اسکو فقرا خصوصاً علما و فقہا کی صحبت کا گرویدہ بنا دیا تھا[1]

" Aurangzaib has commonly been deemed having no taste for poetry and literature, whereas the fact is that <u>Shaikh</u> Saʿdī and Hafiz's poetry was much agreeable to him. His writings used to be very precise, impressive, and demonstrative and full of meanings. This religious and literary liking had made him love the company of scholars and theologians."

Maulānā <u>Shiblī</u> has given him the title of 'Ascetic' probably because in his court none was appointed as a poet de laureate, contrary to his predecessors, Akabr, Jahāngīr and <u>Sh</u>āhjahān. He

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1. Saʿīd Aḥmad, Maulānā, <u>The rise and fall of the Muhammadons.</u> p. 313.

He retrenched the post of the poet de laureate.

Apparently this can be made into a ground to show his hatred for poetry, but we must not forget who were the distinguished poets of his court. Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī, 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, Mullā Ashraf Māzindrānī and Mūsvī Khān etc., Was any one amongst these who could rival Faizī, Ṭālib Āmulī, and Abū Ṭālib Kalīm. Could appointing any one of these poets of his court as poet de laureate make him stand in the line of those phoenix of their age ? Would it not have been a slur upon his excellent taste for literature ? Had any one of them eloquency like Faizī, Singularity of similies like Ṭālib Āmulī excitement like Qudsī and lofty imagination like Kalim ?

Aurangzaib's daughter Zaib-un-Nisā, is considered a poetess about whome the author of Bazm-i-Taimuriyah writes:

بہرحال زیب النساء کے شاعر ہونے میں کسی کو انکار نہیں ہو سکتا ..... زیب النساء کا ذوق شعری اسقدر بڑھا ہوا تھا کہ اُسکی خدمت میں شاعر اشعار میں اپنے معروضات پیش کرتے تھے[1]

" Summarily, no one can deny that Zaib-in-Nisā was a poetess. Zaib-un-Nisā's taste for poetry was to such an extent that poets used to submit their applications in verses."

Leaving aside these facts, we turn to the historical facts which help us to derive the conclusion that Aurangzaib was not an ascetic but was fond of hearing the verses. Bernier who visited Kashmir in the company of AurangZaib when the latter went there for change of climate writes in a letter to M. Chapelain:

" I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the Kachemiry and the Mogol poets. We were no sooner

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1. Sabbah-ud-Din, Bazm-i-Taimūriyah, p 461.

arrived than Aurenzebe received from the bards of both nations poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted and rewarded with kindness. They were written in a strain of extravagant hyperbole.[1]"

In short the poets were present in 'Ālamgīr's court. He used to hear their verses and bestow rewards upon them. For instance when Aurangzaib conquered Haider Ābād, Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī wrote the following chronogram:

از فرحت پادشاهِ غازی ؛ گردید دل جهانیان شاد
آمد بقلم حساب تاریخ ؛ شد فتح بجنگ حیدرآباد

This pleased the Emperor and he honoured him with a reward and a robe of honour.[2]

It is just possible that the deceased Maulānā might have perused the following version of the author of Mirāt-ul-'Ālam:

اما بشهید صادق کریمه « والشعراء یتبعهم الغاوون » متمسک گشته توجه باستماع
شعر ندارند تا بشنیدنِ اشعار مدح چه رسد الا شعری که متضمن موعظت باشد [3]

" But sticking to the evidence of this true verse (of the holy Qurān) ' And those who follow the poets are astray.' He does not pay attention to the hearing of a verse, to say nothing of hearing verses except those containing counsels."

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1. Bernier, Fransois, Travels in the Mogoal Empire, p 401.
2. Must'id Khān, Muhammad Sāqi, Maāsir-i-'Ālamgiri, p 268.
   Orignal text is: بموهبت خلعت معزز گردید.
3. Bakhtāvar Khān, Mirāt-ul-'Ālam, MS. fol. 478 b.

Perhaps taking this into view Maulānā Shiblī has called him unduly rigid in devotion to God. But a line before the above quoted statement we find the following words:

در مراتب نثر انشا دستی تام داشت و در عبارت نظم هم بهرهٔ تمام[1]

" He was skilful in the art of prose and composition and also perfect in the art of versification."

Moreover, the following verse is said to be of his:

غم عالم فراوان است و من یک غنچه دل دارم ٭ چسان در شیشهٔ ساعت کنم ریگ بیابان را[2]

Lodhi writes in Mirāt-ul-Khāyāl :-

سلطان شادمان قصیده مشتمل بر مدح گفته بسمع مبارک رسانید
و بعض ابیاتش پسند خاطر فیاض افتاد و بتکرار استماع فرمودند[3]

" Sultān Shādmān wrote a Qaṣīdah consisting of eulogistic verses and presented it to the blessed ears. A few verses were liked by the generous heart and (therefore) he ordered their reciting again and again."

Moreover, we know that Ghanī was not only a poet but a Dervish too. A contented person paying no heed to the worldly pleasure, " He who had absorbed himself in his spiritual guide,[4]" must have attracted the attention of the king and we are told by Sarkār the Aurangzeib's "intelectual tastes made him find delight in the society of Dervishes, and when he was viceroy of the Deccan, he

1. Bakhtāvar Khān, Mirāt-ul-Ālam, Ms. fol. 478a.
2. Zakā Ullah, Maulvi, Bādshāhnāmah-i-Ālamgiri, p. 475.
3. Lodhī, Shair Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khāyāl , pp. 252-253.
4. Preface to Dīvān-i-Ghānī, Ms, No: pi.Vi. fol. 3b.

took care to visit the holimen of Islam in his province, inviting them to the table, and reverently learning wisdom at their feet.[1]

According to late 'Allāmah Rūḥī:

بهترین موضوع برای غزل تصوف است که ادبیات فارسی زبان از آن بهرهٔ عظیم دارد[1]

" The finest subject matter for Ghazal is that of mysticism of which Persian literature has got a lion's share.".

It may, therefore, be due to this reason that when Aurangzaib heard his analogic utterences which he has presented in his poetry analogically being an analogist of the first water, he would have made up his mind to send for him. Moreover, Ṭāhir Nasr Ābādī who wrote his Tazkirah only four years after (Ghanī's) death writes:

از صحیح القول مسموع شد[2]

" It was heard from a truth speaking person."

There is, now, no denying the fact that Ghanī whose attitude towards pleasure and wealth, and the pomp and show of the mundare dignity is apparent from the etymological meaning of the letters of his name, might have attracted the Emperor by his abstinant and pious life, persuading the Emperor to issue instructions to the governor of Kashmīr to send Ghanī to the royal court, but Ghanī did not like it because he believed :

صاحب سخن نجنبد از بهر قوت از جا ؛ دائم بخانهٔ خود روزی رسد ز بالا[3]

Ghanī who had his name fitly denoting the qualities of his attitude, said, " reply to him that Ghanī is mad." On saying this

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1. Sarkār, Jādūnāth, History of Aurangzaib, Vol. I, p.8.

2. Rūḥī, Asghar Alī, Allāmah, Dabbīr-i-'Ajam , p. 59.

3. Nasrābādī, Ṭāhir, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādī , p. 445.

4 . Ghanī , Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 26.

he tore of his collar and breathed his last within three or four days.

" Mullā Ghanī, " says Preimnāth,

اسوقت علی کدل کے پاس اپنے استاد ملا محسن فانی کے مقبرے میں آسودۂ خاک ہیں ان کی قبر اس پاس کے محلوں میں غنہ بابا کی قبر سے مشہور ہے جو اب خراب ہو چکی ہے [1]

" At present is buried in Ālī Kadal near the grave of his teacher Mullā Muhsin Fānī. His grave in the Mohallahs of the vicinity is known as "Ghanah Bābā's grave," which is now not in good consition."

From this statement it seems that this vaticination of Ghanī has been proved.

ہمچو آتش روشن از من بود شمع ہر مزار ۔ چونکہ مردم کس چراغی بر مزارم نسوخت [2]

Dr. Sūfī who visted Kashmīr to collect meterial for his Kashīr photographed his grave. The photo appears in the Kashīr. Dr. Sūfī has not given any detail about his grave.

HIS RELIGION:

As regards his religion no external evidence is available. His 'Dīvān' too, does not throw any light on the subject. There is only one couplet in praise of Imām Husain and others who were

1. Pardasiī, Preimnāth, The Āj-kal, vol. 5, No:. 22, p. 46.
2. Ghanī , Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 46.

martyered in Karbalā. The verse is this:

کس بروز جزا سرخرو تواند شد ☆ که خاکپای شهیدان کربلا باشد [1]

There is also a verse in his 'Dīvān' which indicates that he was the follower of Sunnī doctrine.

دفع شد وسواس خاطر از نماز با حضور ☆ ما بدست بسته وا کردیم قفل بسته را [2]

In this verse the phrase بدست بسته (with folded hands) hints that he was a 'Sunnī,' but also this verse in praise of the martyres of Karbalā' does not signify that he was a Shīa h as the 'Sunnīs' too praise the martyrs of Karbalā. There is also a verse in his 'Dīvān' in which he has made fun of an asectic of a follower of Shi'ah doctrine. He says:

در پی نماز دست بزانو چرا زند ☆ زاهد اگر ز کرده پشیمان نگشته است [3]

From this verse it seems that according to his point of view Shi'ah way of saying prayers shows that they feel sorry for their deeds and it is for this reason that they strike their hands on their knees. This verse leads to the conjecture that he was a Sunnī Except the verse quoted above no other verse helps us to decide his religion.

HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN:

About his marriage and children nothing can definitely be said as all the relevent records are silent in this respect. From the preface of the Dīvān it comes to light that:

از اسباب این جهانش کاغذی و قلمدانی ...... و بجز سخن بیگانه با هیچکس آشنائی نمی کرد [4]

" From the materials of this world he made friendship with

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1 Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p. 59.

2. Ibid, p. 12.
3. Ibid, p. 46.
4. Ibid, p. 5.

paper and ink-stand......and with stranger meaning only."

This statement of Muslim enables us to conceive that he did not marry and for the whole life remained a bachelor. Perhaps the non stability of the world had affected him much which is evident from his verses. Whatever may be the reason, it is a fact that he did not marry, so the question of children does not arise.

GHANĪ'S HOME :

Ghanī being a self respecting and contented man cannot be imagined a wealthy person. He himself says:-

داغ افلاس چو ماهی دارم ⁂ خلق دانند که صاحب درم [1]

From his contentment, his poverty etc., one is apt to conceive that his house would be a cottage or a hut. A picture of Ghanī's house appears in Kashīr art page 364. Dr. Sūfī writes regarding the picture:

" The hut supposed to be of Mullā Ghanī in Mohalla Rājwerī Kadal, Srīnagar, though the structure is not very old."

From the picture it can be observed that the house is in the simple and airy fashion of the country.

Pardaisī writes that he left Rājwerī Kadal for 'Ālī Kadal and began to live in a small shop.

راجوری کدل سے نکل کر علی کدل چلے آئے جہاں ایک چھوٹی سی دکان میں تجرد کی زندگی بسر کرنے لگے [2]

" He from Rājwerī Kadal went to 'Ālī Kadal where he began to live a lonely life in a small shop."

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 103.

2. Pardaisī, Premnāth, The Āikal, Vol. 5, No: 22, p. 45.

Maulānā Ghanī has given the description of his house like this:

دیوار و در شکسته بود خانه مرا ÷ زنگش مگر ز رنگ رخ خویش ریختم [1]

There is also another verse which tells us the condition of his house.

ناموس دار خانه ام از آب و نان تهی است ÷ روزی خورد ز پهلوی خود میهمان من [2]

This was perhaps the reason why he did not lock the house when he was away and when he was in, the shop remained closed, for he himself was the whole property and goods. ʿAllāmah Iqbāl has narrated this episode in a beautiful manner in Payām-i-Mashriq:

غنی آن سخن گوی بلبل صفیر ÷ نوا سنج کشمیر مینو نظیر

چو اندر سرا بود در بسته داشت ÷ چو رفت از سرا تخته را وا گذاشت

یکی گفت ای شاعر دل رسی ÷ عجب دارد از کار تو هر کسی

به پاسخ چه خوش گفت مرد فقیر ÷ فقیر و به اقلیم معنی امیر

ز من آنچه دیدند یاران رواست ÷ درین خانه جز من متاعی کجاست

غنی تا نشیند به کاشانه اش ÷ متاعی گرانی است در خانه اش

چو آن محفل افروز در خانه نیست

تهی تر از او هیچ کاشانه نیست [3]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 103.
2. Ibid, p. 113.
3. Iqbāl, Muhammad, Dr. Sir, Payām-i-Mashriq, p. 120.

TRAVELS:

From the study of his 'Dīvān' it cannot be ascertained that Ghanī was not in favour of traveling though he says:

سفر چگونه گزینم ز آستانهٔ خویش ÷ که همچو مردم چشمم مقید خانهٔ خویش [1]

Even this couplet leads our conception to the fact that he wished to go out of his motherland. The Tazkirah writers opine that he never left the valley. Shafīq writes:

مدت العمر از وطن خود بر نیامد [2]

" He did not come out of his mother land for the whole life."
Āzād's verdict is also the same. He says in Sarv-i-Āzād :

مدت العمر در شهر خود گذرانید [3]

" He passed the whole of his life in his own city."
This has been adopted by later writers , for instance Sayyid Nāṣir Aḥmad writes under the caption

عہد مغلیہ میں کشمیر پر ایک مجموعی نظر

" Ghanī was a very contented person and passed the whole of his life in his mother land.[4]"
But these statements do not seem to be correct, because from what he himself says it appears that he did go out of Kashmīr.

کرد است ہوای ہند دلگیر مرا ÷ ای بخت رسان بباغ کشمیر مرا
گشتم ز حرارت غریبی بی تاب ÷ از صبح وطن بده طباشیر مرا [5]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 88.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 226a.
3. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād, p 103.
4. Nāṣir Aḥmad, Sayyid, The 'Alamgir , Jan-Feb, 1949, p. 213.
5. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 121.

This quatrain tells us that Ghanī went out of Kashmīr though the place of his visit cannot be conceived, yet there is no hitch to accept that he remained out of his native land for a long time and longed for his native land. Similarly another couplet hints at his travels. He says:

لنگر شد ز زنجیر پایم رشتهٔ حب وطن ؛ در سفر دایم چو سوزن چشم دارم در قفا [1]

And the following verse too points out that for some time he remained out of his mother land.

در سفر همرهم غم وطن است ؛ گل با خار چیده دامانم [2]

برنگ آبله پای در سفر ما را ؛ ز شوقِ جیبِ وطن چشم تر سفید شده است [3]

From the above quoted couplet it is proved that he remained out of his native land, but the purpose and the extent of the travel is still a mystery. When he left the land and when he returned to his native land are also not known.

The following couplet of Ghanī also leads us to the conjecture that he was not in favour of clinging to his birth place because:

هر که پابند وطن شد میکشد آزارها ؛ پای گل اندر چمن دائم پر است از خارها [4]

He who clings to his birth place will know no freedom from troubles
While the rose clings to her stem, thorn pricks are close to her flesh.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 9
2. Ibid, p. 96.
3. Ibid, p 38.
4. Ibid, p 16.

FRIENDS:

Maulānā Ghanī passed most part of his life in seclusion and in piety. Muslim writes in the preface of his 'Dīvān'

در ترک و تجرید چنان می کوشید که از پیکر بوالاش پوستی و استخوانی مانده بود و از اسباب
این جهانش کاغذی و قلمدانی از عزلت و انفرادی ذاتی بغیر از سخنان وحشی
بکسی رام نمی شد و بجز معنی بیگانه با هیچکس آشنای نمی کرد[1]

" He used to strive in renunciation (of the world) and for isolation to such an extent that his body remained skin and bones and from the property of this world he had only paper and ink-stand and personal retirement and seclusion, he was not familiar but with the untamed words, and did not make friendship except with the stranger meanings."

This is but an exaggerated statement as it is not corroborated by the circumstances, for he had friendship with Ṭālib Āmulī, Kalīm and Ṣā'ib. He loved Islām Khān and with Qudsī and Salīm he had also good relations. Under the circumstances we can say that according to Mullā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Davānī version real friend is not available, he was therefore, contented t a very small number of friends. Mullā Davānī writes:

این چنین کس (دوست حقیقی) از کبریت احمر اعز است و اگر دست دهد
بر یک دوست حقیقی اختصار اولی باشد چه قیام بمراسم حقوق اشخاص متعدد متعذر باشد[2]

"Such a man is rarer than red sulphur (ie. elixiry) and if he be available, it is of foremost importance to be contented with

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1. Muslim , Preface to Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p. 5.
2. Davānī, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mullā, Akhlāq-i-Jalālī , p. 162.

one such friend, for it is extremely difficult to do justice to the claims of more of this type."

He too would not have extended the circle of his friends, and probably the main reason for these friends was what he himself says:

کس را ز دام صحبت مردم نجات نیست ٭ عنقاست گوشه گیر غنی در زمان ما [1]

But as has already been stated a friend indeed is unattainable, so he (Ghanī) is also a complainer of the dearth of true friends.

کردم هر چند جستجو در عالم ٭ یاران موافق بجهان دیدم کم
افسوس که همچو مهرهای شطرنج ٭ یک رنگ نیند هم نشینان با هم [2]

In spite of all this it seems that he had great love for Kalīm and Islām Khān which can be estimated from the verses written by him on their deaths. The elegy written at Abū Ṭālib Kalīm's death has already been copied in the preceeding pages.[3] The elegy written by him at the death of Islām Khān who was appointed governor of Kashmir in 1072 A.H. (1661 A.D.) and died in 1074 A.H. (1663 A.D) proves that he loved Islām Khān from the core of his heart. The last two verses of the elegy are given below:

شد نفس ناله در گلو ما را ٭ همچو نی زین مصیبت جانکاه
جست این مصرع از زبان غنی ٭ مرد اسلام خان والا جاه [4]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p.12.
2. Ibid, p. 128.
3. See p. 553 supra.
4. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p. 135.

HIS CHARACTER:

It redounds to the great credit of Ghanī that he never sought the company of the rich, or those placed in exhalted position. His own mind was to him a kingdom in which he found all joy. God had bestowed upon him a contented mind . The worldly pom and show, wealth and high position could not fascinate his fancy. He passed his days in seclusion and isolation. He always acted upon the following Hadis of the holy prophet.

الدنیا جیفة و طلابها کلاب

" This world is a carcass and its seekers are dogs."
or the following words of the holy Qurān had fully effected his mind.

وما متاع الحیوة الدنیا الا قلیل

Tahir Nasrābādī writes in his Tazkireh:

در کمال بی تعلقی بوده چشم بر زخارف دنیا که در نظر عارف قدر برگ کاهی
ندارد نگشوده و به علت آن غنی معنوی هم بوده .[1]

" Being a recluse he did not pay heed to the allurement of this world which in the eyes of a sagacious person has no more value than a straw and for this reason he was spiritualy rich too.

He himself says:

سعی روزی بر نمی دارد مرا از جای خویش ÷ آبرو چون شمع میریزم ولی در پای خویش[2]

Āzād Bilgirāmī writes in Sarv-i-Āzād:

غنی بغنای طبعی مجبول بود و با وصف بی دستگاهی بحضور خاطر بسر می برد از اینجاست که غنی تخلص میکند[3]

" He was famous for his wealthy disposition and was passing his

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1. Nasrābādi, Tāhir, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādī, p. 445.
2. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 88.
3. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām Ali, Sarv-i-Āzād , p. 103.

days without any pomp and show. This is why he keeps Ghanī as his 'Takhalluṣ."

He was a man of firm resolution, patient and content, independent and self respecting giving a wide berth to worldly allurement He deemed it disgrace to be obliged.

داغم چو انجم از مدد همت بلند ÷ یعنی ز بار منت کس خم نگشته ام[1]

He was a contented and independant person and desired that others should follow suit. He says:

هر که چون من زد قدم در راه استغنا غنی ÷ اطلس گردون بپای همتش پاتابه است[2]

He therefore, directed others:

کاسهٔ خود پر مکن زنهار از خوان کسی ÷ داغ از احسان خورشید است بر دل ماه را[3]

It was owing to this piety, contentment, patience and such other good qualities that he passed his days cheerfully and happily though in seclusion. It was his ego which persuaded him not to bow his head before any one except God. He never wrote a Qasidah or panegyric in praise of a king or any other wealthy person. He cared not for the peerage of the time, as he had no mind to beg anything from them.

غنی از نیک نامی زر نگیرد ÷ که نام زر گرفتن هم گدائی ست[4]

To accept a reward for his verses was for him a cause of ignominy and digrace.

غنی چرا صلهٔ شعر از کسی گیرد ÷ همین بس است که شعرش گرفت عالم را[5]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 95.
2. Ibid, p. 37.
3. Ibid, p. 18.
4. Ibid, p. 32.
5. Ibid, p. 22.

A reflection of his poverty and privation may be noticed in the mirror of his sayings:

ما بفقر و فاقه خو رسنديم همچو آسيا ؛ گر رسد روزی غبارِ خاطرِ ما ميشود[1]

Perhaps he had the same view which was formed by Shāh ʿAbdur Raḥmān the father of Shāh Valī Ullah that:

ليس الفقير على باب الامير ...... هر که نام او در ديوان
پادشاه نوشته شد نام او را از ديوان حق سبحانهٗ بر می آرند[2]

" That Faqīr is very bad who remains at the threshold of a wealthy person..... . and whose name is written in the court of the king, his name is struck off from the court of God Almighty."

Lodhi has given an episode of Ghanī's self possession in Mirāt-ul-Khayāl. He writes:

گويند عنايت خان پسر ظفرخان صوبه‌دار کشمير دعوی کرد که شعری که از يک مرتبه خواندن
يا شنيدن بفهم من در نيايد بی معنی ست - چون غنی شنيد اين دعوی از وی نپسنديد
و گفت تا حال اعتمادی بر شعرفهمی عنايت خان داشتم امروز آن اعتماد برخاست و بعد
ازان هيچ گاه با خان مذکور ملاقات نکرد[3]

" It is said that ʿInāyat Khān son of Zafar Khān the governor of Kashmīr claimed that, " the verse that is not understood by me after reading or hearing once, is meaningless; "When Ghanī heard this he disapproved of his claim, and said, "I had, up till now confidence upon ʿInāyat Khān's understanding of poetry, today that confidence has vanished," and after that he never visited the said Khān

1. Muhaddis Dehlvī, Shāh Valī Ullah, Anfās-ul-ʿĀrfīn, p. 69.
2. Lodhī, Sher Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p. 162.
3. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 62.

Here we deem it essential to point out that in an article entitled کشمیر کا ایک زندہ جاوید شاعر غنی کشمیری published in the Ājkal of the 15th April, 1947, Preimnath has made wild and slanderous attacks on Ghanī's character. With regard to the weakness of his bodily constitution he has spared no pains to sling mud upon him, and has undoubtedly undergone much labour to put forward plausible arguments in favour of his false allegations. He writes:

ہر وقت شعر و شاعری کی دھن میں اور عشق مجازی کی تلاش میں کھوئے کھوئے سے رہنے لگے جس سے صحت پر برا اثر پڑا۔ جسم نحیف و لاغر ہو گیا[1]

" At all times he began to remain busy in versification and in search of lust, which adversely effected his health and the body became lean and thin."

What Preimnāth meant to say is that self-mortification and love of versification coupled with characterlessness made him lean and thin. May we presume that it is copyists mistake who has written عشق مجازی instead of عشق حقیقی. If the fact is contrary to our presumption, then it is Preimnāth's prejudice, because the person who remained in the company of abstemious and pious persons, who never cared a fig for this mundane dignity cannot be imagined a slave of lust. No biographer has given room to this chronique scandaleuse in their Tazkirahs. It is, therefore, sufficient to astound a man who has made thorough research on his life. Only for the sake of argument we would like to say that if he was sexsually

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1. Lodhī, Sheir Khān, Mirāt-ul- Khiyāl, p. 162.

2. Pardaisi, Preimnāth, The Ājkal, Vol. 5, No: 22, p. 44.

starved then the question of his self-respect and contentment does not arise. Moreover, in aquisition of his beloved he would have made all attempts-fair or foul. He would have certainly tried to get money and hanker after worldly pomp and show, inorder to fulfil the demands of his beloved if and when made. But Ghanī was a contented man and a man of firm resolution who did not give any weight to Emperor's invitation. Can he be considered a slave of lust ? The reply must be in the negative. Had he been a slave of lust he would have, we are confident, accepted the invitation and left no stone unturned to become a wealthy person to achieve his goal. But on the other hand we see that he never praised any body. Perhaps Preimnāth has based his statement on a few couplet of his which are given below.

1. لب لعلت چو مقابل بمی ناب شود ؛ ساغر باده ز خجلت چو حباب آب شود

2. در دلدار دگر دم رقیبم شد دچار آنجا ؛ زدم نقبی برون آمد بجای گنج مار آنجا

3. کشمیر از صباحت رو شگرف جمال است ؛ حسن سیاه آنجا اگر هست خال خال است

4. از بستن حنا چو کنی رنجه دست خویش ؛ مشق اسیر کردن خونین دلان بس است

5. غنی از لب میان او بود در بازی گیتا ؛ اگر موی دگر پیدا شود در هیچ کم آمد

6. شده از خوردن پانش زبان لعل ؛ لبش لعل و دهن سوراخ آن لعل

7. جلوهٔ حسن تو آورد مرا بر سر نظر
تو حنا لبتی و من سخن رنگین بستم

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 52.
2. Ibid, p. 25.
3. Ibid, p. 45.
4. Ibid, p. 49.
5. Ibid, p. 56.
6. Ibid, p. 93.

These are but the products of a poet's imagination and the examples of these can be found in abundance in all the poets. Even Hāfiz, Sa'dī, Jāmī and other great Ṣūfī poets, who reached the summits of mysticism. To quote a few couplets of Ḥāfiẓ would suffice to support our contention.

فغان کین لولیان شوخ شیرین‌کار شهرآشوب ÷ چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان یغما را[1]
لب چو آب حیات تو است قوت روح ÷ وجود خاکی ما را ازوست قوت رواح[2]
بتی دارم که گرد گل ز سنبل سایبان دارد ÷ بهار عارضش خطی بخون ارغوان دارد[3]

Every one has great regard for Ḥāfiẓ. The above quoted verses and the like are found in his 'Dīvān' in no negligible number. These are, however, the results of environment.

Once again, if he had not been a man of strong character, but had sensual appetite, the carnal soul would have surely overcome him and, subdued by powerful concupiscence, he would have definitely neglected his self respect, contentment, piety and temperance. But, not even a single example can be found which may help us to call him a man of lust. On the contrary, he ever cherished the love of God Almighty, and this love was so deeply rooted in his heart that it rendered him unable to pay heed to worldly affairs........neither the love of wealth, nor that of a wife or a sweet-heart could find its way to his heart, so the version of Mr. Praimnāth is palpably incorrect.

1. Ḥāfiẓ, Shamsud-Dīn, Dīvān-i-Ḥāfiẓ, p. 6
2. Ibid. p. 77
3. Ibid, p. 89.

HIS FAME FOR POETRY:

In praise of Ghanī's poetry exaggerated statements have been given by various men of letters. We admit that there is an element of truth in what the writers have sied, and we agree in the main with the opinion of the majority of those men of mark, but we decline to accept those fictions and stories concocted by them to support their inferences because those myths are devoid of all truth, and flout the facts of history. Here we refer to a fable which has been fabricated to show that Ghanī succeeded in his work and made for himself a great name. His fame for poetry reached all directions and Mirzā Ṣā'ib came to see him (Ghanī) on hearing a verse of his. In the appendix of the 'Divān' it has been laid down that when Mirzā Ṣā'ib heard the following verse he determind to leave for Kashmīr.

موی میان تو شد کمر اپن ÷ کرد جدا کاسهٔ سرها ز تن

The orignal text runs thus:

میرزا صائب این بیتش را شنیده عزیمت کشمیر نموده

موی میان تو شد کمر اپن ÷ کرد جدا کاسهٔ سرها ز تن[1]

In other words, this verse of Ghanī forced Ṣā'ib to pay a visit to Kashmīr.

Now if we test it on the touch-stone of historical facts even a mooncalf would see the hollowness of the foundation on which the story has been fabricated. Sarkhush writes in his Tazkirah under the biography of Zafar Khān Ahsan (died. 1073 A.H.)

وقتیکه ناظم کابل بود میرزا محمد علی صائب اشتیاق دریافت

صحبتش از ایران آمده مدتها گذرانید[2]

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1. Appendix of Divān-i-Ghanī, p. 142.

2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmat-ush-Shu'arā, pp. 4-5-

" At that time when he was the governor of Kabul Mirzā Sā'ib came from Irān with the desire to seek his company and passed a long time with him."

Fauq writes in his history of Kashmir:

نظامت کشمیر سے پہلے ظفر خان حکومت کابل پر ممتاز تھا جہاں اسکی رنگینی طبع کا شہرہ
سنکر ایرانی شاعر صائب جو ملک الشعرا کا رتبہ رکھتا تھا ملاقات کے لئے گیا !

" Before his governorship of Kashmir, Zafar Khān was honoured with the governor ship of Kabul, where famous Irānian poet Sā'ib who possessed the rank of poet de laureate, went to see him on hearing the fame of his ornate disposition."

We have already discussed in detail the coming of Sā'ib to India and his visit to Kashmir (see pp. 539-544 supra) and therefore, it would be superfluous to reiterate our argument here, from which , a conclusion can be derived that Sā'ib went to India in the reign of Jahāngīr, when the poets of Iran were pouring into India, as the generosity of Indians was sufficient to persuade them to leave for India. Sā'ib himself says:

همچو عزم سفر هند که در هر دل هست ؛ رقص سودای تو در هیچ سری نیست که نیست

So far as his visit to Kashmir is concerned it was owing to his own inclination that he did not lose a chance of seeing this

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1. Fauq, Muhammad-ud-Dīn, Mukammal Tārīkh-i-Kashmir , Vol. II, p.203
2. Sā'ib when returned to Isfahān, Shāh 'Abbās II (reigned 1642-1647) made him his laureate with the title of Malik-ul- Shu'arā (king of the poets).
(cf. Levy, reuben, Persian Literature, an Introduction., p 95.

paradise on the earth, so he, in the company of his patron Zafar Khān, went there and after a short stay left for Irān. In the words of Shiblī "he after that did not come out of Irān till the end of his life"[1]

Historical facts have totally been overlooked. It is now evident that the fabric of this story, stupendous as it was, rested on a very frail support, which now ceases to exist. It is worth while to mention here that later writers have accepted it without paying heed to its falsehood and, to crown all, they have also concocted stories on the foundation of what has been said by the appendix writer. In other words we may emphasize that they have concocted these fables to constitute the basis on which their researches might rest, but they forgot that these would fall down as soon as the basis was annulled by the facts of the history.

Leaving aside the historical facts we reject it in another way The appendix writer says:

میرزا صائب این بیتش را شنیده عزیمت کشمیر نمود .... دریافته پرسید که کراپن
که نام رشته ایست که کوزه گران کاسه را از چرخ بدو جدای سازند گفت بلی[1]

" Mirzā Ṣā'ib hearing this couplet of his, determined to go to Kashmīr. Reaching there asked whether 'Karapalan' is the name of the thread by which the potter seperates the pot from the wheel. He replied, "Yes."

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1. Shiblī Naʿumānī, Shiʿr-ul-ʿAjam, Vol. III, p. 175.

(مرزا صائب) اسکے بعد اپنے باپ کے ساتھ وطن چلا گیا اور آخر زندگی تک ایران سے قدم باہر نہیں نکالا۔

One who ponders a little over this, is bound to question that when Ṣā'ib could not understand the meaning of the verse fully, how it was possible for him to go to see the person who wrote it. Moreover, Ghanī was a Kashmīrī and the poets of Irān conceede no value to the poetry of Indian poets of Persian languag It is, therefore, not unjust to conclude that the story is devoid of truth.

We do not like to reject such other stories that have been based on this foundation by later writers.

There is however, no denying the fact that Ṣā'ib met Ghanī when he went to Kashmir in the company of Zafar Khān. Without hezitation we accept this on the authority of Khān Ārzū that Ṣā'ib selected two hundred verses out of his 'Dīvān'. Ārzū writes:

جناب مرزا صائب دوصد بیت از دیوانِ او انتخاب زده در سفینهٔ خود نوشته[1]

" Mirzā Ṣā'ib selected two hundred verses from his 'Dīvān' and noted them down in his note-book."

Ārzū further says:

و تا حال بیاض مذکور پیش بعضی است .... این
اشعار از منتخب حضرت مرزا است علیه الرحمة[2]

" And up till now the said 'Bāyāz' is with some persons.... .....these verses are from the selection of the Mirzā, may God bless him."

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is , Ms. p. 666.
2. Ibid, p. 666.

It was the habit of the scholars of the past to select verses according to their taste from the 'Dīvāns' of the poets of the past as well as the contemporaneous ones.

Ārzū in appreciating Ghanī's poetry writes:

چون کسی از ہند وارد ایران میشد مرحوم میرزا صائب می فرمود که
برای ما تحفه از ہند آورده و آن عبارت ست از اشعارِ غنی [1]

" When a person entered Iran from India the deceased Mirzā Ṣā'ib used to say, " Have you brought a present from India for me," and this meant the verse of Ghanī."

Sarkhush writes in Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā :

گویند صائبا بر یک بیت او رشک آنقدر میبرد که میگفت ای کاش
آنچه درین عمر گفته ام باین کشمیری میدادند و این بیت او بمن میدادند
حسن سبزی بخط سبز مرا کرد اسیر ٭ دام ہمرنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم [2]

" It is said that Ṣā'ib used to envy one of his couplets to such an extent that he used to say, "I wish that they had given to this Kashmīrī all that , that I have written in the whole of my life and given to me this verse of his.

The green glow (of beauty) by means of the green (just
    shooting down) captivated me;
The colour of the net being the same as that of the ground,
    I was enmeshed."

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, pp. 665-666.
2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afẓal, Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā , p. 85.

Khān Ārzū also writes in his 'Tazkirah':

در بعضی از کتب مرقوم است که میرزا صائب میفرمود که کاش
تمام اشعار مرا بغنی می بخشیدند و این شعر که گذشت مرا [1]

" It is recorded in some chronicles that Mirzā Ṣā'ib used to say that he wished all his verses had been given to Ghanī and the afore-said verse to him."

Notwithstanding all these, it is an undisputeable fact that Ghanī's verses were liked by all. Ṣā'ib the learned poet of the age selected two hundred verses from his 'Dīvān' and wrote them down in his 'Safīnah'. Ghanī says:-

بایران سخنها روان میرود ∴ چو ایران سخن در جهان میرود [2]

He was famous as a poet during his life time. The people not only liked his verses but also commited them to memory. He himself says:

بود گویا طفل نو رفتار شعر تازه ام ∴ از زبانم تا برون شد بر زبانها اوفتاد [3]

and

اشعار آبدارم تا شد محیط عالم ∴ انداختند در آب یاران سفینه ها را [4]

Ghanī's repuration as a poet was and is so great that Nawal Kishore published it in nine editions up till 1931 A.D. while the 'Divans' and the 'Qulyāts' of so many other poets have not even seen the light of the day to this date.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, p. 668.
2. Ghani, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 70.
3. Ibid, p. 76.
4. Ibid, p. 27.

EULOGIUM:

Praise of two persons is found in Ghanī's 'Dīvān! One of the two is one Qalandar a poet and the other a barber whose name is not known. In praise of Qalandar there is a quatrain:

از اہل سخن کس بقلندر نرسد ؛ در شعر باو عرفی و سنجر نرسد
ہر مصرع او بسکه بلند افتاده است ؛ ترسم که باو مصرع دیگر نرسد [1]

The Masnavī in praise of the Barber begins thus:

مرا بر تن ز بالیدن گشت ہر مو ؛ شدم در وصف حجام سخنگو [2]

Besides there are also two Qasīdahs in praise of winter season. The first begins thus:

موسم سردی شده سرگرم یخ بندیست آب ؛ لعل اسیران بیضهٔ فولاد گردید از حباب [3]

The opening line of the second is as follows:

از دم سرد زمستان بسته شد در آشیان ؛ بیضه‌های عندلیبان ہمچو دندان در دهان [4]

Beikhabar says that the following Quatrain was written by him in praise of 'Ālamgīr:

در عهد تو بسکه بخت شد یار بخلق ؛ ہرگز ندهد سپهر آزار بخلق
در باغ جهان نهال جود دیگر ز فیض ؛ ہر روز دوباره می دهد بار بخلق [5]

SATIRE:

There is a quatrain in his 'Dīvān' in which he satirizes Tughrā, a poet who was contemporary to him. The said quatrain is

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 129.
2. Ibid, p. 133.
3. Ibid, pp. 138-139.
4. Ibid, pp. 139-140.

5. Beikhabar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mir, Safinah-i-Beikhabar, Ms. fol. 91 b.

as follows:-

طغرا که بود روح کثیفش چو جسد ٭ با صاف ضمیران شد دشمن ز حسد
گوید که برند شعرش ارباب سخن ٭ نامش نبرند تا الفیش چه رسد [1]

From this it seems that Ṭughrā accused him of plagiarism and by this quatrain he has not only satirized Ṭughrā but also tried to clear himself of this false accusation.

He has also satirized his horse. The satire on which has the following as its opening line.

دردا که عطا ساخت اسپ مرا بی دست و پا ٭ نشسته او بازی نشد چون اسپ شطرنج آشنا [2]

CHRONOGRAM:

Ghanī had also inclination towards chronogram. He has written chronograms at the death of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm (d. 1061 A.H.) Mīr Ilāhī, (d. 1052 A.H.) and Islām Khān (d. 1074 A.H.). So far as the chronogram written by Ghanī at the death of Mīr Ilāhī is concerned the marginal writer refuses to accept that it is the out come of Ghanī's poetical talent. He writes:

بدانکه در بعض نسخ این تاریخ نیست شاید که الحاقی باشد و قیاس هم این معنی مقتضی میشود زیرا که محمد افضل سرخوش در تذکرهٔ خود معنی تاریخ شعر گوئی او درج نموده پس درین صورت بشصت سال پیش از شعر گوئی غنی این تاریخ معلوم میشود [3]

We have in this connection consulted the manuscript preserved in the Panjāb University Library, and found only one manuscript (pi vi 77) complete in all respects and this chronogram can be seen there at folios 103 b and 104 a.[4]

1. Ghani, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Divān-i-Ghanī, p. 139.
2. Ibid, p. 137.
3. Ibid, p. 135.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 103b-104 a.

DĪVĀN-I-GHANĪ :

About the compilation of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' it is said:

دیوان خود را که از لک بیت برگزیده بود دو هزار بیت بیاض نگاشته باقی را به آب داده بود[1]

" Ghanī selected two thousand couplets from his 'Dīvān' which contained more than one lac verses and threw the remaining into the water."

From this it is evident that Ghanī himself arranged his 'Dīvān'. It cannot, however, be said as to how long it existed. All the "Tazkirah" writers unanimously say that Muhammad ʿAlī Māhir collected and arranged it.[2] But the preface of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' published by Nawal Kishore begins thus:-

اما بعد مسلم مجرم بعرض می رساند

and it ends in this way:

چون این هیچ مدان کج مج زبان بجناب آن مغفور نسبت شاگردی داشت و از صحبت واینش علم مفاخرت می افراشت خواستم باتفاق خادم الفضلا ملک الشعرا سرحلقهٔ شاگردان رشید ملک شهید به تدوین دیوان سحر بیانش حق شاگردی بتقدیم رسانم و به شاگردی او خود را استاد عالمی گردانم و قصد آن کردم که بیت بیت و مصرع مصرعش از هر جا بهم رسانیده بصورت دیوانی جمع آرم و این ریزه های خوان احسانش در سفرهٔ اخلاص بگذارم[3]

" As this perfectly ignorant person with a stammering tongue, had relation of pupilship with that deceased luminary and used to

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1. Appendix of Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 142.

2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā , , pp. 83-64.
Āzād, Muhammad Husain, Nigāristān-i-Fāris, p. 182.
Rieu, Charles, Catalogue of Persian Ms. in the British Museum Vol. II, p. 692.

3. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 79.

hoist the flag of elation in his company, desired with the asse of that servant of erudites, king of the poets, on the top of the good pupils, Malik Shahīd, to compile his 'Dīvān' having fascinating description, and thus discharge pupilship's obligations and being his pupil make himself the teacher of the world, and therefore, he made up his mind to gather a verse or even a hemistich, whatever was available, to collect it and compile a 'Dīvān' and put these crumbs from his table of benevolence on the dining cloth of sincerity."

It has already been stated that Ghanī had himself arranged his 'Dīvān' but it is just possible that by the passage of time it might have been lost, so his pupils and friends collecting the verses from various 'Bayāzs' (note-books) might have arranged his 'Dīvān'. Under these circumstances it is not impossible that Ghanī's name would not be known to 'Safīnah' writers so they did not write his name along with his verses. Ghanī says:

یاران برند شعر ما را ؛ افسوس که نام ما نبردند

It can, therefore, be perceived that a few verses might have been added, while a few of them might have been omiteed. However, his 'Dīvān' consists of 'Ghazals ' and 'Rubā'īs' and 'Qaṣīdahs' (not in praise of any noble man etc.) His 'Dīvān' copied in 1102 A.H. (1690 A.D.) was printed at the Muṣṭafā'ī press, Lucknow, in 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.). The 'Divan' now-a-days available is a fragment of about 2,000 couplets. It is strange to note that Dr. Ṣūfī writes with reference to Riyāẓ-ush-Shu'arā and Majma'-un-Nafā'is that Ghanī left about twenty thousand couplets.[2]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p. 79.
2. Ṣufi, Dr. M.D. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 462.

There are good manuscript copies of both the books in the Panjab University Library. 'Alī Quli Vālah Dāghistānī writes in Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā:

دیوانش تخمیناً دو هزار بیت است [1]

" His 'Divān' has about two thousand verses."
Similarly Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān writes:

دیوانش اگرچه مختصر است اما در تعریف فصاحت و بلاغت کلامش سخن مطول میگردد [2]

" Though his 'Dīvān' is a fragment, yet in praise of his eloquence speech becomes lengthy."

On no authority can we say , how many beautiful pearls which came out of the ocean of Ghanī's genius have been commited to dust by the cruel hands of destiny.

Nāval Kishore printed his 'Dīvān' for the 9th time in 1931, which is sufficient proof to show that Ghanī's 'Dīvān' has ever been agreeable and pleasing to every body. Such an honour is the portion of a few scholars, so we may say here in the words of Sa'di

این سعادت بزور بازو نیست ۔ تا نه بخشد خدای بخشنده

A poem entitled the 'Jang Nāmah' describing the war between Aurangzeib 'Ālamgīr and his elder brother Dārā Shikoh is attributed to Ghani in the catalogue of Mss. in the Library of the University of Bombay.[3] Commenting on this Dr. Ṣūfī writes:

" I feel the style is different from the usual style of Ghanī, and the praise showered on Shāhjahān could not be expected from Ghanī, who would call on no noble, even much less seek the elaborate ceremonial of audience with His Majesty the Emperor of India.

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1. Vālah Dāghistānī, 'Alī Quli, Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, Ms. fol. 131 a.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is , Ms. p. 666
3. Sarfarāz, 'Abdul Qādir, Catalogue of Mss. Bombay University, p.208

possibly it is some other 'Ghani' and not Mullā Tāhir Ghanī of Kashmīr.[1]"

The 'Jang Nāmah' begins thus:

توی ای جهان آفرین پادشاه ÷ که از حضرتت جبهه شاهان پناه

خدایا همه ملک عالم تراست ÷ جهان پادشاهی مسلم تراست

The 'Takhallus' of the poet occurs in the following verse.

غنی چه بوصف آن جهان برتراست ÷ بمقصود باز آمدن بهتراست

MANUSCRIPTS OF GHANĪ'S DĪVĀN:

Manuscripts of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' are preserved in all the big libraries, eg. Bānkīpūr, British Museum, India Office, Panjāb University Library, Lahore etc. A brief description of these copies is given below.

The manuscript copy of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' in the Bānkīpūr Library is " a very modern but carlessly written work, beginning with Ghazals in alphabetical order." The description of the 'Dīvān' is as follows:

Foll: 76, Lines 17, size 9¼ x6; 8x4

Beginning with Ghazals in alphabetical order.

جنون کو که از قید خود بیرون کشم پا را ÷ کنم زنجیر پای خویشتن دامان صحرا را[2]

1. Sūfī, Dr. M.D. Kāshir, Vol. II, p. 464.
2. 'Abdul Qādir, Catalogue of Persian Mss. in Oriental Library at Bankipur, Vol. I, (Supplement) No: 1804, p. 165.

Rubā'īs, beginning at fol, 61 a.

چون نیست در انتادگیم

Miscellenious beginning on fol. 67 a.

داغ نتوان برسرین آن سکرد سوختن

At the end is found a biographical account of the poet, copied from the Majma'-un-Nafā'is of Ārzū. written in a careless 'Ta'līq'. not dated; 19th century.

British museum also preserves a copy of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' having the following description.

Foll 70, 8¼ inch by 4½; 15 lines, 2¾ inch long; written in Shikastah Āmaiz, in the first half of the 18th century.
The 'Dīvān' of Ghanī with preface by Māhir.
Beginning of preface: ای ذات تو سر دفتر افراد وجود
Beginning of the 'Dīvān':

جنونی کو که از قید خرد بیرون کشم پا را ٭ کنم زنجیر پای خویشتن دامان صحرا را

Contents:- Ghazals and longer poems in one alphabetical series, fol. 6b. Rubā'is, fol 57b, Masnavīs, fol 66a, fol 68 contains a short piece in prose in which Ghanī clears himself of a false accusation of plagiarism.

On the first page is 'Arz-i-Dīdah' dated A.H. 1169.[1]

Panjāb University Library preserves eight copies of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' The most complete manuscript bears serial No: 506. This was scribed by Rāja Rām and "is apparently, the press copy of the mustafā'ī press edition." Its description is as follows.
Ff 111, 13, ordinary Nasta'līq, marginal notes, on some pages in the beginning, size 9.14;x6.5; 6 x 3.8. Lahore Samat 1904.[2]

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1. Rieu, Charles, Catalogue of British Museum, Vol. II, p. 692 No: or 300.
2. Abdullah, Muhammad, Sayyid, Descriptive catalogue of Mss. in the Panjab University Library, Vol. I, p. 359.

REVIEW ON DĪVĀN-i-GHANĪ :

Ghanī's 'Dīvān' contains fragments and isolated verses in a large number in proportion to the lyrical poems. The whole of his 'Dīvān' consists of only 1624 couplets as detailed under the caption " Analysis of Ghanī's 'Dīvān.'"

While in mere bulk Ghanī's contribution to poetry is comparatively small its intrinsic value is great. All that he wrote, he wrote excellently which might be bound in pure gold. There are a few great Kashmīrī poets of Persian language but there is no greater master than Ghanī.

Ghanī's poetry represents the culmination of proverbial commission, مضمون آفرینی and جدت ادا. . It is by virtue of these verses the number of which is small but not negligible, that Ghanī takes his place among the masters of Persian poetry and the scantiness of their volume is of no account beside their inexhaustible power to charm and stimulate. He is the high priest of self respect and ego, and it may fairly be said that the spirit of reawakening the sentiments and feelings of progress in the Muslim world by Iqbāl is to some extent affected by Ghanī. To support this I would refer to Iqbāl's Jāvīd Nāmah. In 'Janat-ul-Firdaus' his guide Maulanā Rūm introduces him to Ghanī saying:

شاعر رنگین نوا طاهر غنی ÷ فقر او باطن غنی ظاهر غنی

They talked of Kashmīr. Iqbāl was sad. He saw no hope, but the poet questions his passimism and brightens up hopes of Kashmīrīs eventual deliverance. Addressing Iqbāl he says:

1. Iqbāl, Muhammad, Dr. Sir, Jāvīd Nāmah , p. 184.

سبزه را این ذوق آزادی که داد ؟ ÷ صید را سودای صیادی که داد

آن برهمن زادگان زنده دل ÷ لالهٔ احمر ز روی شان خجل

تیز بین و پخته کار و سخت کوش ÷ از نگاه شان فرنگ اندر خروش

خاک ما را بی شرر دانی اگر ÷ بر درون خود یکی بگشا نظر

این همه سوزی که داری از کجاست ؟ ÷ این دم باد بهاری از کجاست ؟[1]

- - - - - - -

کاروانها را حدای تو درا ÷ تو ز اهل خطه نومیدی چرا ؟

دل میان سینهٔ شان مرده نیست ÷ اخگر شان زیر یخ افسرده نیست

باش تا بینی که بی آواز صور ÷ ملتی برخیزد از خاک قبور

غم مخور ای بندهٔ صاحب نظر ÷ برکش آن آهی که سوزد خشک و تر

از نوا تشکیل تقدیر امم

از نوا تخریب و تعمیر امم[2]

It was perhaps due to this that Iqbāl respects him and considers the other poets of the East too immature to rival him. This is evident from the study of Jāvīd Nāmah that when Iqbāl reaches the other side of the heaven, he leaves behind the most celebrated poets like Qurrat-ul-ʿAin and Ghālib and from among the Muslim poets only Ghanī is seen there.

It is said by Nizāmī ʿArūzī the author of Chahār Maqālah, that the greatest poet is one "whose verses should have reached such a

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1. Iqbāl, Muhammad, Dr. Sir, Jāvīd Nāmah, p. 193.

2. Ibid, p. 195.

degree that those should be written in the books of the age and should be on the tongues of free persons who should write them in note-books and recite them in cities." 'Arūzī's wording reads thus:

شعر او بدان درجه رسیده باشد که در صحیفهٔ روزگار مسطور باشد
و بر السنهٔ احرار مقروء و بر سفائن بنویسند و در مدائن بخوانند[1]

Taking this definition of Niẓāmī as the criterion for detecting the presence or absence of high poetic quality, we find that Ghanī's poetry does not fall short of it. His poetry achieved appreciation during his life time which is evident from the fact that people used to write his verses in their 'Bayāzs' and 'Safīnahs' (note-books). He himself says:

یاران برند شعر ما را ✧ افسوس که نام ما نبردند[2]

Some may ascribe it to the poet's egotism, but in its support there are historical facts. Ṣā'ib the most celebrated poet of Irān wrote two hundred verses of his 'Dīvān' in his note-book as has already been stated (see p. 589 supra) Ārzū commenting on this writes:

بنازم انصاف میرزا مرحوم را[3]

" I feel proud of the Justice of the blessed Mirzā."

How beautifully Ghanī tells us that his poetry has "conquered the whole world."

غنی چرا مدد شعر از کسی گیرد ✧ همین بس است که شورش گرفت عالم را[4]

and similarly in another verse he emphasizes it:

اشعار آبدارم تا شد محیط عالم ✧ انداختند در آب یاران سفینه ها را[5]

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1. Niẓāmī 'Arūẓī Samarqandi, Chahār Maqālah, p. 56
2. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 79.
3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p. 666.
4. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 22.
5. Ibid, p. 27.

and mention of one more couplet would not be out of place.

بود گویا طفل نو رفتار شعر تازه ام ⁂ از زبانم تا برون شد بر زبانها اوفتاد [1]

Probably it was because he sang in his lyrics of what he wanted to feel. He poured out in his lyrics the cry of his heart and particularly it was due to the fact that he was not in the habit of plagiarism as he himself says:

بر نداریم ز اشعار کسی مضمون را ⁂ طبع نازک سخنی پس نتوان برداشت [2]

Here it will be interesting to note that according to Mir Hussin Dost of Sanbhal, when Sa ib met Ghanī, and the later presented him with his selected verses the following couplet of Ghanī, " sent him into ecstasy," and Sa ib is said to have remarked that, "the whole of his 'Dīvān' or collection of odes could have been barted away for this single couplet of Ghani."

حسن سبزی بخط سبز مرا کرد اسیر ⁂ دام همرنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم [3]

Maulānā Āzād Bilgirāmī says: میرزا صائب کلام او را تضمین میکند [4]

" Mirzā Ṣā'ib adds an insertion to the words of Ghanī." the couplet given by him is as follows.

این جواب آن غزل صائب که میگوید غنی ⁂ یاد ایامی که رنگ شوق ما سرپوش داشت

Ghanī ranks high in the realm of poetry. He tries to touch reality with imagination and invites his impressions and ideas with an extraordinary freshness and splendour, and at the same time with a shrewed and minute precision which reveals the analytical mind. He has little play of fancy, it is in imagination and

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 87
2. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād, p. 103.
3. Ibid. p. 103.
   Sa'ib's Kulyat does not contain this couplet. We consulted the manuscript copy of Sā'ib 'Kulyāt' which was written by a coppiest 'Ināyat Ullah by name in 1065 A.H. ie three years before the death of Ṣā'ib, but failed to find out this couplet. Nawal Kishore eddition also does not contain this verse.

analogical poetry that he excels. His verse has a large and noble movement, and inspires the mind with an exhilarating sense. He was a thinker so he sensibly perceived and absorbed the new thought of his days, and gave it courageous expression. To say that Ghanī is a great poet is not enough, he is among the greatest. In the words of Dr. Ṣūfī, " The absolute pre-eminence of Ghanī has been perhaps too generally assumed and his praise so assiduously sung as to suggest that Kashmīr had produced but one poet.[1]"

Ghanī won the praise of Iqbāl during this age when the art of poetry is more fastidious than in his own, and the foremost place of influence at his time. There are sufficient reasons to believe that his reputation entirely eclipsed the Kashmīrī poets of not only of his age but even those who came before and after him. It is his 'Dīvān' that has seen the press many times while the 'Dīvāns' or 'Kulyāts' of others are still in manuscript. There is nothing to deny the following view of Dr. Ṣūfī:

" No one would venture to pluck a leaf from his Laurels; they will be green while the Persian language lasts. But it ought to be remembered that Ghanī is something more than a single original poet. He is a school, a generation of poets.[2]"

Before concluding, it would be worth while to write opinions of a few scholars and 'Tazkirah' writers about Ghanī's poetry.

Sheir Khān Lodhī writes in Mirāt-ul-Khiyāl:

اشعارش مانند گلهای کشمیر همواره با طراوت معنی و طرز کلامش چون کلام خوبان

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1. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D.Kāshir, Vol. II, p. 452.

2. Ibid, p. 452.

پیوسته با طلاوت و لذّت، او را معنی خاص بسیار است و مضامین تازه بی قیاس[1]

" His verses are like the flowers of Kashmīr always fresh. Diction and style of his poetry is like the conversation of the fair sex ever sweet, his poetry has many special meanings and fresh subjects in abundance."

Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush expresses his views thus:

صاحب طبع عالی بوده پایهٔ سخنوری را بدرجهٔ کمال رسانده از خطهٔ کشمیر بلکه تمام
اقلیم هند، همچو او سخنوری خوش خیال نازک بند معنی یاب بر نخاسته[2]

" He had a high disposition. He made the dignity of poetry reach the climax. From Kashmīr, nay from the whole of India no poet like him having lofty imagination, subtle fancy and good idea ever rose."

Ṭāhir Nasr Ābādī's view about his poetry is:

حقا که درست سلیقه و غریب خیال بود. اشعارش همگی لطیف است[3]

" By God he had exquisite taste and wonderful ideas. All of his verses are delicate."

Ārzū reveiwing his poetry writes:

در بستن مضامین تازه و بند و بست معانی نو و صفای عبارات از همعصران
بلکه از اکثر گذشتگان پیش قدم است ...... دیوانش اگرچه مختصر است
اما در تعریف فصاحت و بلاغت کلامش سخن مطول میگردد[4]

" In inventing fresh subjects and in arranging new meanings

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1. Lodhī, Sher Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p. 162.
2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā, p. 83.
3. Ṭāhir Nasr Ābādī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Tazkirah-i-Nasarābādī, p.445.
4. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 666.

and in purity of expression he is a leader of not only the contemporaries but also some of the ancients. His 'Dīvān' although concise yet in praising the eloquence of his poetry speech becomes lengthy."

Shafīq writes his opinion in Gul-i-Ra'nā thus:

جناب غنی افتخار خطهٔ کشمیر است و در فصاحت و بلاغت
و ایجاد مضامین تازه و منزه بی نظیر[1]

" Ghanī is the dignity of the valley of Kashmīr and is peer - less in eloquence, creating fresh and pure subjects."

Baikhabar appreciates his poetry in this manner:

بسیار نازک خیال است در بستن مضامین دقیق دستگاه تمام داشت[2]

" He is of very delicate ideas. He has great skill in producing abstruse meaning. "

The author of Mi'rāj-u-Khayāl opines as follows:

مثل او شاعری سخن یاب و محاوره دان از خطهٔ کشمیر برنخاسته و باین بلاغت
و فصاحت تکلم نساخته کلام او فی الحقیقت بهار کشمیر است و دیوان او در
شعرای ادا بند بی نظیر[3]

" No poet rose from Kashmīr who like him was conversant in current speech and skilful in lofty ideas and wrote poetry with such eloquence. His poetry is, in reality, spring of Kashmīr and

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Narā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā , Ms, fol. 226a.
2. Baikhabar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms, fol. 91a.
3. Vazīr Alī, 'Ibratī, Mi'rāj-ul-Khayāl , Ms. fol. 80a.

his 'Dīvān' unique among the melodious poets."

Maulānā Muhammad Ḥusain Āzād expressess his views in the following words:

طبیعت اسکی بھی مشکل پسند تھی۔ کشمیر میں ایسا شاعر نازک خیال نہیں پیدا ہوا
نازک خیالی اور ایہام بندی جو شعرای ہند کا شیوہ ہے وہی اسکا بھی ہے[1]

" His disposition too likes abstruse subjects. A poet of delicate ideas like him has not taken birth in Kashmīr. Delicacy of ideas and ambiguity which is the custom of the Indian poets is also his."

Muslim writes in the preface of his 'Dīvān' as follows:

الفاظش در رنگینی نمونۂ گلهای گلزار است و معانیش در دلنشینی هم سنگ لآلی شاهوار
مصرع مشهورش در بوستان معنی سروی است روان و بیت بلندش در میدان سخن رایتی
ظفرنشان ...... سخنش جان معنی بقالب لفظ می اندازد و دلیل کلامش شکستگی زبان
قلم درست میسازد و نظمش مطلع دیوان سخنهاست هر بیتش بزبان حال بکمال سخن فهمی او دال است[2]

" His words in elegance are the specimen of the flowers of the garden, and his meaning in pleasing are equal to the royal pearls, his famous hemistich in the garden of meaning is a moving cypress and his lofty couplet in the field of poetry is a flag having sign of truimph......His speech infuses the life of meaning in the body of word and the argument of his poetry sets right the deficiency of the tongue of pen and his verse is the opening line of the 'Dīvān' of poetry. Every couplet of his in dumb language speaks of his extraordinary quality of understanding poetry."

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1. Āzād, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Nigāristān-i-Fāris. pp. 182, 183.
2. Preface to Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 4.

Maulvi Ikrām-ul-Haq Salīm expresses his view on Ghanī's poetry in the following words:

غنی کی شاعری باوجود اسکے کہ اُن کی طبیعت خیال بندی اور دقت پسندی پر زیادہ مائل ہے اُنکے
جذبات واحساسات کا صحیح آئینہ ہے۔ غنی کی شاعری کی ایک بڑی خصوصیت تخیل ہے۔ تخیل
شاعری کیلئے روح رواں سے کم نہیں بلکہ بہتیرے لوگ تو یہ کہتے ہیں کہ شاعری صرف قوت تخیل
کا نام ہے۔ اگر یہ صحیح ہے تو غنی "ہمہ تن شاعری" ہے اور اسکا ہر شعر قوت تخیل کا ایک
نمایاں مظہر ہے۔ غنی تخیل کا استعمال اسقدر کرتے ہیں کہ اعتدال سے تجاوز کر جاتے
ہیں۔ سچ پوچھئے تو یہی ان کی شاعری کا بدنما داغ ہے۔ غنی کی دوسری خصوصیت مثالیہ کا
کمال ہے ...... غنی کا استدلال نہایت عمدہ اور شاعرانہ ہوتا ہے۔ مولانا کی طبیعت ایہام پر بھی
بہت مائل ہے۔[1]"

" Ghanī's poetry, in spite of the fact that his disposition tends subtle imagination and abstruse ideas, it is the mirror of his sentiments and feelings. One of the greatest quality of Ghanī's poetry is imagination. Imagination serves as the soul of poetry. Many people opine that poetry is the name of imagination. If this may be considered as correct then Ghanī is a poet from head to foot, and every couplet of his is conspicuous manifestation of imagination. Ghanī uses imagination to such an extent that he exceeds moderation. In fact this is the ugly spot on his poetry. The second quality of Ghanī's poetry is his perfection in analogical poetry.......Ghanī's reasoning is ever good and poetical. Maulānā's disposition is also apt in ambiguity.

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1. The Maā'rif, Vol: 20, No: 6, pp. 428, 434, and 437.

ANALYSIS OF GHANĪ'S DĪVĀN:

It is said that Ghanī selected two thousand couplets from his 'Dīvān' which comprises one lac verses and threw the remaining into the water. He put up these selected verses before Mirzā Muhammad ʿAlī Sā'ib who was much pleased to peruse them.

Now, if we think over it a little we find that it is a fiction concocted by some one to show Ghanī's mastermindedness and perfection in the art of poetry and also his effusion. It has already been proved that Ghanī and Sā'ib came in contact with each other not earlier than 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.) when he was only 22 years of age as we have already mentioned the year of his birth as 1020 A.H. (1610 A.D.) May we presume it as correct that he began to write verses while he was of twenty years (as a few writers opine) then can any one imagine that one can write 100,000 verses in two years. If for the sake of argument it may be considered as correct, then the number of verses should have reached up to 19,00,000 as Ghanī enjoyed the earthly life up to 1079 A.H.(1668 A.D.) ie 37 years after meeting Sā'ib in 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.)

Moreover, if we think that he selected two thousand verses per lac even then the number would rise to 38,000 — a number too great to be perceived as correct.

So far as our conclusion is concerned, it is, that Ghanī had committed to writing only two thousand couplets when he met Sā'ib who selected two hundred verses from among them, and put them down in his note-book. It can be hoped that after this historical incident he might have decided to devote himself whole-heartedly to poetry and might have written about one lac verses in the long

period of 37 years. But in the latter part of his life when he revised his 'Dīvān' and found earthenware with pearls and stones with rubies he would have thought it advisable on his part to gather together pearls, which will remain shining till doomes day--he should gather together flowers which may remain fresh while the Persian language lasts and throw away all the thorns which may cause an eye-sore to the scholars. Taking this into view he selected only those verses which were not below the standard and this made him the most popular poet of the day. He himself emphasizes this in the following verse:

طلب از چه کنی دیوان را ؛ که بیاضی است همه اشعارم

The present 'Dīvān' contains only 1908 verses. This also comprises 166 verses of 83 Rubā is. If these may be deducted the number of couplets would be only 1742. Now, if we base our arguments on the supposition that in the latter part of his life the verses that he selected were only 2,000, even then we find that there is a shortage of 92 verses.

However, it can be decidedly said that many of his verses have either become part of some one else's 'Dīvān' or these ever fresh flowers of the garden of his imagination have been withered by the cruel hands of time.

Ghanī's 'Dīvān' can be analysed in the following way.

1. Complete odes (Ghazals)

This contains those odes (Ghazals) which comprise five or more verses and the closing line bears the "Takhallus."

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 102.

II. Incomplete odes (Ghazals)

This part has further been divided into two parts.

A. This part contains those Ghazals which contain five or more verses but the closing line does not bear the pen name

B. This contains those Ghazals which contain less than five verses but the closing line has the nom de plume.

Furthermore, in the statement, these incomplete Ghazals have been mentioned in three columns. In the first column the number of those odes has been given which contain only two verses and in the third those containing more than three verses.

III. Units:

The number of the isolated verses has been mentioned alphabatically.

IV. Quatrains:

Fragments and miscellanious verses etc.

The attached statement will show that there is no verse of 'Radīfs' ث, ج, س, ش, ط and the 'Radīfs' ظ, ح and خ contain one verse each.

A perusal of this statement also reveals that the 'Dīvān' contains 53 complete Ghazals while incomplete Ghazals are 252, and the number of units is 469 while that of Rubā'īs (Quatrains) is 83.

Units	Incomplete Ghazals						Complete Ghazals		Radifs
	No. of verses	Ghazals containing more than three verses	No. of verses	Ghazals containing three verses	No. of verses	Ghazals containing two verses	No. of verses	No. of complete ghazals	
64	54	10	30	10	40	20	160	23	ا
3	15	2	3	1	2	1	19	2	ب
89	51	10	27	9	54	27	59	8	ت
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ج
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ح
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	خ
131	88	18	60	20	70	35	38	6	د
3	17	3	3	1	8	4	38	5	ر
6	-	-	3	1	2	1	-	-	ز
1	11	2	-	-	4	2	-	-	س
19	-	-	15	5	10	5	-	-	ش
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ط
-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	ع
2	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	غ
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	ف
5	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	ق
4	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	ک
3	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	گ

Units	Incomplete Ghazals						Complete Ghazals		Radif
	No: of verses	Ghazals containing more than three verses	No: of verses	Ghazals containing three verses	No: of verses	Ghazals containing two verses	No: of verses	No: of complete Ghazals	
5	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	ل
71	15	3	15	5	26	13	36	4	م
30	47	9	24	8	14	7	25	3	ن
2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	و
4	5	1	-	-	4	2	-	-	ه
23	5	1	9	3	2	1	18	3	ی
469	300	59	195	65	252	126	400	55	Total
							1624		Grand Total

Quatrains & miscellaneous verses.

رباعیات 83 — 166
اشعار متفرق — 7
در تعریف حمام — 1
مثنوی در تعریف حمام — 27
تضمین بر شعر مولانا روم — 3
قطعه تاریخ وفات ابوطالب کلیم — 7

قطعه در وفات اهلی شاعر — 3
قطعه در وفات امیر الامرا اسلام خان — 7
قطعه ناتمام در هجو اسپ — 5
قصیده در حال خود — 20
قصیده در صفت زمستان — 10
قصیده دوم در صفت زمستان — 14
قصیده ناتمام درباره ضعف خود — 6

میزان 284

ALLEGORICAL POETRY:

" Evéry allegory may be a simile but not vice versa, and an allegory is, in fact a kind of simile," writes late ʿAllāmah Rūḥī in Dabbīr-i-ʿAjam:

ہر تمثیلی تشبیہی باشد نہ بالعکس و تمثیل در حقیقت نوعی از تشبیہ است [1]

Maulana Abdur Rahman writes in Mirāt-ush-Shiʿr explaining the same there.

تمثیل اصل میں ایک قسم کی مرکب تشبیہ ہے جو تشبیہ کے درجے سے بڑھتی ہوئی دلیل یا تاکید دلیل کے درجہ پر پہنچ گئی ہے ...... جو بات کسی انداز پر تاثیر پیدا نہیں کرتی شاعر تمثیلی بیان سے اسمیں تاثیر پیدا کرتا ہے اور پھر اس خوبی سے کہ سامع سنتا ہے اور پھڑک اٹھتا ہے۔ ایک ہی چیز کو وہ بار بار دیکھتا ہے اور ہر بار ایک نئی بات نکالتا ہے [2]

" An allegory is in reality a kind of compound simile which going above from the degree of similes has reached the degree of reasoning, proof or argument.......what can not produce an effect in any other way, the poet by expressing allegorically makes effective and does so beautifully that the hearer's pulses vibrate He sees a thing repeatedly by every time expresses it in different manners."

Ghanī's poetry, as already stated, is full of similes and allegory. His reasoning is fine and poetical. In other words it beautifies the imagination. Let us see now how far Ghanī is successful in this field.

1. This world is wonderful. None is happy here, but in spite of

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1. Rūḥī, ʿAllāmah, Asghar ʿAlī, Dabbīr-i-ʿAjam, p. 259.
2. ʿAbdur Rahman, Shams-ul-ʿUlmā, Mirāt-ush-Shiʿr, pp. 221-222.

this no body likes to leave it. Even if one has lived long, enjoying the life. May it be for him a bed of roses, but man will not refrain from complaining against his life especially in old age. What is this life? The hair are becoming grey. The teeth are falling. Oh it is true, no one has seen the stars in day light.

مو گشت سفید و ریخت دندان ∴ در صبح شود ستاره پنهان[1]

When the hair were black, the teeth were present, just as when it is night the stars shine in the sky. Hair became grey, i.e. the morning of the evening of youth appeared, the stars of teeth vanished one by one. Blackness of hair has been similized with night, while grey hair with day and teeth with stars.

2. The calamity does not end here. The waist is bending and enervation is at its increase. This world's logic is sufficient to astound. It is an every day experience that when the thread is doubled it becomes stronger, while in our case weakness is growing day by day.

پشت ما گردید خم افزود ضعف تن مرا ∴ گرچه محکم میشود چون رشته میگردد دوتا[2]

3. The waist is bending, and it is strange to say that enervation is on its elevation. Body is becoming lean and thin. Even the use of tonic have proved fruitless. Ghee and butter have failed to improve our health which is deteriorating. Our body has become like a bow, and no doubt if bow is greased it adds nothing to its strength. How beautiful this idea has been expressed by Ghanī.

نمی سازد غذای چرب زائل ضعف پیری را ∴ کمان را گرچه روغن می دهی قوت نمی گیرد[3]

Simile is the same but it has given a new idea to the poets's imagination.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 112

2. Ibid, p 73.

4. It is said that an enemy can be turned into a friend by politeness and condescension. Sa'dī says:

دلا گر تواضع کنی اختیار ✤ شود خلق دنیا ترا دوستدار

It may be so, but it is some what contrary to our experience. We have seen the old men bending before death---an enemy of all the living beings, but none has found safety from the cruel hands of death; or in other words flattery fails to charm death, the enemy of life, from its inevitable course. A century after Ghanī's death Grey (d. 1771 A.D.) expressed this idea in the following line:

" Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death."

Ghanī says:

نتوان برد ز دشمن بتواضع جان را ✤ قامت خم نرهاند ز اجل پیران را[1]

5. What can politeness do ? It is absolutely of no effect; on the contrary people cut jokes over the polite men. Only weeping and wailing is efficacious and it is its efficacy which touches even stone hearted people. Enemies' fury can be extinguished by the water of tears:

گریه عجز ملائم کند آن سرکش را ✤ آب بر خاک زند سرکشی آتش را[2]

6. But it should not slip away from your memory that becoming a victim of gentleman's rage is always harmful. Tranquality is the sign of flood. It is of no use to say anything about storm. Just see the earth. You spare no pains to harm it. It endures all with patience; but when it has been enraged, it has shown such scenes, that every body has prayed for safety. It has moved itself a little and thousands have lost their lives:

زینهار ایمن مباش ای غافل از خشم حلیم ✤ چون زمین در جنبش آید خانها ویران شود[3]

7. Now if you desire to pass your days in comfort here, then be

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p.23.
2. Ibid, p. 24.
3. Ibid. p.74.

condescending. Try not to break any human being's heart. An humble man is like a small plant which can not be up-rooted even by a storm. Has the air ever perturbed the wave of mat?

ز جا کی می برد آشوب گیتی خاکساران را ÷ کجا در اضطراب از باد موج بوریا باشد[1]

8. An humble person is always safe from calamities and misfortunes. Vicissitudes of life harm him not. Has any one captured the fish under the earth ? No. Then why should we not say:

خاکساران از بلای آسمانی ایمن اند ÷ ماهی زیر زمین را کس نمی آرد بدام[2]

9. Why should we adopt lowness ? Why should we not try to be so high that no one should reach us ? You are right, but just think over it. How many difficulties will confront you to achieve the goal ? You see that a trench round a garden can serve the same purpose which is served by a wall. To crown all, a trench is free from the fear of falling. It is why Ghanī says:

از بلندی بود مرتبه پستی بهست ÷ کار دیوار کند گرد گلستان خندق[3]

10. This world and all that we find between the heaven and the earth is transitory and liable to decay. It is absolutely of no use to love them and try to derive any profit from them. Man is no doubt sociable by disposition, but it is adviseable on his part not to forget any time the troubles of love. Where there is love, there is no formality. Has the baby ever asked for sugar while sucking his mother's breast ? So Ghanī is not wrong when he says:

گر محبت در میان باشد تکلف گو مباش ÷ شیر مادر در حلاوت بی نیاز از شکر است[4]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 56.
2. Ibid, p. 95.
3. Ibid, p. 91.
4. Ibid, p. 35.

11. It is essential on the part of lovers to take care of their words. They should always think twice before speach, and should in no case utter any word which may bring the love affairs to an end——which may cause perturbation in the ocean of love. The lips, you know, love each other. They remain togather at all times but no sooner did any word comes to the tongue and reach the lips than they separate.

زند رابطه بهم پیوستگان را گفتگو برهم ∴ سخن چو در میان آمد دو لب از هم جدا گردد[1]

12. By this we conclude that in love silence is of vital importance. If you will not speak, no body will exaggerate it, consequently you will remain away from the troubles. None has ever put the tear's son to school, because he always keeps silent....why should he, therefore, bear any sort of trouble. Taking this specious argument in view Ghanī says if you wish to remain free from all kinds of troubles be silent.

بی زبان باش اگر میل فراغت داری ∴ طفل اشک است ز تکلیف دبستان آزاد[2]

The above examples indicate that Ghanī's poetry has such reasoning which appeals to mind and variety of arguments deserves applause. When we recite a verse, we unconsciously accept it as true. His whole 'Dīvān' is full of such reasoning. He is very much skilled in arguing. The following couplets (which are not being explained) will show how skilful is he in this art.

Ghanī in the following verse has very well described that an unfortunate person can not become fortunate by the help of others. He says:

فیضی نیست از اهل کرم برگشته بختان را ∴ که هرگز پر نسازد کاسهٔ گرداب را دریا[3]

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1. Ghanī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī , p.61.
2. Ibid, p. 54.
3. Ibid, p. 16.

This idea has also been described by Ṣā'ib allegorically.

تهی دستان قسمت را چه سود از رهبر کامل ÷ که خضر از آب حیوان تشنه لب آرد سکندر را

Following are a few examples of Ghanī's allegorical poetry.

۱. ندارد ره بگردون روح تا باشد نفس در تن ÷ رسائی نیست در پرواز مرغ رشته برپا را

2. ز شور من شده پوشیده فضل و دانش من ÷ چون میوهٔ که بماند بزیر برگ نهان

3. در مکرر بستن مضمون رنگین لطف نیست ÷ کم دهد رنگ ار کسی بندد حنای بسته را

4. نباشد دل ز یار گرم خود برداشتن آسان ÷ ز آتش چون سپند افتد جدا گرم فغان گردد

5. نیست حسن بی تماشا شایستهٔ دلبستگی ÷ با چراغ برق یک پروانه همراهی نکرد

6. نیست شهرت طلب آنکس که کمالی دارد ÷ هرگز انگشت نما بدر نباشد چو هلال

7. مکن با دوستان از آشنائی اختلاط افزون
در آید چو درون دیده مژگان خار میگردد

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 7
2. Ibid, p. 110.
3. Ibid, p. 12.
4. Ibid, p. 79.
5. Ibid, p. 79.
6. Ibid, p. 93.
7. Ibid, p. 62.

PROVERBIAL COMMISSION;

It indicates the use of a proverb, example or a maxim in a couplet.

In the preceeding pages we have given sufficient examples to show that with the help of similies Ghanī persuades us to accept as true what he says. But some times he leaves aside the similes and metaphors and by the help of proverbs, examples or maxims shows that he is also skilful in this form of poetry. A few examples are quoted below to show his brilliant conception.

1. مدتِ شادی و غم نیست برابر بجهان ٭ گریهٔ شمع شبی خندهٔ صبح ست دمی

Span of happiness and sorrow in this world is not equal. The candle weeps the whole night but the smile of the morning is momentary.

To evince that in this world the span of happiness and prosperity is insignificant when compared with grief and sorrow. The poet argues that the candle weeps the whole night ie, the period of its burning and vexation is the whole night while the smile of the morning is but for a moment. Hence it is proved that the moments of pleasure and delight are far less then the troubles and calamities.

2. یادِ آن بت کند و سر زند از ستون لنگ ٭ غلط است اینکه برد سجده برهمن بصنم

When the Brahman remembers the idol (the beloved or God) his longing and patience passes all limits. His power of self restraint exhausts and in his separation he strikes his head with the stone. It is wrong to say that the Brahman prostrates before the idol. A lover separated from his beloved can not control himself

1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 119.
2. Ibid, p. 136.

and madly strikes his head with stones and walls. Does it mean that he prostrates before the walls and stones. Same is the condition of the Brahman. His putting the head before the idols of stone is not prostration, but he in the memory of the beloved, whom he loves to madness, strikes his head with it, so it is proved, that the conjecture, that the Brahman postrate the idol of stone, is wrong.

3. فارغ بود از آفت گیتی دل روشن ÷ از برق زیانی نرسد خرمن مه را [1]

Brilliant minded person is free from the calamities of the earth. The heap of moon never suffer any loss by the lightning.

Brilliance of the moon is self evident. The lightning does not fall at its heap, and if it falls it can not inflict any loss to it. It remains as it is. It is, therefore, proved that the brilliant minded persons remain safe from calamities.

The following couplets of his show the pattern of this sort of his poetry.

داغی باشد علاج زخم چون ناسور شد ÷ درد بی درمان ما را چاره درد دگر است [2]

سرو در فصل خزان ماند بحال ÷ راستی را نبود بیم زوال [3]

بگذشت چون ز خونم مژگان یار برگشت ÷ هرچند برنگردد تیر از کمان چو بگذشت [4]

مکن با دوستان از آشنایی اختلاط افزون
در آید چون درون دیده مژگان خار میگردد [5]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 26.
2. Ibid, p. 35.
3. Ibid, p. 93.
4. Ibid, p. 41.
5. Ibid, p. 62.

GHANĪ'S MYSTICAL POETRY:

In modern poets, ṣūfic traditions are nothing but conventional These are mere copies of the ancient poets. We do not find that elegance and ecastasy that are visible in the poetry of classical poets. There is no dearth of sufic subjects in Ghanī's poetry but there is nothing new. Only old wine has been presented in new bottles. Ghanī's poetry also reveals that Ghanī himself was not a great Ṣūfī. He himself was at that time in the preliminary stages of isolation, recluse, contentment and patience etc., A spiritual guide is necessary to achieve the goal; it is why he says:

سالک نرسد بی مدد پیر بجای ❊ بی جور کمان ره نبرد تیر بجای[1]

Ṣāib is also of the same idea. He expresses it in the following manner:

می برند از همت پیران بمنزل بی عنان ❊ تیر با خود تا بدف زور کمان را می برد

Hāfiẓ is alo of the same view:

من بسر منزل عنقا نه بخود بردم راه ❊ قطع این مرحله با مرغ سلیمان کردم

1. Love is the essence of suficism. His splendour is visible in each and every thing. Even an atom in the world is not void of His beauty, but mystical contemplation or insight in the divine matters can not be had without God's help. Ghanī says:

توتیای چشم ما جز پرتو خورشید نیست ❊ ما بنور دوست می بینیم حسن روی دوست[2]

God's beautific visions and manifestations are before every body's eye but the relations with the mundane world are so strong that they have made the people blind causing the retina of eyes (پردهٔ چشم) to serve as the veil of friend's face.

1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Divān-i-Ghanī, p. 117
2. Ibid, p. 34.

یار در چشم و نگه سرگرم جستجوی اوست ÷ پرده های دیده ام گویا نقاب روی اوست[1]

Every particel possesses Godś beauty but no monastery or sacred enclosure of Mecca is requited for His manifestation; to see His light one should come into the circle of موتوا قبل ان تموتوا

با مرده دلان چند نشینی بمساجد ÷ خمخانه نشین باش که خم زنده بگور است[2]

At one place Ghanī has expressed this view in a wider sense:

سواد کعبه کی منظور ارباب نظر باشد ÷ بسنگ سرمه حاجت نیست هرگز چشم روشن را[3]

The only way for knowing God is purification of spirit:

بی ریاضت نشود نشئهٔ عرفان حاصل ÷ تا کدو خشک نگردید نی ناب نیافت[4]

It is an incontrovertible fact that an incontinent person can not visulize God's manifestation.

نور حسن از دیدهٔ تردامنان پنهان بود ÷ بی نصیب از پرتو شمع ست فانوس حباب[5]

Isolation from the world is essential for the Sufis; which is a most difficult task. Ghanī says:

کی بخلق میتوان شد با تن تنها طرف ÷ ملک گیری سهل باشد گوشه گیری مشکل است[6]

God is free from all sorts of griefs and sorrows:

زد پنجه بسینه و دلم را بر دست ÷ شادم که دل مرا بدست آورده است

اسباب جمال هرچه باید دارد ÷ چیزی که نگار من ندارد درد است[7]

According to Ṣūfīś point of view death is the preface of life:

جان رفت و نرفت درد جانکاه هنوز ÷ دل نیست ز خواب راحت آگاه هنوز

ما گرچه رسیدیم بمنزل اما ÷ آسایش منزل است در راه هنوز[8]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 45.
2. Ibid, p. 38.
3. Ibid, p. 20.
4. Ibid, p. 51.
5. Ibid, p. 30.
6. Ibid, p. 42.
7. Ibid, p. 124.
8. Ibid, p. 126.

GHANI'S ETHICAL POETRY:

The main topics of the Ethical poetry of Persian language are contentment, courtsy, trust in God, obeisance, patience, generosity, liberality, forgiveness etc., Maulānā Ghanī whose poetry is based upon the foundation of classical poets has also dealt with these subject.

The first and foremost thing is whether or not morals can be set right by education or training. Ghanī's view is that all instructions prove futile unless the man is personally endowed with good qualities.

چو استعداد نبود کار از اعجاز نگشاید ÷ مسیحا کی تواند کرد روشن چشم سوزن را [1]

Hāfiz and Maulānā Rūm have also expressed this idea. Hāfiz says

گوهر پاک بباید که شود قابل فیض ÷ ورنه هر سنگ و گلی لؤلؤ و مرجان نشود

Maulānā Rūm says:

هر که او از اصل فطرت خوب زاد ÷ آینه در پیش او باید نهاد

Ghanī has also expressed this view at some other place too.

تربیت را چه اثر گر نبود استعداد ÷ آسیا صاف چو آئینه نگردد ز غبار [2]

It is an undeniable fact that the companionship of a man has its effects upon the men who keeps his company, that is why Sa'dī says:

صحبت صالح ترا صالح کند ÷ صحبت طالح ترا طالح کند

Or as it has been said:

از بدان جز بدی نیاموزی ÷ نکند گرگ پوستین دوزی

It is, therefore, necessary to shun the company of careless persons. Ghanī says:

رفیق اهل غفلت هر که شد از کار می ماند ÷ چو پای خفته پای دیگر از رفتار می ماند [3]

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1. Ghanī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 20
2. Ibid, p. 81.
3. Ibid, p. 70.

Similarly he says that the company of weak persons makes one contemptible and submissive.

هر مرد که بازنان بخواهش بنشست ÷ بر عارض خویش غازهٔ خواری بست

بنگر به سر انگشت که در پنجهٔ دست ÷ نسبت بهر انگشت فرو تر بنشست[1]

Politeness is good in itself, so it is good to respect those who are polite.

نزد ارباب تواضع بتواضع تن ده ÷ پیش محراب همان به که کنی خود را خم[1A]

There is a well known proverb that "Politeness is the power of humanity." Ghanī, therefore, instructs to adopt politeness.

بنرمی جان ز دست سخت گیران میتوان بردن ÷ بزیر تیغ هرگز کس نگیرد جادهٔ مو را[2]

This idea has also been expressed by him in an other way:

ما بنرمی جان ز دست سخت گیران میبریم ÷ جسم سنگین نیست چون در قطرهٔ کمی آب را[3]

It is weakness of character to do injustice to subordinates as it brings shame.

سرکشی با زیردستان باعث شرمندگی ست ÷ آبرو ریزد چو گردد شیشه با ساغر طرف[4]

For the renouncement of the world he instructs as follows:

یوسف مصر تجرد داند ÷ پیرهن هیچ کم از زندان نیست[5]

Ghanī who himself was a self-contained and self-respected person directs his fellow men to be so. He says:

گر بسیر نشد ارباب نشاطم غم نیست ÷ پیش من چین جبین از لب خندان کم نیست[6]

A self contented person ranks very high.

هرکه چون من زد قدم در راه استغنا غنی ÷ اطلس گردون بپای همتش پاتابه است[7]

He further says that a contented person is not less than a king.

میشود پیمانه پر از کثرت نعمت غنی ÷ خسرو وقت است آنکو قانع شد بقوت لایموت[8]

Khusraw says:

کوس شد خالی و بانگ غلغلش در دنیا است ÷ هرکه قانع شد به خشک و تر شه بحر و بر است

Ghanī is fully aware of the difficulties and troubles that confront a contented person, as he says:

باستغنا گذشتن از جهان آسان نمی باشد ÷ بود دشوار قطع راه دور از پشت پا کردن[9]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p.127. 1A. Ibid, p. 136.
2. Ibid, p. 8.
3. Ibid, p. 15.
4. Ibid, p. 90.
5. Ibid, p. 50.
6. Ibid, p. 41.
7. Ibid, p. 37.
8. Ibid, p. 29.
9. Ibid, p. 106.

But even then he wishes to be content. He does not like that a man should be eventually dependant on an other. In the following couplet he refers to the spots of moon due to the borrowed light of the sun:

کاسه خود پر مکن زنهار از خوانِ کسی ∴ داغ از احسان خورشید است بر دل ماه را [1]

Maulānā Ghanī also believes in destiny:

مگذار از قلمرو تقدیر پا برون ∴ سرمشق خویش ساز خط سرنوشت را [2]

Ghanī is not un-aware of the inner power of men, that is why he stresses action and endeavour. He inculcates that if you desire to achieve the goal, you should have your motto: "Try, Try, Try again." as in it lies the mystry of life. His opinion about action is: بی تعب در منزل مقصود کس را بار نیست ∴ نردبان این سرا جز راه ناهموار نیست [3]

He also says:

من از قدم سعی به مقصود رسیدم ∴ هر آبله پای مرا قبله نما شد [4]

Ghanī also directs his fellow men that it is better to catch the time by the forelock:

هردم برنگ شیشهٔ ساعت نگاه کن ∴ غافل مباش از سفر کاروان عمر

Hāfiẓ's verse on the subject is not less in beauty:

بیا دمی رود فرصت شمر غنیمت وقت ∴ که در کمینگه عمر اند قاطعان طریق

In the following lines we copy a few verses of Ghanī which are examples of his admonitions. A perusal of these verses will tell us that Ghanī is not only a poet but is an adviser and in admonishing he has followed Sa'dī's foot-prints.

Death is present at all times:

رسد بگوش من این حرف هردم از لب گور ∴ بیا که خاک ز شوق تو چشم در راه است [6]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīwān-i-Ghanī, p. 18.
2. Ibid, p. 27.
3. Ibid, p. 27.
4. Ibid, p. 56.
5. Ibid, p. 34.
6. Ibid, p. 50.
[illegible]

Silence is better in all matters:

ترک گویائی ز دخل نکته گیران رستن است ∴ بستن لب خوشتر از مضمون رنگین بستن است [1]

Similar is the case of Sa'dī who likes silence because:

تا مرد سخن نگفته باشد ∴ عیب و هنرش نهفته باشد

The evil should be up-rooted:

محتسب خواهی کنی بیکار گر خمار را ∴ شیشه های دانهٔ انگور می باید شکست [2]

So far as friends are concerned one should act upon the proverb, "keep far to keep friendly."

مکن با دوستان از آشنائی اختلاط افزون ∴ در آید چون درون دیده مژگان خار میگردد [3]

Don't try to divulge other's secrets:

راز کس ای صاحب بینش مکن زنهار فاش ∴ هر زبان گر باشدت چون مردمک خاموش باش [4]

Prayer saves from committing sins:

ای کرده زر و سیم ترا دشمن دین ∴ نقش گنه از لوح جبین تو ببین

از وسوسهٔ پاک نگردی هرگز ∴ تا سر ننهی بسجده مانند نگین [5]

Do not look down upon the poors:

گر فیل شوی پای منه بر سر مور ∴ غافل مشو از جوهر تیغ پر مور

عالم شده در چشم سلیمان تاریک ∴ تا گشته عیان سپاه لشکر مور [6]

None is free from vices:

هر کس بجویش گمانی دارد ∴ چون در نگری عیب نهانی دارد

عمریست که در باغ جهان گردیدم ∴ هر میوه که دیدم استخوانی دارد [7]

Oppressing people and vagrancy is not good:

چون بیخبران بیخبر از کار مباش ∴ سرگشته بهر کوچه و بازار مباش

ترسم که ز چشم اهل بینش افتی ∴ چون طفل سرشک مردم آزار مباش [8]

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1. Ghanī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 45.
2. Ibid, p. 48.
3. Ibid, p. 62.
4. Ibid, p. 122.
5. Ibid, p. 122.
6. Ibid, p. 123.
7. Ibid, p. 125.
8. Ibid, p. 125.

Every one has to teste death.

آن را که نباشد کلف از رزق برات ؛ کی سعی طبیعتش دهد از مرگ نجات
از عمر دمی بیش امیدش نبود ؛ هر چند حباب سر زند از آب حیات [1]

Forseke covetousness:

ای یافته در ذکر خفی دام هوس ؛ مرغ نفست گشته گرفتار قفس
خواهی که دلت گشاده گردد چو حباب ؛ در ترک هوا کوش بزن حبس نفس [2]

Strive for accomplishments:

ای در طلب کمال سرگرم شتاب ؛ در صورت کس مبین و معنی دریاب
هر چند عقیق ست با آتش همرنگ ؛ دارد بدل آن تشنه خاصیت آب [3]

Friend in need is rare:

کردم هر چند جستجو در عالم ؛ یاران موافق بجهان دیدم کم
افسوس که همچو مهرهای شطرنج ؛ یک رنگ نشیند همنشینان باهم [4]

Ha bit is second nature:

بدگر چه دمی چند به نیکان بنشست ؛ سررشته نیکیش نیفتاد بدست
از تیره دلی پاک نشد خاکستر ؛ هر چند که آتش و آئینه بنشست [5]

Do good and have good:

از بهره خویش گر جفا برداری ؛ هر گام از او فائده ها برداری
در راه سلوک دستگیر تو شود ؛ آنرا که ز خاک چون عصا برداری [6]

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tahir, Diwan-i-Ghani, p. 125.
2. Ibid, p. 126.
3. Ibid. p. 127.
4. Ibid. p. 128.
5. Ibid. p. 128.
6. Ibid. p. 129.

GHANĪ'S ROMANTIC POETRY:

Beauty creates passion, lust or true love, because to love is in human being's nature; therefore, romantic poetry predominates over all sorts of poetry. The main theme of Persian poetry is either praise of the beloved's beauty, complaint against seperation a transient gleam of hope of beloved's re-union, etc. These formal and conventional thoughts serve as elements of Ghanī's romantic poetry. In this field Ghanī's triumph over his contemporaries is not worth consideration. Here, too, his aptitude for allegoric poetry is obvious. However, sensations, wether real or imagined have been expressed in verses. Let us now see what sorts of ideas he has expressed.

It is too difficult for a lover to conceal his secrets. Lover knows it fully well that this will bring slur upon his true love, but it is beyond his power.

چسان از همدمان دارم نهان راز دل خود را ∴ که همچو نی نفس در سینهٔ من نالها دارد [1]

In the eyes of a lover, his beloved is the most beautiful. He or she is matchless and as Hāfiz says:

نظیر دوست ندیدم اگرچه از مه و مهر ∴ نهادم این همه را در مقابل رخ دوست

Ghanī also expresses his views in the following couplet:

بدلفروزی شمع جمال او نرسد ∴ ستاره در صدف چرخ گر گهر گردد [2]

At another place he says that:

تواند صورتی دادن شبیهان پری رو را ∴ مصور گر کند از بال عنقا خامهٔ مو را [3]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 53.

2. Ibid, p. 56.

3. Ibid, p. 8.

Every poet praises his fancy man, Ghanī too praises the lips, mouth, eyes, etc. of his beloved. About his lips he says:

لب لعلت چو مقابل بمی ناب شود ÷ ساغر باده ز خجلت چو حباب آب شود [1]

and so far as his mouth is concerned:

عمرها شد که بوصف دهنت مشغولم ÷ ترسم آخر نفسم غنچه صفت تنگ شود [2]

And in the whole life the poet could say in praise of the mouth this much:

باد لطافت ز ملاحت نتواند دم زد ÷ پسته هر چند که خود را به نمک شور کند [3]

The following verse is Ghanī's master piece verse in praise of a sweet-heart:-

حسن سبزی بخط سبز مرا کرد اسیر ÷ دام همرنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم [4]

The lover has been captivated by the green but he now longs for freedom. How is it possible ? He requests the beloved for favour of release:

بده از سبزهٔ خط مرغ دل را خط آزادی ÷ چو مغز پسته تا کی طوطی ما در قفس باشد [5]

He may release him, but where can he go. It is impossible to foresake love:

غنی مشکل بود دل کندن از خوبان پس از الفت ÷ هنوز آب از غم یوسف بچشم چاه می آید [6]

We see that a lover has nothing to do but to see his handsome-sweet heart who excells in beauty, but he has connection with none except with the beloved's blackeyes.

رخ زردم از آن چشم سیه را در نظر باشد ÷ فلک را هر کجا بینی سر و کارش بزر باشد [7]

He is in love with him from head to foot. Every hair of his is tied with the chain of beloved's look.

در خم زنجیر زلفش دل نه تنها بند شد ÷ غیر ناخن هر چه بود از پیکر ما بند شد [8]

The only aspiration now is to say prayer of love in the arch (senctury) of beloved eye-brow:

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tahir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 52.
2. Ibid, p. 58.
3. Ibid, p. 57.
4. Ibid, p. 97.
5. Ibid, p. 61.
6. Ibid, p. 78.
7. Ibid, p. 36.
8. Ibid, p. 60.

بیمار عشق در خم محراب ابروانش ÷ خواهد چو چشم او باشارت نماز کرد[1]

This is but a vain hope, to hope for the re-union of the beloved and keep himself happy with this idea. Had it been possible the lover would have revived.

ای خوش آن دم که وصال تو میسر گردد ÷ چون نفس جان بلب آمده ام برگردد[2]

But that stone hearted has taken pity upon none. Tell me:

آن سرو روان جای در آغوش که دارد ÷ دستی بنوازش بسر دوش که دارد[3]

Is there any need to say a word about his injustice ? He is so cruel that he did not come even at the time of death.

مردم که ببالین من آن یار نیامد ÷ صد بار ز خود رفتم و یکبار نیامد[4]

He did not pay heed to my request. I solicited that I flutter in your separation:

بی تو بر فرش گل ز بی تابی ÷ مرغ در خون طپیده را مانم[5]

I am worse than dead without you:

تا ز بزم وصال تو دورم ÷ زنده ام لیک زنده در گورم[6]

But all my efforts proved fruitless. Friends now advise me to go for a walk in the garden, but it is next to impossible for me, because: بروز هجر کی سیر گلستانم هوس باشد ÷ که گلشن بی گل روی تو در چشمم قفس باشد[7]

I humbly requested him to come to me as now nothing can stop my tears except your union:

سوز دلی که دارم از گریه کم نگردد ÷ چون شمع آب چشمم باشد غذای آتش[8]

This is Ghani's romantic poetry, formal and conventional by its nature. A few verses are quoted here to serve as examples:

لخت جگر بدیده ام از قطره گریه است ÷ چون آب نیست تشنه نهد در دهن عقیق[9]

زنگ از دل نبرد در شب هجرت مهتاب ÷ بی رخت آئینه ماه شکستن دارد[10]

حیف باشد در دنیا کم بود از رنگ حنا ÷ عمر آن بهتر که در پای نگار آخر شود[11]

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tahir, Divan-i-Ghani, p. 56.
2. Ibid, p. 57.
3. Ibid, p. 57.
4. Ibid, p. 59.
5. Ibid, p. 26.
6. Ibid, p. 29.
7. Ibid, p. 61.
8. Ibid, p. 63.
9. Ibid, p. 91. 10. Ibid, p. 57. 11. Ibid, p. 66.

MAIN CHARECTERISTICS OF GHANĪ'S POETRY:

A perusal of Ghanī's 'Dīvān' helps us to form an idea that Ghanī spent the whole of his life in writing Ghazals. No doubt he committed to writing a few quatrains and fragments, but the centre of his thoughts was 'Ghazals' and it is by the exquisite verses of 'Ghazals' that he has achieved the utmost popularity in India and has also become widely known out side. In Ghanī's 'Dīvān' the number of the isolated verses is greater than the other forms of poetry, which is perhaps due to the fact that he selected the most exquisite verse from the Ghazal and wrote it down in the note-book while the remaining verses were deleted from the collection, so that the collection should fascinate the fancy of the readers and it should in no way bore them. Internal evidence reveals to us that he wished that the subject of each and every verse should be new and the ideas fresh, imagination natural and the style effective.

از فکر تا سخن نشود قابل رقم ٭ مانند خامه سر ز گریبان نمی کشم[1]

He, it seems from the above quoted verse, used to think over the idea which struck his mind and after deep meditation used to express them in a beautiful manner, being not un-aware of the fact that it is the foremost duty of a poet to express the ideas in laudable words and phrases so that on reading or hearing, one should involuntarily admire and appreciate them. He knew that the idea once expressed should not be expressed for the second time because it looses charm.

در مکرر بستن مضمون رنگین لطف نیست ٭ کی دهد رنگ ار کسی بندد حنای بسته را[2]

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1. Ghanī Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 107
2. Ibid, p. 12.

" A thought once dressed in sparking rhyme
why versify a second time ?
Twice over used, the brightest Henna
Will diwindle to a pale sienna.

According to his point of view the thought or idea is just like the water which quenches the thirst of the sound talent and when it is used in a proper manner it serves the purpose of a pearl which dazzles the eyes——and about its value nothing can be said:

آب بود معنی روشن غنی ٭ خوب اگر بسته شود گوہر است[1]

Moreover, he knew it fully well that good verses attract the readers and reading it again and again adds something to its charm:

بی نیازی از سخن ہرگز نباشد گوش را ٭ سیر چشمی حاصل از نعمت نشد سرپوش را[2]

The ear is never fed up with poetry
As the dishcover is ever there to over lay the dish.

It has already been stated that Ghanī's bent of mind was to induct the reader with new thoughts because these are the soul of poetry. In the following pages we shall try to give some ideas of Ghanī's poetical talent, qualities of his poetry, its merits and demerits, its laudable qualities and its defects. Qualities deserving appreciation in Ghanī's poetry are lofty imagination, proverbial commission, imaginative flights and subtle exposition. He is very skilled in coining new phrases and composite similes and metaphors. His poetry is not devoid of " Figures of thought and speech," Now first of all we take up "Lofty imagination" which is the essential ingredient of his poetry.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 34.

2. Ibid, p. 21.

LOFTY IMAGINATION:

ز شوخی بسکه در پرواز بینم هر نفس گل را ∴ چون بلبل میتوان کردن ز گلبن در قفس گل را [1]

A flower by virtue of its pride for lovliness and beauty is inclined to fly high. The remedy is that it should be seperated from the branch and like the nightingale be confined in a cage so that it may not fly and be not proud of its beauty. Who has not seen a rose on the rose-bush moved up and down by the air, but has any one concluded in the manner of the poet ?

2. It is an indisputeable fact that the moon is beautiful and as far as the black spot is concerned one may say that it is to save its beauty from an evil eye, but a poet's imagination leads him to derive a moral lesson from it.

کاسه خود پر مکن زنهار از خوان کسی ∴ داغ از احسان خورشید است بر دل ماه را [2]

That is to say, a man may have all sorts of virtues and in-numer - able good qualities but if he is under the obligation of his fellow beings he has a black spot on his virtues. Just see how the reasoning of the poet's lofty imagination is different from that of others. He refers to the spots of the moon due to the borrowed lights of the sun and draws the moral that a man should avoid being eternally dependant on others.

3. Sweetheart's looks have always been considered very long, and this subject has been expressed by almost all the poets of the East. Similarly beloved's dying her feet with 'Hinnā' is too

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 22.

2. Ibid, p. 18.

common a subject, but Ghanī's imaginative flights present it in a most beautiful manner.

کند در پیش آن پای نگارین سجده گه زلفش ؛ بلی آری به از آتش پرستی نیست هندو را [1]

Seeing the long hair of the sweetheart reaching her feet dyed with 'Hinnā' he similized the locks with 'Hindū'---the inhabitants of India having black complexion and Hindū also means the robbers, he thus playing upon the words "Hindū" uses both the meanings of the words. Hair of the beloved, loot the senses of the lover, therefore, they are 'Hindūs', and moreover, all the Hindūs (ie the inhabitants of India excluding Muslims, Christians) worship fire. Thus his lofty imagination came accross with a new idea which he expressed metaphorically.

4. Every lover considers his beloved's face so beautiful and delicate that none has the power to draw a portrait. A born poet expresses this idea in the following manner.

تواند صورتی دادن شبیه آن پری رو را ؛ مصور گر کند از بال عنقا خامهٔ مو را [2]

that is to say only that painter can draw the beloved's portrait who has his pen made of phoenix's feathers. Poenix is a fabulous bird, said to be known as to name but unknown as to body. Hence, no body would get it, and therefore, none would be able to draw the requisite portrait.

5. Old age and child hood differ but very little. In both cases obstinacy and peevishness are apparent. Similarly in bodily constitution both are weak. Both are without teeth and even without sense In other words a man in old age becomes a child. This is why Ghanī

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 8.
2. Ibid, p. 8.

has similized his old-age with a child as he says:

آدمی در عهد پیری بی‌خرد گردد غنی :: می‌شمارم طفل خود را ریخت تا دندان مرا [1]

This idea has also been expressed by Shakespeare in his drama "As you like it," in the following manner:

> Last scene of all,
> That ends this strange eventful history,
> Is second childness and mere oblivion,
> Sans teeth, sans eye, sans taste, sans every thing.[2]

6. An ascetic does not like drinking. The reason is not far off He devouts his time to telling beads. The lofty imagination of the poet similized the units of rosary (دانهٔ تسبیح) with blister. Seeing the rosary in his hands at all times, he thought that it was not rosary but his hands have blisters. It is impossible to catch any thing with a blistered hand. By the help of imagination he put forward an acceptable reason.

معذور بود زاهد اگر جام نگیرد :: کز دانهٔ تسبیح کفش آبله دار است [3]

7. In every day life we see the birds come into existence through the eggs. Every one might have seen this but never cared to think over it, perhaps it is nothing but a natural course. The poet saw a nightingale coming out of an egg. When he grew up it began to love the rose. Poet's imagination leads him to the conclusion that the lovers are target of grief and sorrow from the day of eternity. This idea in the clothes of words presented itself in this way.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 29.
2. Shakespeare, William, As You like it, p. 35.
3. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 41.

شد مرا از قفسِ بیضهٔ بلبل معلوم ؛ که گرفتاری عشاق بود مادرزاد[1]

8. The crescent is seen every month by every body but it does not emphasize any new thing. The poets have similized it with the eye-brow. When Ghanī saw the crescent, he thought the sky wrote the hemistich of fancyman's eye brow with the golden water, so every one who saw it said that it was the "New moon."

گردون ز شوق مصرعِ ابروی آن نگار ؛ با آبِ زر رقم زده نامش هلال شد[2]

9. The story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife has been related in the wholy Quran which tells us that Potiphar's wife wanted to entice Joseph away into evil ways, but being a prophet it was impossible for him to agree to her wishes, so he ran away from the presence of Zulikhā who tried to catch him from behind, with the result that the shirt was torn off from behind.

The poet has similized the rent of the collar with laughter and has thus created wonderful meaning saying that Potiphar 's wife whose claims for her chastity was false, because the collars of Joseph's shirt laughed at her chastity. The poet says:

چاکِ پیراهنِ یوسف نبود بی معنی ؛ خنده بر پاکیِ دامانِ زلیخا دارد[3]

Ghanī's poetry is full of imaginative flights. Every verse of his discloses his power of imagination. It is obvious from the study of his 'Dīwān' that every phenomena of nature acquaints him with a new world of thoughts and even the ordinary accidents of the world come before him in some what different manners. He has

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1. Ghanī. Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī. p. 54.
2. Ibid, p. 66.
3. Ibid, p. 67.

invested his flights of fancy with orignality, in an immaculate style, causing our pulses to vibrate.

Above we have quoted a few examples from his 'Dīvān' with explanation, but as follows are some patterns of his lofty imagination unexplained so that reader may himself enjoy fully.

1- در موسم بهار چو نرگس ز شوق می ؛ سر می‌کشند ز گردن مینا پیاله‌ها

2- بر رگ گل رشته‌ها باشد بپای عندلیب ؛ دام دیگر نیست حاجت از برای عندلیب

3- هست میل پان خوردن گلرخان هند را ؛ عاشقان گوئی که از خون خودش دادند آب

4- از نمازم نیست مطلب غیر جستجوی دوست ؛ میروم از اشتیاق افتان و خیزان سوی دوست

5- بهمت خانه نشینی نه پسندید بخویش ؛ ورنه مجنون گله از سختی زنجیر نداشت

6- آن چشم مست باده کشی را چون عام کرد ؛ نرگس ز رشک داشت به حرف جام زرد

7- غافل از ذکر شوی گر نبود سبحه بدست ؛ رشته بند بر انگشت مکرر بستند

8- حائل گردن شیرین دست خود در گردن خسرو ؛ مگر میل حنا بندی ز خون کوهکن دارد

9- کند تاثیر در معشوق هم بی‌تابی عاشق
که مه همچون کتان آخر گریبان چاک میگردد

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tahir, Divan-e-Ghani , p. 28
2. Ibid, p. 30.
3. Ibid, p. 30.
4. Ibid, p. 34.
5. Ibid, p. 37.
6. Ibid, p. 57.
7. Ibid, p. 65.
8. Ibid, p. 60.
9. Ibid, p. 73.

INJUSTICE OF IMAGINATION:

Maulānā Shiblī has given the following causes of injustice of imagination.

1. Heperbole. مبالغہ
2. Ambigiuty. لفظی تناسب یا ایہام
3. Far -fetched similies and metaphors. دور از کار تشبیہات و استعارات
4. To establish one thing as cause for an other thing while it is not its cause. ایک چیز کو ایک چیز کی علت قرار دینا حالانکہ وہ اسکی علت نہیں ہوتی

Taking into view these causes, when we study Ghanī's 'Dīvān' we come accross verses which point out to us that Ghanī's imagination has lost the right path. A few examples will suffice.

1. In the following couplet Ghanī praises the life giving breath of the sweet-heart to such an extent that he puts the mirror of the sun before the nose of Christ.

دم جان بخش او تا رنگ حیرت ریخت در عالم ؛ ز مہر آئینہ در پیش نفس دیدم مسیحا را [1]

Such a miracle was shown by the life giving breath of the beloved that even the prophet Christ could not endure. His bewilder-ment and astonihment caused suspicion and doubt about his life in the minds, so the mirror of the sun was put before his breath in-order to conclude as to whether or not he has breathed his last.

2. To exaggerate weeping he says:

طفل اشکم گر ببازی رو بصحرا آورد ؛ کاغذ بادی شمارد ابر دریا بار را [2]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tahir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 8
2. Ibid, p. 9.

If my tear's son, while playing may go to jungle, he will consider the river showering cloud as a kite.

The poet says that he weeps so much that before it even the rivershowering cloud is of no match. Just see the injustice of imagination. He brought the phrase طفلِ اشک (son of tears) so, for this, his imagination leads him towards the things necessary for play viz: play ground, kite etc. Here the exposition of the thought has been made inelegantly. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zauq also said a beautiful verse about weeping. He says:

ہم رونے پہ آجائیں تو دریا ہی بہا دیں ÷ شبنم کی طرح سے ہمیں رونا نہیں آتا [1]

3. Beloved remains busy in dressing his hair. Ghanī using the hyperbole here equips the snakes of lock with teeth by the comb. After this he says that snake's teeth are brought out with spell, but no magic or spell has its effect on it.

دندانِ مار گرچہ بافسوں تواں کشید ÷ از زلفِ او جدا نتواں کرد شانہ را [2]

4. He praised the black eyes of the fancy-man to such an extent that even the tongue in the mouth became bodkin of collyrium (میل سرمہ) No doubt he has made an exaggeration in the praise of beloved's eye, but slutishly.

از بسکہ وصفِ چشمِ سیاہِ تو کردہ ایم ÷ گردید میلِ سرمہ زبان در دہانِ ما [3]

5. It is a well known fact that Ḥaẓrat Ya'qūb lost his eye-sight by weeping in the separation of his son Joseph. Blackness is lost at the time of blindness. Now Ghanī's imagination led him to the conclusion that Joseph has taken blackness from his father's eyes inorder to dye Zulīkhā's (the potiphar's wife) hair because she is now old. In old-age grey hair are dyed so that one should

1. Zauq. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Dīvān-i-Zauq, p. 133.
2. Ghanī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 12. 3. Ibid, p. 12

look younger than one's age.

خضاب موی زلیخا مگر کند یوسف ∴ که برده است سیاهی ز دیدهٔ یعقوب[1]

Ghalib (Asad Ullah Khān) one of the poet's of Abū Zafar Bahādur Shāh's court, has perhaps adopted this idea in the following verse:

نہ چھوڑی حضرتِ یوسف نے یاں بھی خانہ آرائی ∴ سفیدی دیدۂ یعقوب کی پھرتی ہے زنداں پر

6. Narrowness of the beloved's mouth is the insignia of beauty. The poets, by their imaginative power made it so narrow that they called it a point. But even this could not satisfy them and, therefore, they thought it a fancied dot as some one says:

کردی بہ نطق نقطۂ موہوم را دو نیم ∴ ای ناقصِ کلامِ کلیمان بیانِ تو

Muhsin of Thatha (West Pakistān) goes a step further by saying:

چنان بر دل کشم نقش دهانش ∴ که جا بر نقطۂ موهوم تنگ است

Every poet has attempted this subject and by way of exaggeration has tried to go beyond the limits of both reason and experience. Ghani has also done his best in this respect saying:

بگذر از خویش چه بینی دهنِ یار غنی ∴ دل به هستی چه دهی راه عدم در پیش است[2]

He has in the above couplet called the beloved's mouth as 'non-existance' and therefore, has girded up his lions to annihilate himself.

7. The wine is allegorically called 'the daughter of grapes' and the tear is said to be 'tears's son'. There is an ordinary idea in the verse, that owing to scarcity of wine I weep, but poet's imagination has expressed it in uncivilized manner which could not

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tahir, Divān-i-Ghani, p. 31.

2. Ibid, p. 51.

of course, be expecteed from a poet like Ghanī:

از کنارم دختر رز کرد تا پهلو تهی ÷ کار من اکنون عشق با طفل اشک افتاده است[1]

A verse bearing the same idea is that of Nūr-ul-ʿĀin having Wāqif as his nom de plume.

هم صحبتی دختر رز کرد ملولم ÷ ای شیخ ترا گر لبی هست بمن ده[2]

8. Heart is similized with mirror. آب شدن means to become water, to be melted and to become ashamed. These are the dictionary meanings which Ghanī has used in the following verse, leaving aside the idiomatical meaning, hence said that though lovers heart have become water in beloved's path, yet they are pinching in sweetheart's delicate feet like the atom of mirror.

دلهای عاشقان بره دوست آب شد ÷ اما بر پای نازک او شیشه پاره ها است[3]

The following verse are also the examples of injustice of imagination. These are not being explained so that the reader may enjoy fully with the help of his own imagination.

دیدم میان یار و ندیدم دهان یار ÷ نتوان به هیچ دید چو در دیده مو فتد[4]

For its explanation kindly see Shiblī Naumānī's Shiʿr-ul-ʿAjam volume 4. Here are some verses to serve as examples:

بخت شورم شده از لب گوگیر غنی ÷ گر چکانی بلبم شیر نمک آب شود[5]

مگر در وصف چشمت نسخه خواهد که بنویسید ÷ که نرگس را دوات و خامه و کاغذ بکف دارد[6]

چنان اسیر چمن دل شکسته ام یا نی ÷ که سبزه در ته پایم چو ریزه میناست[7]

آن شوخ بقتل من دل خسته میان بست ÷ در مرتبه ام معنی باریک توان بست[8]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīwān-i-Ghanī, p. 43.
2. Ibid, p. 43 (Margin)
3. Ibid, p. 39.
4. Ibid, p. 73.
5. Ibid, p. 53.
6. Ibid, p. 101.
7. Ibid, p. 49.
8. Ibid, p. 45.

IMAGINATIVE FLIGHTS:

Persian poetry in the beginning was the mirror of refreshing simplicity and spontaneous expression of poet's emotions The style of the poets was simple and direct giving evidence of sincerity of feeling, but as the time passed on, the touches of the artificiality and floweriness of diction became apparent. The poets began to wish to lead the reader through a labyrinth of simile and amazement of metaphor. Ghani's time was such that to find out new subject was most difficult. He himself says:

از بسکه شعر گفتن شد مبتذل درین عهد ÷ لب بستن است اکنون مضمون تازه بستن[1]

But however Ghanī has presented the wine of old subjects in new bottles. eg. he says:-

غنی ساغر بکف جمشید پیش می فروش آمد ÷ که شاید در بهای باده گیرد ملک دنیا را[2]

O Ghanī, Jamshīd has come to the wine seller with his cup (with the hope) that may he (the wine seller) take the world as price of the wine.

The cup of Jamshīd was considered as one of the most momentous and precious things of the world as in it one could see the condition of the whole world, so it was match less. But the pure wine is more precious, because Jamshīd presents that cup to the wine seller and requests for a few draughts of wine. He is not definite that the cup will be accepted as the price of the wine; and it is just possible that the wine seller may not accede to his request.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tahir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 127.
2. Ibid, p. 8.

About Jamshīd's cup Ghanī has another verse. He says:

غنی تا چند پرسی دستگاه اهل دنیا را ÷ که باشد وسعت آن از حصار جام جم پیدا [1]

O Ghani, how long will you ask for the ability of the inhabitants of this world, as its extent is obvious from the castle of Jamshīd's cup.

This cup could reflect every thing that happened in the world so Ghanī argues that the world is so narrow that it infused itself in that cup.

Jamshid's cup was after all a cup, so the extent of its inhabi--tants can also be under-stood. The word وسعت has been used as innuendo.

غنی روز سیاه پیر کنعان را تماشا کن ÷ که روشن کرد نور دیده اش چشم زلیخا را [2]

O Ghani, see the ill-lack of the old man of Kin'ān that the light of his eyes is illuminating the eyes of Zulīkhā.

It is the light that causes brightness. The phrase نور دیده (Light of the eye) and چشم روشن کرد (brightend the eye) has made the verse to reach the summit of poetical imagination and appreciation. The gist of the verse is that Ya qub lost his eyesight in his son's separation, but his son is brightening the eyes of some one else. In Persian literature the son is also called نور دیده metaphorically.

4. No one can see the sun. If one tries to do so his eyes are dazzaled and when one turns his eyes towards another direction he

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 14.

2. Ibid, p. 29.

The second hemistich in the Bāng-i-Darā, a poetical collection of 'Allāmah Iqbāl is as follows : که نور دیده اش روشن کند چشم زلیخا را

cannot see but darkness. This idea is produced in the following beautiful verse:

رفتیم سوی یار و ندیدیم روی او ∴ مانند راهروی که رود رو بآفتاب[1]

We went towards the sweet-heart, but could not see the face of the beloved; we are like the one who goes with his eyes fixed on the sun. Here the poet has similized the face of the beloved with the sun and has expressed his idea metaphorically.

5. In the following verse too, Ghanī has similized beloved's face with the sun and by the help of idiom the ordinary subject has reached the highest peak of poetical imagination.

آسمان برگشت از خورشید تا روی تو دید ∴ پشت زد بر قبله ماه نو چو ابروی تو دید[2]

What the poet wants to say is that the heaven was proud of the sun's face, but when he saw the face of the beloved, he turned his face from the sun, thinking that it is worthless in the presence of that beautiful ones, and the new moon when looked upon the beloved's eye brow it fell in love with him even at the first sight and turned his back ~~of~~ to the west.

6. The famous couplet of Ghanī in praise of a fancy-man is couched in such an immaculate style that it caused Sā'ib and others' pulses to vibrate.

حسن سبزی بخط سبز مرا کرد اسیر ∴ دام همرنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم[3]

The garden glow (of beauty) by means of the green (just shooting down) captivated me. The colour of the net being the same

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 29.
2. Ibid, p. 65.
3. Ibid, p. 97.

as that of the ground, I was enmeshed.

This verse of Ghanī was so admired by Ṣā'ib and Sarkhush that both tried to express this idea in the following verses. Ṣā'ib says

خط سبز آفت جان بود نمی دانستم ٭ دام در سبزه نهان بود نمی دانستم

Sarkhush writes:

خوردم ز خط فریب جمال عذار او ٭ همرنگ سبزه بود لباس شکار او

Ghanī's innovations and introducing new subjects to the imagination have made lasting impression in the Persian poetry. Ghanī himself was not un-aware of the influence they have had in his own days. He says:

ز مضمون دزدی یاران نمی باشد غمی ما را ٭ چنان بستیم مضمون را که نتواند کسی بردن [1]

He himself desired to create new and untouched subject, as his feelings of self respect do not allow him to be in the habit of plagiarism. This is evident from the following verse of his:

غنی طرح سخن خود کن اگر میل سخن داری ٭ چرا باید تصرف در زمین دیگران کردن [2]

The following verses are taken at random from his 'Dīvān'. These are not being explained owing to reasons of space.

غیرت عینک که بنهادیم ز پیری بر چشم ٭ نگه از شوق جمال تو زند سر بر سنگ [3]

جان بلب از ضعف نتواند رسید ٭ من بزور ناتوانی زنده ام [4]

گیسوی تو پیوسته کند میل به پستی ٭ افگنده برو سایه مگر بخت سیاهم [5]

سبزهٔ دشت اگر هوش ربا نیست چرا ٭ هر که دیوانه شود دامن صحرا گیرد [6]

ز چشم ناوک انداز تو دارد دیده زخمی ٭ باین امید آهو خون خود را مشک میسازد [7]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 110.
2. Ibid, p. 111.
3. Ibid, p. 92.
4. Ibid, p. 102.
5. Ibid, p. 103.
6. Ibid, p. 78.
7. Ibid, p. 75.

OBSCURITY OF SUBJECT:

Ghazals in Persian or any Eastern language are formal and conventional as they lack the contintity of mood. It becomes most difficult for a poet to express one subject, already expressed by any other accomplished poet, in elegant and agreeable form. To add lustre to the subjeet already expressed , similies, metaphors, good words, best phrases are essential ingreients. The classical poets used all the similies and metaphors of nearest source, so it became necessary for the modern poets to be in debt of profound thoughts and deep meditation, so that the imaginative domain should not convey to the reader a clear cut and precise picture with a realistic substance, but on the contrary the colours applied should be so gaudy and the style so laboriously polished that the reader may find it a labyrinth of simile and amagement of metaphor and thus bewildered by these imaginative flights he should not easily visulize the subject portrayed. Ghani's poetry is not obscure but its examples can be found in his 'Dīvān'. A few are copied here.

دم جان‌بخش او تا رنگ حیرت ریخت در عالم ÷ ز مهر آئینه در پیش نفس دیدم مسیحا را [1]

When his life giving breath astound the world, I saw the mirror of the sun before the breath of Christ.

This verse means that the life giving breath of the sweetheart showed such a miracle, that not only the whole world was bewildered but its effects reached the fourth heaven with the result that Christ whose miracle was to give life to the dead,

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 8.

fainted. In order to know as to whether he is living or not the mirror of the sun was put before his mouth. To under-stand the verse we should have into mind the following.

(i) Christ miracle was to give life to dead.

(ii) Christ is considered to be on the fourth heaven and the place of the sun's rotation has also been thought to be the said heaven. The sun is clear like the mirror, thus it has been similized with the mirror.

(iii) In order to know about the person as to whether he is alive or not, mirror is put before his mouth; so that if he is alive, his breath will make the mirror loose its glitter.

(iv) Beloved's breath is life giving. This has been confessed even by the Christ himself, who for the sake of his (beloved's) life giving breath made himself like a dead.

2. بسکه بر لب جانش از رنج خماری میرسد ÷ در گلوی شیشه آب از پنبه میریزیم ما

The life of (Goblet) has reached its lips owing to the after effect of intoxication (so) we are pouring water into the neck of goblet.

What the poet means to say is that the goblet, on account of the after effects of intoxication is at the verge of death, so like the dying man, (in whose mouth water is poured with cotton,) ~~similarly~~ water is being poured in goblet's neck. The poet had the following facts in view.

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 29.

(i) Due to scarcity of wine the agony of the after effect of intoxication.

(ii) To be at the verge of death owing to heavy trouble of the after effect of intoxication.

(iii) When the man is about to expire, water is poured into his mouth with cotton because he himself cannot drink.

3. بلبل بخدمت گل جای کنی به گلشن ÷ بردار خار و خس را از باغ و آشیان بند[1]

O nightingale, you are making place in the garden for the service of rose. Pick up these thorns and straws and by them built the nest.

The poet in the above cited couplet counsels the nightingale that if it desires to serve the rose and wish to get some place in the garden, it would be better for it to carry off all undesirable things like thorns and straws and utilize them in making the nest. In other words we may emphasize that to achieve the goal one should bear the vicissitudes of the life with an open heart. To understand the verse following facts should not be ignored.

(i) Nightingale loves the rose.

(ii) If one is desirous of getting some position in beloved's street he should not refrain from discharging all sorts of services efficiently and promptly, no matter how humble those may be

(iii) He should consider his duty to serve every Tom, Dick or Harrey of the beloved's street.

(iv) Lover should not forget the maxim, 'One who does service, is served." Acting upon this he will not only get a place in beloved's street but also in the sweet-heart's heart.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭahir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p.73.

4. مرا از دست این مشکل گشایان دل بتنگ آمد ؛ ز ناخنها گره چون غنچه افتاد است در کارم

My hear-t is tired of those remover of difficulties, as like the bud the nails have tied my task.

The gist of the verse is that I am tired of these sympathisers as their help causes hinderences in my way to success. By the nails of the bud the poet means those green leaves which happen to be under the bud, which coerce its opening. The poet wants to express the idea that the philanthropic attitude is coercing me like the green leaves of the bud which do not allow it to open.

Here to understand the poet's ideas one should not forget to know the allegorical expression.

A few verses are cited below to serve as instances:

بدست از زلف او تا سر خط دیوانگی دارم ؛ چو کلکم شکل زنجیر است از نقش قدم پیدا [2]

نگه دزدیده از چشم سفیدم هر که پیش آمد ؛ که دیدن در سفیدی چشم مردم را زیان دارد [3]

بست چون طوطی ز تیغ آئینه اش پیش نفس ؛ بسکه دست خویش از جان شست بط در زیر آب [4]

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tahir, Divan-i-Ghani, P. 93.
2. Ibid, p. 14.
3. Ibid, p. 59.
4. Ibid, p 139.

MUSIC AND MELODY IN GHANĪ'S POETRY:

Music and melody are essential ingredients of poetry, without these it seems that poet's style is extremely polished and laborious, and that the poet has made a concise attempt to borrow his imagery, similies and metaphors. Loftiness of verse accounts for nothing if it is devoid of melody and harmony. On the contrary verse appeals to mind. Patterns of extraordinary beauty are found in Ghanī's poetry. The following 'Ghazals'taken at random reflect the eminence of Ghanī as a poet.

فروغ شعلهٔ ادراک در پیری است کم پیدا ÷ بود این معنی پنهان ز شمع صبحدم پیدا
ز خط لب نمی‌گردد دهان آن صنم پیدا ÷ که پنهان است مضمون گرچه باشد از رقم پیدا
شود از خط پشت لب، دهان آن صنم پیدا ÷ لبان معنی پنهان که گردد از رقم پیدا
بود در آن دهن گردید خط بی قلم پیدا ÷ نشد هرگز چنین خط خوش از قلم عدم پیدا
خوش آن سالک که گیرد پیش راه بی‌نشانی را ÷ رود بر آب تا نبود از او نقش قدم پیدا
نمی‌باشد مخالف قول و فعل راستان باهم ÷ که گفتار قلم باشد ز رفتار قلم پیدا
غنی تا چند پرسی دستگاه اهل دنیا را ÷ که باشد وسعت آن از حصار جام جم پیدا [1]
هرکه پابند وطن شد کی کند آزادها ÷ پای گل اندر چمن دائم پر است از خارها
هیچ کز سینهٔ صدچاک ما یادی نکرد ÷ گرچه بستیم رشته بر انگشت سوزن بارها
تا بروی گل نیفتد چشم بیرون ماندگان ÷ بست بلبل آشیان در رخنهٔ دیوارها
از حساب حاصل کشت جنون غافل نیم ÷ کردم از انگشت‌های خود شمار خارها
زان لب میگون غنی را بادهٔ در سر بهم ÷ کز سرش بیرون رود با دهم پندارها [2]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 14.
2. Ibid, p. 16.

WORDS AND PHARSES:

Ghanī coined new words and phrases which are worth y of appreciation. There is music in every word and phrase. For instance a few verses are cited below.

۱- چه باک از زاهدان خشک میخواران سرکش را ÷ که موج بوریا از پا نمی اندازد آتش را

2- مشاطه خون مکن جگر مشکناب را ÷ نشتر مزن لبها ز رگ آفتاب را

3- آتش نی تیز سازد شعلهٔ آواز را ÷ بر کدوی باده باید بست تارِ ساز را

4- سوز دلم چون شمع بجای رسیده است ÷ کز تخم اشک من گل آتش دمیده است

5- دل منور کی شود در ظلمت آبادِ بدن ÷ شمع را روشن نمی سازند تا در قالب است

6- چهره اش از سبزهٔ خط گلستانی تازه است ÷ در بیابانِ حسن گردیان غزالی تازه است

7- نامه چه احتیاج که طومارِ اشتیاق ÷ چون جاده خود رسد ز درازی بسوی دوست

8- از جوی حرص بیش نه خوردم ز قطرهٔ
آن نیز عاقبت عرق انفعال شد

A few phrases (without verses) are as follows to show his skill in this art.

آئینهٔ آفتاب - بادهٔ عتاب - بیاض دیده - اطلس گردون - پنجهٔ خورشید - گنبد دستار
تشنهٔ منزل - موج زلف - محک سوسن - مزرع عمر - لقمهٔ زبان - دشت خدنگ - طور معنی

These are but examples. The whole 'Divan' is full of this sort of coinage.

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tahir, Divan-i-Ghani ,p. 13.
2. Ibid, 23.
3. Ibid, 24.
4. Ibid, 33.
5. Ibid, 29.
6. Ibid, 42.
7. Ibid, p. 43.
8. Ibid, p. 66.

SIMILIES AND METAPHORS:

Ghani is very much skilled in coining new similies and metaphors. But he has also used old similies and metaphors, though he has given new colouring to them. eg. he says:

بگذر از خویش چه بینی دهن یار غنی ÷ دل به هستی چه دهی راه عدم در پیش است [1]

Here the mouth of the beloved due to narrowness has been similized with non-existence (عدم). Similarly, in another verse he has similized waist with hair. He says:

دیدیم میان یار و ندیدیم دهان یار ÷ نتوان به هیچ دید چو در دیده مو فتد [2]

Similarly in the following verse ruby metaphoricaly stands for lips:

ما باده عتاب ز لعل تو می کشیم ÷ باشد می دو آتشه آب خمار ما [3]

we get the chiding wine from your ruby (lips) and (therefore) the double distilled wine is the water of drowsiness.

بسکه بی زلف بتان دست زدم بر زانو ÷ صورت شانه گرفت آئینهٔ زانوی [4]

In the absence of beloved's lock, I stroke my hand with such a force on my knee that the mirror of the knee gets the shape of comb. Here the impression of fingers on the knee has been similized with a comb.

توبه از می نکنم در پیری ÷ می کشی در شب مهتاب خوش است [5]

I would not for swear drinking wine in the old age as to drink wine in moon lit night is good.

Here old age, on the basis of grey hair has been similized with moon lit night. The point of resemblance being grey(whiteness)

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1. Ghani. Muhammad Tahir, Divan-i-Ghani, p. 51.
2. Ibid, p. 73.
3. Ibid, p. 29.
4. Ibid, p. 25.
5. Ibid, p. 42.

Ghālib has also expressed this idea in the following verse.

پی جس قدر ملے شب مہتاب میں شراب ÷ اس بلغمی مزاج کو گرمی ہی راس ہے

Similalry Zauq, an other Urdū poet, who was a contemporary to Ghālib says:

پیری میں پر غرور سے جام شراب ناب ÷ پائے فروغ صبح نہ بے نور آفتاب

تائب نہ ہو تو اس سے کہ داڑھی ہوئی سفید ÷ کر خوب میکشی کہ ہے یہ سیر مہتاب

Ghanī says:

کی رام توان کرد غنی گوشہ نشین را ÷ در دست کسی صورت دیوار نیاید [1]

How the recluse, Ghanī, be made familiar, the picture on the wall cannot be obtained by any body.

Here the picture made on the wall has been similized with a recluse.

مردم حنا ازبسکہ شب عید بستہ اند ÷ ماہ نو است ناخن بی رنگ در جہان [2]

On the Īd night the people have dyed (their hands) with Hinnā, that only the new moon in this world is a nail without colour.

In this verse the crescent has been similized with the uncoloured nail.

مو گشت سپید و ریخت دندان ÷ در صبح شود ستارہ پنہان [3]

The hair became grey and the teeth fell. The stars vanish in the morning.

In the above verse grey hair have been similized with the morning and the teeth with the stars. The poets have similized the teeth with pearls but to similize the teeth with stars is the result of Ghanī's lofty imagination.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 30
2. Ibid, p. 109.
3. Ibid, p. 112.

In the following couplet also, Ghanī has coined a new simile

از رشک دهان تنگ یار است ∴ خاتم پیوسته خانه بردوش [1]

It is but the envy of the narrowness of the beloved's mouth that the ring has always been having its house hold on the shoulder.

The mouth of the beloved has been similized with narrowness.

We now refrain from explanation and quote a few verses of Ghanī so that the reader may himself enjoy the similies and metaphors. By the following examples the reader will feel that Ghanī was an innovator of similies and metaphors.

پرد گر رنگ از رویت لب لعلی درمیان آور ∴ شکار مرغ وحشی را بمرغ رام میگیرند [2]

هر کسی گوهر مقصود بیابد بی سعی ∴ پای من بسکه دوید آبله را پیدا کرد [3]

دانم که دل صاف مکدر زجهان رفت ∴ چون آب روان آمد و چون ریگ روان رفت [4]

زهر چشم تو چنان کرد سرایت در من ∴ که مرا پوست بتن سبز چو بادام تر است [5]

پای من یک لحظه جا در گوشه دامان نکرد ∴ گشت عمرم در سفر چون رشته سوزن تمام [6]

ازان رو شکل ناخن یافت ابرو
که بکشاید گره از جبهه خویش [7]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, P. 87.
2. Ibid, p. 64.
3. Ibid, p. 78.
4. Ibid, p. 41.
5. Ibid, p. 33.
6. Ibid, p. 95.
7. Ibid, p. 89.

FIGHURRES OF THOUGHT:

According to some critics the use of 'Figures of thought and figure of words' is nothing but to make a display of art; therefore, the classical poets have turned their attention towards it and used it both in prose and poetry considering that "this sort of diction is like bride dresser, who adorns even an ugly bride with various kinds of clothes and ornaments."[1] Ghanī has also tried to use these "figures" Two or three examples in each case have been considered sufficient to show his skill. Definition of the figure has also been given so that the reader may enjoy fully.

1. Amphibology or insinuation: ایہام

When poet uses in a verse some words of double meaning that appears to be in its ordinary meaning, but in reality the rare meaning is intended, the figure of speech is called ایہام . It is also known as توریہ (Amphibology)

امروز منم شهرهٔ عالم ز نحیفی ÷ عمریست که از ضعف فتادم ز زبانها[2]

Lexographical meaning of بزبان افتادن is "to fall on the tongue," while idiomatically it means "to be renowned, to be come famous." Here though it appears that the phrase بزبان افتادن is used in the ordinary meaning, yet in reality the idiomatic meaning is intended Similarly in the following verse the phrase گریه آمدن is note worthy.

کسی به پرسش احوال من نمی آید ÷ بغیر گریه که آمد بحال خویش مرا[3]

In the verse cited below the beauty of ایہام lies in the idioms. آب تا کمر بودن and آب از سر گذشتن

حیرتم گشت که چون از سر عشاق گذشت ÷ آب شمشیر که خونریز مرا تا کمر است[4]

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1. Rūhī, Asghar 'Alī, 'Allāmah, Dabbir-i-'Ajam, p. 304.
این نوع اسلوب بمثابهٔ مشاطه ایست که عروس زشت رو را بانواع حلی و حلل بیاراید
2. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 30.
3. Ibid, p. 19. 4. Ibid, p. 33.

In this verse the poet has used the word دم in three different meanings. ie. time, breath and edge (of a sword).

دم بریدنِ سر شمع می‌کند روشن ÷ که خوش‌تر از دم عیسی بود دم شمشیر[1]

2. Apparent concord : ایهام تناسب

When two words of a common attribute are used in a sentence but the context shows one in its ordinary meaning, and the other in some other meaning not associated with the first one, the figure of speech is known as ایهام تناسب .

لافِ موزونی زند تا نشد سرو ÷ هر که خواند صفحهٔ از بوستان.[2]

The word "Bostan" bears this figure of speech.

3. POETICAL AETIOLOGY: حسن تعلیل

When in poetry some poetical reason (not the true reason) is assigned for a fact, it is called حسن تعلیل or poetical aetiology.

نادم از همسری زلف تو زد ÷ می‌گزد مار زبانِ خود را[3]

To bite its own tongue is snakes nature. The poetical reason that the snake claimed to be a match for the beloved's locks is in reality not true reason. The snake does not bite its tongue owing to grief or sorrow but due to its nature.

از مرگ خودم شاد که آن زلف سیه‌پوش ÷ گردید پریشان ز غم و خاک نشین است[4]

I am glad at my own death as that lock clothed in black is distressed with sorrow and is sitting on the earth.

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 80.
2. Ibid, p. 113.
3. Ibid, p. 27.
4. Ibid, p. 22.
5.

It is the quality , rather beauty, of the beloved's locks to be long and black and distressed, but the reason given by the poet is his own death, which is untrue.

__4.Antithesis : تضاد__

If the words of opposite meaning are placed in a sentence, the figure of speech is called تضاد .

آدمی خامی زخامی دارد از می اجتناب :: کوزهٔ گل پخته چون گردد نمی ترسد ز آب[1]

The words خام and پخته in the above couplet bear the opposite meaning.

نقش گنه ز اشک ندامت نگشت محو :: کردم سفید چشم و سیاه است نامه ام[2]

In this verse the words سفید (white) and سیاه (black) and نقش (impression) and محو (erased) are unequivocally of opposite meaning.

کسی کز چرخ لطفی دید جوری در قفا دارد :: چون آن خوشه که سرسبزی ز آب آسیا دارد[3]

The words لطف (kindness) and جور (violence) palpably hold opposite meaning.

__5. Apparent antithesis: ایهام تضاد__

In this case the antithesis is not real. The cursory sight of the words shows that antithesis exists, but the actual meaning assert that it does not.

ساغر زدن سبز خطان بی مزه نیست :: صهبا کشی ریش سفیدان نمکین است[4]

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1. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p. 30.
2. Ibid, p. 102.
3. Ibid, p. 58.
4. Ibid, p. 32.

The phrases سبزهٔ خطان (off shooting down of the beard) and ریش سفیدان (white beard) show that antithesis exists.

6. Feigning Ignorance: تجاہل عارف

When the poet relates something with which he is fully acquainted but pretends ignorance, it is called تجاہل عارف .

گر با سرمہ ات چشم آشنائی ہست ؛ کہ کار چشم خوبان سرمہ سائی ہست [1]

Perhaps your eyes like the collyrium, this is why the handsomes's task is to apply collyrium to the eyes.

7. CONGRUITY : مراعاۃ النظیر

When things that are naturally associated together are introduced into a sentence the figure of speech is known مراعاۃ النظیر or Congruity (or association of similar objects).

ہر کہ نسبت از خط سبز تو سواد نظرش ؛ خط یاقوت رنگ لعل بود در نظرش [2]

In the above couplet لعل و یاقوت, which means ruby are naturally associated.

8. تاکید المدح بما یشبہ الذم or in Persian form :

This is in reality "praise" in sumblance of 'blame' The hearer at the first sight suspects that the author is exposing faults, but in reality he mentions some quality or virtue.

شعر دگران را ہمہ دارند بخاطر ؛ شعری کہ غنی گفت کسی یاد ندارد [3]

Apparently it seems in this couplet that the people commit to memory the verses of others, but what Ghanī has said is not remembered by the people because those are not good; but the poet's

1. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir, Divān-i-Ghanī, p. 32.

2. Ibid, p. 87.

3. Ibid, p. 66.

intention is that no doubt the people bear in mind verses of others but none has ever learnt the verses which may be as good as that of Ghani or in other words Ghanī's poetry has excelled.

8. Hyperbole: مبالغہ

When an assertion made excells the proper limit, it is called مبالغہ . It is of three kinds. One of the three is تبلیغ. In case of تبلیغ exaggeration is possible both to reason and practice.

بسکہ پر آبست چون چشم ترم ہر آبلہ ؛ رفتہ‌ام در گل فرو ہر جا کہ پا افشردہ‌ام[1]

Every blister (of my feet) is so full of water like my wet eyes that whereever I have pressed my feet it has gone deep into the mud.

A blister contains water. When water falls on the dust, it turns into mud; when the foot falls in the mud it goes down. This verse falls in the category of تبلیغ .

گر رکاب این گران جان قالب خشتی شود ؛ بر نمی‌خیزد ز روی خاک ہمچو نقش پا[2]

In this verse the poet has satarized the horse saying that it is so weak that it cannot rise like the impression of foot even if the stirrup is made of a frame of brick. This verse falls in the category of استغراق a kind of heperbole in which case the exaggeration is possible to reason only. It is not experienced, for it is beyond the possibilities of nature.

از دم سرد زمستان بستہ شد در آشیان ؛ بیضہ‌ہای عندلیبان ہمچو دندان در دہان[3]

Owing to the cold breeze of winter the eggs of nightingale have become so frozen and congealed that they cannot be separated.

9. The adjectival problem: تنسیق الصفات

When a poet goes on heeping praises (or abuses) in succession or uses various adjectives to denote such thing, we call it تنسیق الصفات

پیکر ساقی سراپا گوئی از گل ساختند ؛ دست گل، پا گل، بدن گل، چہرہ گل، رخسار گل[4]

1. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir , Diwān-i-Ghani, p. 103
2. Ibid, p. 137. 3. Ibid, p. 139. 4. Ibid, p. 92.

FIGURES OF WORDS

1. Homoginity : تجنیس

When two or more words that resemble one another in form perfectly or imperfectly, but differ in meaning, occur in a sentence they are said to illustrate the figure تجنیس .

لنگر آزرده ام از دیدن مردم چه عجب ÷ مردم دیده اگر از نظرم افتاده است[1]

Here the words مردم (people) and مردم (pupil) resemble perfectly but differ in meaning.

2. Redundant Homogeniety: تجنیس زاید

In this form of تجنیس one of the homogeneous words has one letter more then the other.

در چمن تا مهر کیرنگی به بلبل بسته ام ÷ دست گلچین را برای دستهٔ گل بسته ایم[2]

It is the example from the point of view of the word with one letter more as in دست and دسته the redundant lett-er comes at the end.

(ii) تجنیس ناقص

In this form the homogeneous words have different vowels.

ترک خواب آن ترک خون ریز از پی نخچیر کرد ÷ پر برون آورد از بالین و عرف تیر کرد[3]

(iii) رد العجز علی الصدر .

The word that is brought in the beginning is also brought at the end:

از پی روزی همه روزینه داران عاجزاند ÷ سعی روزینه گوئی سلب روزی بوده است[4]

(iv) Double rhyme: ذو القافتین

This figure denotes that there is a double rhyme in the verse: چشم تا وا کرده ام بر خاک غم افتاده ام ÷ همچو طفل اشک در ایام ماتم زاده ام

1. Ghani, Muhammad Tāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p.39.
2. Ibid, p. 99.
3. Ibid, p. 63.
4. Ibid, p. 46

6. Allusion تلمیح

When a poet introduces a word or two that refer to some popular story the figure of speech is called تلمیح.

پیدا نبود صورت شیرین ز بی ستون ÷ خارا ز سخت جانی فرهاد ساخت رو[1]

Here the poet refers to the well known tale of Farhād's love for shīrīn and his endeavours to cut 'Baistun' mountain to get her.

یوسف رخی در آید شاید بدیده من ÷ مانند چاه کنعان دارم براه چشمی[2]

This verse diverts our attention towards the event of Joseph who was thrown by his brothers into a well.

7. Continued opening lines: تواتر مطلع

Ghanī's Ghazals contain two, three or in some cases four opening lines (مطالع) which come in succession. A few examples are given below.

فروغ شعله ادراک در پیریست کم پیدا ÷ بود این معنی پنهان ز شمع صبحدم پیدا
ز خط لب نمی گردد دهان آن صنم پیدا ÷ که پنهان است مضمون گرچه باشد رقم پیدا
شود از خط پشت لب دهان آن صنم پیدا ÷ بسان معنی رنگین که گردد از رقم پیدا
بدور آن دهن گردید خط بی قلم پیدا ÷ نشد هرگز چنین خط خوش از قلم پیدا[3]

شد فخر بر حدیث تو آخر بیان ما ÷ باشد نگین نام تو مهر دهان ما
تر همچو آسیا نشد از آب نان ما ÷ از تشنگی ست خشک زبان در دهان ما
آگه نشد طبیب ز درد نهان ما ÷ این نبض ما خموش تر است از زبان ما[4]

در عمر بس بود دم سردی غذای ما ÷ سوزد ز نان گرم چو صبح اشتهای ما
از فکر هیچ کس نبود آشنای ما ÷ ننشست غیر گرد کسی در سرای ما[5]

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1. Ghanī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Dīvān-i-Ghanī, p.125.
2. Ibid, p. 114.
3. Ibid, p. 14.
4. Ibid, p. 11.
5. Ibid, p. 13.

MULLĀ HASAN FAROGHĪ

HIS NAME & TAKHALLUS

Mulla Hasan who had his nom de plume Faroghī was a poet of Kashmīr, contemporary to Shāh Jahān A.H. 1036-1067 (A.D. 1627-1658) Though a poet of note, yet very little is known about him.

EMPLOYMENT:

In A.H. 1060 (A.D. 1651) he got an employment on 12 rupees a day under Shāhjahān.[1] In the year A.H. 1061 (A.D.1652) when Shāh-Jahān visited Kashmīr Faroghī presented a 'Masnavī' in praise of Shāhjahānābād and this brought him a reward of one thousand rupees.[2]

Here one thing needs clarification. Dr. Ṣūfī writes in Kāshīr with reference to Khazānah-i-'Āmirah Cawnpūr 1900 (pp.367-68) that "Faroghī's two 'Masnavīs' on Shāhjahān Ābād and Bāgh-i-Hayāt Bakhsh of that city of Shāhjahānābād brought him a reward of twelve thousand rupees and employment on twelve rupees a day under that Emperor."[3]

Āzād writes in Khazānah-i-'Āmirah:

چون صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان در سنه احدی و ستین و الف سایه سحاب چتر بر گلشن کشمیر
انداخت فروغی دولت ملازمت اندوخت و دو مثنوی زادهٔ طبع خود یکی در وصف شاهجهان آباد

1. Muhammad Salih, Amal-i-Salih, Vol. III, p. 431.
2. Ibid, p. 127.
3. Sūfī, Dr. M.D. , Kashir, Vol. II, p. 471.

و دیگر در تعریف باغ حیات بخش واقع شهر مذکور بعرض رسانید۔ پسند افتاد و هزار روپیه صله انعام شد و در سلک ملازمان بادشاهی انخراط یافته بیومیه دوازده روپیه کامیاب گشت[1]

" In one thousand and sixty one, when Shāhjahān Ṣāḥib Qirān the second's clouds of tents threw their [illegible] shades on the garden of Kashmir, Faroghī gathered the wealth of service and two 'Masnavīs' (which were the issues of his disposition), one in praise of Shāh Jahān Ābād and the other in praise of Bāgh-i-Hayāt Bakhsh (life giving garden) situated in the said city, presented to the Emperor.These were admired , and a prize of one thousand rupees was rewarded and ranged with the servant of the king he was successful in geting rupees twelve a day."

It is now evident from the above quoted statement of Āzād Bilgirāmī that Dr. Ṣūfī the author of Kashir has been mistaken. Even Khazānah-i-'Āmirah does not say that twelve thousand rupees were given to him as reward for the said 'Masnavīs'.

However, from Āzād's statement it seems that the orders regarding his employment at Rs12/- a day and the reward of a thousand rupees passed on the same day when his (Faroghī's) Masnavī's pleased the Emperor. But this is not the case. In order to arrive at a right conclusion, we have to go deep into the facts. A discussion on the following issues will lead us to our destination

1. when Faroghī got an employment at Rs12/- a day ?

2. When Faroghī got a reward for the Masnavis ?

For the decision of the above issues it must be taken into view that Muhammad Salih the author of 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ who is a contemporary historian and court chronicler of Shāhjahān records:

1. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Khazānah-i-'Āmirah. pp. 367-68.

در سال هزار و شصت هجری بروز پنجشنبه بروزیانه دوازده روپیه ملازم سرکار خاصه شریفه شد[1]

" On the thursday in the year 1060 A.H. (1651 A.D.) he was empolyed at Rs 12/- a day."

This means that Faroghi got employment in the year 1060 A.H. (1651 A.D.)

Now we turn towards the second issue. Muhammad Salih writes in 'Amal-i-Salih.

ملا فروغی شاعر که در نکته سنجی طبع موزون دارد مثنوی در تعریف شاهجهان آباد
از نظر اشرف گذرانید بانعام هزار روپیه عز امتیاز یافت [2]

" Poet Mullā Faroghī who has for elegant disposition in ingeniousness, put up before the most noble sight a 'Masnavi' in praise of Shāhjahān Ābād, and gathered honour of distinction by a gratuity of one thousand rupees."

In a nutshell it can be said that Faroghi was employed by Shāhjahān in 1060 A.H.(1651 A.D.) at twelve rupees a day and was rewarded for the 'Masnavīs' in 1061 A.H. (1652 A.D.) when the Emperor paid a visit to Kashmīr. In order to get more accurate date a study of about three pages (pp. 125 to 127) of 'Amal-i-Sālih will reveal to us that Faroghi was rewarded for the 'Masnavī by the Emperor on the 12th Rajab 1061 A.H. (1652 A.D.)

Again, one thing must also be noted that Muhammad Sālih has mentioned only one Masnavī that was written in praise of Shāhjahān Abad. The Masnavī in praise of Bāgh-i- Hayāt Bakhsh (life giving

1. Muhammad Sālih, 'Amal-i-Sālih, Vol. III. p.430.

2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 127.

garden) which was situated in the said city (Shāhjahān Ābād) has not been mentioned by him, perhaps he has considered it as inclusive in the first already mentioned.

The 'Maṣnavī' in praise of Shāhjahān Ābād runs thus:

جهان را گر نه از خود یاد باشد ÷ همین شاه جهان آباد باشد
ز خوبی های او هر گه کند یاد ÷ رود صد دجله اشک از چشم بغداد
ز خاکش مشک چین بوی کند کام ÷ خطا باشد درو بردن ز چین نام
عماراتش ز سر تا پای دلکش ÷ چو هندو زاده خوبان پری وش
همه سر تا قدم مطبوع و مرغوب ÷ چو اعضا هر یکی در جای خود خوب
ز رفعت جمله با افلاک همدوش ÷ گرفته هر یکی صد مه در آغوش
شکوه آسمان دارد زمینش ÷ جهان انگشتر آمد او نگینش
از آن بر دوش رفعت پایه دارد ÷ که دولت خانه بر وی سایه دارد
فلک زان حلقه در گوش درو هست ÷ که ظل فکر شاهی بر سر اوست[1]

The Maṣnavī written in praise of Bāgh-i-Ḥayāt Bakhsh(life giving garden) contains the following couplets:

اے چشم بهار از تو روشن ÷ خاطر بحضور تو گلشن
راحت ده روح فیض عام است ÷ زان گشت حیات بخش نام است
سبزی که میان تو روان است ÷ عالم همه جسم او روان است
زان سبز که بهشت در کنار است ÷ آمد آبی بروی کار است[2]

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1. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo, Ms. fol. 188 b.
2. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām ʿAlī, Khazānah-i-ʿĀmirah, p. 368.

Muhammad Sālih has also quoted six couplets of his in praise of Shahjahān, which are as under:

امام و قبلهٔ اهل نجات شاه جهان ÷ که شد به سجدهٔ درگاه او فلک معمور

نشست بعد نه آبا بجا بر بالش جاه ÷ ازان چو عقل دهم می دهد نظام امور

صلاح خلق در ایام او چنان شد عام ÷ که دانه می برد بی رضای دهقان مور

به منع باده اگر گرم میشود غضبش ÷ موی گشته سر از تاک برزند انگور

همیشه چار حد این سدرهٔ نو سقف ÷ ز کثرت سه موالید تا بود معمور

سرای دولت او را بحکم یزدان باد ÷ بنا اساس و قضا بانی و قدر مزدور [1]

Āzād Bilgirāmī writes in Khazanah-i-Āmirah that he (Faroghī) also entered the service of Aurangzaib Ālamgīr. He writes:

چون خلد مکان اورنگ سلطنت را زیب داد در خیل ثنا گستران او در آمد و مکرر جوائز اندوخت [2]

" When Aurangzaib decorated the throne of empire he entered the group of his eulogists and won many a reward."

HIS DEATH:

All except Ahmad Ālī the author of Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib agree that Faroghī died in 1077 A.H. (1668 A.D.)[3] but Ahmad Ālī, God knows, on what authority writes:

در سنه هزار و هفتاد هجری دیوان قضا بر ورق حیاتش خط ممات کشید [4]

" In the year one thousand and seventy of Hijra the tribunal of destiny drew the line of death at his page."

His statement is, of course, of no value in the presence of the statement of a contemporary historian.

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1. Muhammad Sālih, Āmal-i-Sālih, Vol. III, p. 432.
2. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām Ālī, Khazānah-i-Āmirah, p. 368.
3. Ibid, p. 368., Āmal-i-Sālih, Vol. III, p. 431
4. Ahmad Ālī, Hāshmī, Makhzan-ul-Ghara'ib, Ms, fol. 265a.

HIS POETRY:

About his poetry Aḥmad ʿAlī opines:

در شیوهٔ شاعری دستی داشته[1]

" He had skill in the art of poetry."

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ praises his poetry very much. He writes in his history:

شعرش چون زمین کشمیر شگفته و رنگین و بحر نظمش مانند تالاب صفاپور

نورگزین، طبعش سرمایه اندوز معانی و فکرش پیرایه بخش سخندانی است

کمتر سرگرم اندیشهٔ سخن می باشد اما اغلب سخنان با فروغ از وسر می زند[2] .

" His couplets are blooming and ornate like the land of Kashmīr, and the rhyme of his poems are luminous like the tank of Ṣafāpūr, his elegant genius is the collector of the wealth of meaning and his cogitation is decorator of poetry............ ... though he diverts his attention towards the poetry very little yet illuminate/couplets come into existance through him in abundance.

HIS DĪVĀN:

His 'Dīvān', too, like the poenix, is not traceable any where, and the number of the available couplets is very small. All that we have gathered from the various books is being copied here.

1. Aḥmad ʿAlī Hāshmī, Makhzan-ul-Gharāʾib., Ms. fol. 265a.
2. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, ʿAmal-i-Ṣāliḥ., Vol. III, pp. 430-431.

1- بازبانِ حال سنگ را می‌گوید بلند ؛ می‌خورد پا برکه با افتادگان پای زند

2- از آن نم وطن نیست گز سنگ بالی ؛ همیشه همچون کمان است خانه بردوشم

3- کی ز بیم خنجرت خواهد دلم یکسو گرفت ؛ همچو ابرو میتوان تیغ ترا بر رو گرفت [1]

4- لاله را هم با چنین دل داغ نیست ؛ ما دلِ یارانِ عالم دیده ایم

5- آنکه در رفتن شتاب تیر دارد عمر تو ؛ چون کمان بهر که میسازی منقش خانه را [2]

6- گر دلت آرزو کند آن گوهر یگانه را
رقص کنان تاب ده همچو حباب خانه را [3]

By the verses quoted in the preceeding pages, it is of course difficult for a critic to form any opinion about his poetical talent, but however, it can be emphasized that Feroghī had love for descriptive poetry and was unique in the art of simile. The said two 'Masnavīs' are in flowery language which attract the attention and fully effect the heart of the reader. He had also much skill in the art of 'Analogical poetry' ie تمثیل or which flourished in the 11th century of Hijra ie the 17th century of Christian era and reached to its zenith in the said century.

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1. vv. 1to3. Muhammad Ṣālih, 'Amal-i-Ṣālih, Vol. III, p. 431.
2. vv. 4 & 5- Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 239a.
3. vv. 4 & 6.- Ahmad Ali Hāshmī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. Fol. 265a

MULLĀ SUBHĪ

Mullā Subhī was born in Kashmīr and was brought up there. Like majority of Kashmīrī poets his name is not known. Shair Khān Lodhi writes in Mirāt-ul-Khayāl:

از خادمان سلطان شاه شجاع است - معزز و مکرم بود[1]

" He is amongst the servants of Sultān Shujā . He was honoured and respected."

From this it can be presumed that he prostrated by the circumstances said adieu to his native land, came to India in the reign of Shāhjahān A.H. 1037- 1067 (A.D. 1627-1657) and took service under Sultān Shujā' who was like his father a patron of learned men. Shair Khān's wording معزز و مکرم بود 'he was honoured and respected', goes to prove that he was a scholar and a poet of no inconsiderable merits.

When did he go to India and how long he stayed there, and whether or not he went back to his mother land, is a secret and to fathom this secret is beyond our control as the Tazkirah writers have tighten their lips in this respect. But they have tried to make up this discrepancy in bestowing upon him enormous quantity of praise by adopting the ruts of recondite phraseology eg. 'Ibratī the author of Mirāj-ul-Khayāl writes about him and his poetry

مدت العمر بر همسران چیره دستی نموده از همعصران گوی سبقت ربوده

1. Lodhī, Shair Khān, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p. 162.

نظمش خمار آلودگان فراق دلدار را شربت ریحانی و چاشنی شهد
گفتارش گرسنه چشمان وصال محبوب را غذای روحانی، سخن دلپذیرش
چون دل درد پذیر در همه جا عزیز و فکر بلندش چون بلند فکر مرغوب
اهل تمیز، جواهر زواهر قصایدش حرز بازوی فصاحت و لآلی غزلیاتش
گوشوارهٔ گوش بلاغت ...... چراغان الفاظش ید بیضا ست و
سمندر لهبان حرقت فرقت را آتشکده و معانیش آئینهٔ حقیقت نما[1]

" For a long time he prostrated the rivals and excelled the contemporaries. His poems are sweet syrup for the intoxciated by the separation of the beloved, and relish of his verses' honey serves as the spiritual food for hungry eyed(of persons longing) for sweet heart's union. His pleasing couplets like the sorrowful heart are admired at every place, and his lofty meditations are like the man of high cogitation desirable to the discerning personalities. The essence of the prety flowers of his Qasīdahs is a charm for the arm of eloquence and the pearls of his lyrical poems(Ghazals) are the earings of the ears of eloquence, the illumination of his words is like the white hand of Moses and is a fire temple for the salamandroid of the heat of separation. His meaning is the mirror showing reality ."

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1. ʿIbratī, Vazīr ʿAlī, Mirāj-ul-Khayāl, Ms, foll. 65a + 65b

It would not be improper to mention here that 'Ibratī who has praised him so much has not seen his 'Dīvān', as he himself admits:

راقم کم سواد را غیر از چند غزل در تذکرهٔ مرآة الخیال اتفاق دیدن دیوانش نگشته [1]

" This unskilful writer did not get an opportunity to study his 'Dīvān' except a few 'Ghazals' in the Mirāt-ul-Khāyāl."

Reading this one is bound to think as to why and on what authority he has praised his Qaṣīdahs and Ghazals so much. May we presume that he praised him simply because he was a poet and was in the service of Shāh Shujā'.

About his 'Dīvān' no information is available. It is not known whether he had ever arranged a 'Dīvān' or not. None of the Tazkirah writers has mentioned that he compiled a 'Dīvān'

So far as the year of his death is concerned 'Alī Ḥasan Khān writes in Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan:

اواخر مایهٔ حادی عشر صبح حیاتش بشام ممات مبدل گردید [2]

"In the end of the eleventh century, the morning of his life turned into the evening of death."

Only the following couplets of Ṣubḥī are the main cause for his immortality, saving him from getting his reputation entirely eclipsed.

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1. 'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mir'āt-ul-Khāyāl, Ms, fol. 65b.

Mirāt-ul-Khāyāl contains only one 'Ghazal' of five couplets, which begins thus:

چو از طوفان اشک ما رود سیلاب در دریا ٭ شعله انگیزد از داغ اضطراب در دریا

2. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 247.

۱- چون از طوفان اشک ما رود سیلاب در دریا ÷ معلم افگند اوراق اصطرلاب در دریا

۲- لگام فتنۂ دوران مدد از آسمان جستن ÷ بآن ماند که گیری دامن گرداب در دریا

۳- ندانم از کدامین باده سرخوش شد حباب آخر ÷ که با این شور نگشوده است چشم از خواب در دریا

۴- ز بس کاهیده ام از تشنگی بی او عجب نبود ÷ اگر چون عکس خود را افگنم بی تاب در دریا

۵- سر زلف درازی سایه افگندست در چشمم ÷ بآن ماند که صیاد افگند قلاب در دریا[2]

۶- چه پنهان گفت پیغام تو در گوش شنیدن ها ÷ که بر پای شنیدن ها فتد از شوق دیدنها

۷- برد از بی وفائی های حسن تو رنگ عاشق ÷ بلی آموخته بلبل ز رنگ گل پریدنها

۸- سرافرازی اگر داری هوس کسب تواضع کن ÷ به ابرو بین که جا بر چشم دارد از خمیدنها

۹- نه تنها در فغانم چون خم خالی ز هجر می ÷ که دارد تاک هم اشکی ز درد نارسیدنها

۱۰- چه رنگین گریه ها از سوز دل آورده ام جمعی ÷ کنون از چشم تر دارم تمنای چکیدنها[3]

۱۱- دامن فشان گذشت شبی بوی زلف یار ÷ سنبل همیشه می دمد از دود آتشم[4]

By the perusal of the above quoted verses it can be said that he does captivate the taste with casual brilliance. eg. he says:

ندانم از کدامین باده سرخوش شد حباب آخر ÷ که با این شور نگشوده است چشم از خواب در دریا

or

نگاه فتنۂ دوران مدد از آسمان جستن ÷ بآن ماند که گیری دامن گرداب در دریا

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1. Ṣubh-i-Gulshan contains نگاه instead of لگام (see p. 247)

2. vv. 1 to 5. Shair Khān Lodhi, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, p. 164.

3. vv. 6 to 10 . 'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mirāj-ul-Khayāl, Ms, fol. 65b

4. v.11. 'Alī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Ṣubh-i-Gulshan, p. 247.

سر افرازی اگر داری چو کس لب تواضع کن ؛ با برو بین که جا بر چشم دارد از خمیدن } or

It is not safe to derive any conclusion and pass any judgement about his poetry when the patterns of his poetical talent are available in a negligable number. We can at least say that at moments he is a great poet.

Some times the cries of his heart echos, but he becomes almost inarticulate with feelings, or at least, his scanty vocabulary can not find current words that are adequate to his emotions. eg.

چون از طوفان اشک ما رود سیلاب در دریا ؛ معلم آکنند اوراق اصطرلاب در دریا

or

دامن فشان گذشت شبی بوی زلف یار ؛ سنبل همیشه می دمد از دود آتشم

or سر افرازی اگر داری چو گل لب تواضع کن ؛ با برو بین که حاجب چشم دارد از خمیدن ها

It is not safe to derive any conclusion and pass any judgement about his poetry when the patterns of his poetical talent are available in a negligable number. We can at least say that at moments he is a great poet.

Some times the cries of his heart echos, but he becomes almost inarticulate with feelings, or at least, his scanty vocabulary can not find current words that are adequate to his emotions. eg.

چون از طوفان اشک ما رود سیلاب در دریا ؛ معلم آفکند اوراق اصطرلاب در دریا

or

دامن فشان گذشت شبی بوی زلف یار ؛ سنبل همیشه می دمد از دود آتشم

DARVAISH YŪSUF

Darvaish Yūsuf of Kashmīr like many other poets of his native land is not so famous in the Persian literature. Darkness prevails over his life and literary activities. Only Muhammad Ṭāhir has given him some place in his Tazkirah and has introduced him to us.[1] In the dim light of his writings it is perceived that he belonged to Kashmīr but he left that paradise on earth for Iṣfahān where he got married and remained for a long time in Madrassa-i-Naqqāshān. After that he, with the help of chronicler and his relatives who had great regard for him , got a house. According to Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī:

مشارٌ الیه از فنون علوم بهره داشته [2]

" The said, (Darvaish Yūsuf) had good knowledge of various sciences and learnings."

He died before 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.) Ṭāhir says:

قبل از حالت تحریر فوت شده [3]

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1. Mīr ʿAẓmat Ullah Baikhbar has written only these words in his Tazkirah : (fol. 155) درویش یوسف کشمیری بود

" Darvaish Yūsuf was a Kashmiri."

2. Naṣrābādī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p. 446

3. Ibid, p. 446.

" He died before it '(Tazkirah) was committed to writing."

As he commenced to write his Tazkirah in 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.) So it can be presumed that he died before the said year.

It is really a matter of surprise that during the reign of Shāhjahān when tranquility prevailed over the country, when the learned men were respected and rewarded, when the scholars and poets from Iran were pouring into India, and were obliged to forget their mother land, this gentle man on the contrary, left for Irān and died in Isfahan. He did so, perhaps his relatives were residing there.

The following two 'Rubā'is' (Quatrains) have been copied by Nasrābādī.[1]

۱- در بادیهٔ عشق که اندوه شادلیست ؛ درد و غم آن غزال رعنا که دلیست
از ضعف عنیبر بر نگردی زنهار ؛ کاو از سگان نشانهٔ آبادلیست

۲- ای آنکه ترا دیدن رویش هوس است ؛ نالان دلت از بهر رخش چون جرس است
زنهار مکن تکیه بلطفش زنهار ؛ همراهی شعله آفت خار و خس است

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1. Nasrābādī, Muhammed Tāhir, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādī, p. 446.

I. &II. Safīnah-i-Khushgo contains باد instead of بادیه and نشان instead of نشانه. (cf. see Ms. fol. 155.)

MUHAMMAD ZAMĀN NĀFI'

He was the brother of the most famous poet Mullā Muhammad Ṭāhir Ghani[1] about whome we have already discuused in the preceding pages. His 'Takhallus' was Nāfi'. The celebarity of his brot her perhaps eclipsed his reputation.

The Tazkirah writers do not throw any light on him . A'zam an historian of Kashmīr writes in his history this much only.

برادر ملا محمد طاهر غنی است ـ به صحبت شیخ فانی در صغرسنی رسیده بهره ور
معانی از خدمت برادر کلان خود گشته تا آخر عمر به تدریس دواوین
استقلال داشت و اعلام سخنوری را می افراشت[2]

" He is the brother of Muhammad Ṭāhir Ghanī. He reached the company of Shaikh Muhsin Fānī in his childhood. He received the share of writing verses from the company of his elder brother. Till his last days he kept himself busy in teaching 'Dīvāns' and used to hoist the flags of poetry.

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1. Ahmad 'Alī, Hāshmī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. fol. 355 a.
وی برادر ملا طاهر غنی است
Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 277b.
A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. نافع کشمیری برادر محمد طاهر غنی بود

From the above statement it comes to light that he like his brother was a pupil of Mullā Muhsin Fānī. He used to submit his verses before his elder brother ie Ghani for necessary corrections. But inspite of this he is not famous and we know nothing about his life and career except this that he used to teach the novice of Kashmīr after completing his education. His Dīvān is not traceable and the extant number of his verses is very small. Only the following verses are available.

خیالش همچو طفل شوخ بازیگوش و بی پروا ؛ گهی در دل خرامان است گه در دیده خوابیده
چو بادام دو مغز امروز قانع دولتی دارد ؛ که با معشوق در یک پیرهن چسپیده خوابیده

عیش او راست کو زری دارد ؛ سیم اندام دلبری دارد
هر گدای برهنه سر شاهیست ؛ که چو خورشید افسری دارد[1]

همه تن تیغ زبان میشود و میگوید ؛ خون خورد هر که درین معرکه جوهر دارد[2]

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1. Ahmad 'Alī, Hāshmī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib. Ms, fol. 355 a.
Shafīq , Lachhmī Nārā'in , Gul-i-Ra'nā. Ms, fol, 277 b.
Baikhbar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms, fol. 142b.
2. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p.

MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD

Mullā Muḥammad who was a follower of Shīʿah doctrine was one of the learned persons and scholars of his time. He was notorious for his refractoriness of nature and temper. He left his native land for Irān and resided in Iṣfahān. Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī gives 1083 A.H. (1673 A.D.) as the year of his death.[1]

Ārzū and Shafīq have simply copied Naṣrābādī's 'Tazkirah'. The following Rubā'ī (Quatrain) is available in all the three 'Tazkirahs' as the specimen of his poetry.

ای گل که نه بوی از تو پیدا و نه رنگ ÷ از شوق جمال تو بود پر آهنگ
دورم از تو لسان ظلمت از نور ÷ هستی در من مثال آتش در سنگ[2]

This Rubai contains آنکه instead of گل in the first hemistich and لسان instead of مثال in the fourth hemistich in Gul-i-Raʿnā of Shafīq. We do not agree to this. The word گل in the first hemistich is most appropriate. This hemistich is an example of congruity and the words بوی (smell) and رنگ (colour) and گل (rose) are naturally associated together. So to erase

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1. Naṣrābādī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, *Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī*, p.170
2. Ibid, p. 170. & Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-dīn ʿAlī Khān *Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is*, Ms. p. 761. & Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, *Gul-i-Raʿnā* , Ms, fol. 263b.

گل for آنکھ is absurd. Similarly, to write بسان in place of مثال is not suitable, as the word بسان stands in the third hemistich. Had the poet done so, it would have led to the conclusion that poet's vocabulary was very scanty. By repetition of one and the same word in both the hemistich of the verse would have brought him a bad name because by doing so the verse would have lost its beauty.

ʿABDUR RASŪL ISTAGHNĀ

From the information available through the 'Tazkirahs' and histories one cannot visulize even the main aspects of his life. What we have gathered from various sources is that ʿAbdur Rasūl had his 'Takhallus' Istaghnā. He was born and bred up in Kashmīr. He in his early age, as we are told by Aʿzam remained content with his lot and paid no heed to the peers of the age;[1] but later on he could not keep the company of contentment. He inorder to make both ends meet said adiew to his motherland and went to India. He was fortunate enough to get service in the court of Shāh Shujāʿ the son of the Emperor Shāhjahān.[2] It cannot be said, when he got the service and what office he held in the beginning. According to Aʿzam's statement:

بخدمت شاه شجاع فرزند سیوم شاه جهان رسید و به منصب و خدمت سرفراز گردید
شاه شجاع از قابلیت و کاردانی او واقف گشته در صدد تربیت بود و در اوقاتیکه
شاه بر اورنگ سکه و خطبه بنام خود کرد و از بنگاله لوای تسخیر هندوستان برافراشت استغنا

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1. Aʿzam, Muhammad, Waqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 264.

در اوائل حال از امیر و وزیر و غنی و فقیر علم استغنا برافراشت
و پیوسته حرف قناعت و بی طمعی بر لوح خاطر می نگاشت

2. Ibid, p. 264 & Husain Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-ʿIshq, Ms, fol. 96b

داروغگی توپ خانه موقوف داشت ١

" He went to the court of Shāh Shujā' , the third son of Shāhjahān and was dignified with employment. Knowing his skill and qualifications Shāh Shujā' turned his attention towards his training. At times when Shāh Shujā' ascended the throne and ordered that the Khutbeh should be read in and coins struck by his name He hoisted the flag in Bengāl for conquering India, Isteghnā was the incharge of artillery."

The above quoted statement leads us to the conjecture that he was holding this prominent post in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) when the war of succession broke out in India on account of Shāhjahān's illness.

It is a fact of history that 'Ālamgīr inflicted defeat on his brothers and crowned as the Emperor of India. Shāh Shujā' was put to death by the orders of the Emperor. Under these circumstances it is evident that Isteghnā was deprived of his patron. A man purely depending upon the salary suffers a lot when his services are dispensed with. This poor Isteghnā frustrated by the vicissi-tudes of life left Bengāl for Awadh and served some peers of the time. But he could not find any one as benevolent a patron as his deceased master whose favours made him rose to an eminent position.

Dejected by the unfavourable circumstances, he at last went to the metropolis with the hope that his genius would be appreciated by the learned scholars at the royal court. He tried to get some service in the royal court, but as the ill-luck would have it

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1. A'zam, Muhammed Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 264

he failed to attain his goal. Bakhtāwar Khān the author of Mirāt-ul-Ālam came to his rescue when he presented to him the following Rubā'ī.[1]

ای خان بلند قدر اکسیر سخن ÷ قربان زبان تو خواتین زمن
تا خاطر آشفته دلان جمع شود ÷ یکبار بگو حرف پریشانی من

Bakhtāwar Khān himself writes:

استغنا بر تقریب عرض مطلبی این رباعی برای نیازمند گفته آورد[2]

" Isteghnā for the sake of exposing his intention said this Rubā'ī for this humble man."

The Rubā'ī quoted by him is the same which has already been mentioned above.

From the above statement it is obvious that it was Bakhtāwar with whose help the dark clouds of frustration and dejection that had overcasted the horizon of his prosperity were vanished and our poet achieved his objectives. Our resources, however, do not disclose what was his post. Hussain Quli Khān, of course, informs us that he for some time worked as Bakhshī to the prince Muhammad Akbar the son of Ālamgīr. He writes:

بندی بخدمت بخشیگری شاهزاده محمد اکبر بن عالمگیر بادشاه سرفرازی داشت[3]

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 265.
آخر خان قدردان بختاور خان ملتجی شده بعرض خدیو جهان
رسانید و بیک توجه او را بشاهد مقصود هم آغوش گردانید
2. Bakhtāwar Khān, Mirāt-ul-Ālam, Ms, fol. 519b.
3. Hussain Quli Khān, Nishtar-i-Ishq, Ms, fol. 96b.

DEATH:

The year of Istaghnā's birth cannot be properly ascertained as no source of ours brings it to light. About his death, only A'zam tells us that he died in 1080 A.H. (1670 A.D.)

در سنه هزار و هشتاد از این رباط ملال برای بی زوال انتقال نمود [1]

" In 1080 he left this meloncholy inn for the imperishable."

HIS POETRY:

Howsoever eminent and sublime might have been his literary pretentions in his life time, but he is known to posterity only on the strength of those verses which are available in the various 'Tazkirahs' and which are a little more than two dozens. On this inconsiderable number of verses, which too are the selected one, it is of course useless to make any comment on his poetry. From Nishter-i-'Ishq, it can be concluded that during his life time he arranged a 'Dīvān' but it could not draw the attention of the people. Hussin Qulī writes:

اگرچه از شعرای متاخرین است - دیوان او چندان شهرت ندارد [2]

" Although he is from the modern poet, yet his 'Dīvān' is not so famous."

Vazīr 'Alī 'Ibratī who with great difficulty found a complete

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1. A'zam, Muḥammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms. p. 265.
2. Hussin Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-'Ishq, Ms. fol. 96 b.

Ghazal of this poet praises him much. His comments are as follows

البتہ فکر رسا و طبع نکتہ پیوندی داشتہ بہ شعر ترش

ناخن زن پردہ دل سخن سنجان بودہ [1]

" At other places he calls him جادو خیال رنگین افکار and سخن سنگال سخن سنج . It would not be inconsistent with truth to say that 'Ibretī walking on the old ruts of recondite phraseology has showered praises to the poet about whom he himself konws but very little.

Following are the verses which extent.

نمی دانم کہ می آید کہ از جا میرود ہوشم ؛ طپیدن ہای بالا دست دارد نبض آغوشم

عجب سرو خرامان از بہشت ناز می آید ؛ قیامت می رسد امشب لبِ دقت برود دوشم

نہ تنہا سیر گلشن شعلہ شوقم برافروزد ؛ کہ صحرا نیز دامن می زند بر آتش جوشم

بچشم پاک من بینی جمال خوب رویان را ؛ بتان را خانہ ناز است چو آئینہ آغوشم

گواہی مید ہد امشب دل دیوانہ استغنا

کہ خواہد گشت فردا دام زلفش حلقہ گوشم [2]

بیادِ من چہ دہی سیر لالہ استغنا ؛ کہ من نگاہ فراموش کردہ ام جای

ما دماغ گریۂ بی اختیاری داشتیم ؛ در میانِ دامنِ خود نوبہاری داشتیم

بجان مضائقہ در راہ دستی نکنم ؛ بچیں زلف دہم دل کشادہ پیشانی

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1. 'Ibretī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mi'rāj-ul-Khayāl, Ms, fol. 7b.

2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 7b & 8a.

در گلشن برویم باغبان دانسته می بندد ∴ که غمناکم دلم از دیدن گلزار می گیرد

درآمد از درم خندان و می پرسید احوالم ∴ ز بیتابی ندانستم چه گویم گریه سر کردم

در سراغ او پریشانم نمی دانم چه شد ∴ در سواد کاکل دل نام یاری داشتم

کدامی آید که هر ساعت ز جوش شوق استغنا ∴ دمی صد بار بنشینم دمی صد بار برخیزم

گهی کاکل گهی خط گاه زلف یار می بندد ∴ خیالم معنی پیچیده را بسیار می بندد

ای نصیحت گر سر خود گیر ما دانیم و او ∴ گر دل ما می رود از کیسه ما میرود

نامهربان بما شده گر مهربان ما ∴ ای دل ترا چه کار میا در میان ما

ما اسیران زمینیت زلف پریشان تو ایم ∴ خانه آبادانی صیاد بی تخمیر نیست

در شکست فوج دل ای زلف تنها نیستی ∴ کاکل از دنبال آید میرسد مردانه باش

تا شود سرسبز یکجا هر دو در جوش بهار ∴ باغبان تخم گل و ما تخم سودا کاشتیم

گوشه ابرو لبی دیدیم دلم آبی نخورد ∴ تشنه انداز تیغ آبدار کیستیم ما

بکین چو منی آن دوستی دشمن چه می آید ∴ غریبم خاکسارم عاجزم از من چه می آید [1]

کعبه و بتخانه را بیگانه می دانیم ما ∴ یاد در دل یاد در میخانه می دانیم ما

فلک ز گردش ما دست بر نمی دارد ∴ خیال سبحه صد دانه می کند ما را

میتوان آورد استغنا سفارش نامه ∴ چرخ کج رو را اگر دانیم از یاران کیست

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1. Husain Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-Ishq, Ms, foll. 97a & 97b.

The first hemistich of the last verse is as follows in Safinah -i-Beikhabar (cf. see fol. 14b)

بکین خون من آن دوستی دشمن چه می آید

In Kalmat-ush-Shuʿrā of Sarkhush, this hemistich is in both ways. (p. 9)

Shafīq in Gul-i-Raʿnā and Valah Dāghistānī in Riyāz-ush-Shuʿrā

دی خود را کند پیشانی اخلاص من حالی ؛ اجازت گر دهد حاجب در او جبهه سائی را

ما براه بی خودی یکدم به منزل میرسیم ؛ صبح خیز پای خم را حاجت شبگیر نیست

ظرف شراب کن وسیع و نام همت را بلند ؛ عشق را دل شور و سر باده را پیمانه باش

فلک چرا کمر احتساب می بندد ؛ سزای باده پرستان خمار خواهد داد

نشست سوی بی نیازان مدعا هرگز نگرد ؛ بود با ما روی مطلب تا تغافل داشتیم

بیاد من چه دهی سیر لاله استغنا

که من نگاه فراموش کرده ام جایی[1]

جگر خون می کند رنج عزیزان راحت ما را

فلک دولت به هر کس میدهد منت بما دارد[2]

(foot note contines from p.684)
write as given in the text above . (cf Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 34a and Riyāz-ush-Shu'arā, Ms, fol. 49b.

(foot-note concluded.)

1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 34a- 35a.

2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿrā, p. 9.

HIS PUPIL :

Muhammad 'Alī a nephew of Istaghnā was his pupil too. Tamkīn was his Takhallus. He was melancholic and used to submit his verses before his uncle for necessary corrections.[1] According to the version of Hussain Qulī Khān and Shafiq Tamkīn died in 1132 A.H (1721-22 A.D.) Hussain Qulī Khān writes in his Tazkirah.

در سنه یک هزار و یک صد و سی و دو معمورهٔ هستی را واگذاشت [2]

" He left this perishable world in one thousand one hundred and thirty two."

The following verses have made him immortal.

ز بوستان محبت طمع چه دارد کس ÷ که نخل عشق بتان را ثمر ز سنگ بود

ز رویت هر نظر آئینهٔ دیداری خواهم ÷ بجانِ خود ترا ای دلستان لب یاری خواهم [3]

گرچه عریانی پریشانم نمود اما خوشم ÷ غنچه سان تا جامه در بر داشتم غم داشتم

گر نداری تاب زخم تیغ ابروی بتان ÷ در خم کاکل درآ ای دل شهید شانه باش

بارگه داغ جنون بر سر ما سوخته اند ÷ این چراغی است که بر روی هوا سوخته اند

بی ادب راه بجلوه‌گاه معشوق نداشت ÷ بال گستاخی پروانه بجا سوخته اند [4]

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1. Hussain Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-'Ishq, Ms, fol 230b.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 230b.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 230b. Shafiq writes جانان instead of دلستان in the second hemistich of the second verse.

(cf. Shafiq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 81 a. 4 Ibid, fol. 81a.

MAULĀNĀ NĀṬIQ

Maulānā Nāṭiq was contemporary to Shāhjahān 1036-1067 A.H. (1627-1658 A.D.) and Aurangzaib 'Ālamgīr (1068-1118 A.H. 1658-1706 A.D.) He used to teach the 'Dīvān' of Anvarī. Muhammad Ṭāhir writes about him in his Tazkirah.

ایشان چهار برادر اند. سه نفر ایشان موزون است
اما دو نفر گرفتگی بزبان دارند. بنابرین یکی لکنتی و یکی
ابکم تخلص دارد. شعر آن دو برادر مسموع نشد[1]

" They are four brothers. Three of them have got poetical talent; but two are stammerers. For this, one has his pen name Luknatī (stammerer) and the other Abkam (ie dumb). The verses of those two brothers could not be heard."

It is really a matter of much regret that Ṭāhir personally came in contact with Nāṭiq and his brothers, but he did not try to know about them fully. His statement about them is so vague that

1. Naṣrābādī, Muhammad Ṭāhir, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p. 451.

nothing can be made out of it. Similar is the case with Kalmāt-ush Shu'arā[1] and Safīnah-i-Baikhabar[2]. Both Afzal and 'Azmat have considered it sufficient to write a few words in praise of his poetry.

About his poetical talents Nasrābādī opines:

مولانا ناطق تتبع بسیار از قدما کرده است[3]

" Maulānā Nātiq followed the classical poets to a great extent."

The following couplets of his are now-a-days available.

۱- مفلس‌تر ستمی ز توانگر ندیده است ∴ کس رشته را به آب گهر تر ندیده است

۲- نازک تنان بنقش حصیر آشنا نیند ∴ اوراق گل شکنجهٔ مسطر ندیده است[4]

3 - دل در آن زلف اگر راه نیابد غم نیست ∴ گو بما باش پریشانی ما هم کم نیست

۴ - جنونم نالهٔ زنجیر را افسانه میداند ∴ دلم سرگشتگی را گردش پیمانه می داند[5]

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1. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā, p. 113

کلامش بحسن کلامش ناطق است

" His poetry eloquently speaks about its beauty.

2. Baikhabar, Mīr 'Azmat Ullah, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 142 a

طبعش خالی از لطف نیست

" His disposition is not void of taste."

3. Nasrābādī, Muhammad Tāhir, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādī, p. 451.

4. vv. 1 &2. Ibid, p. 451 and Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 142a

5. vv. 3 &4. Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā, p. 113 & Safīnah-i-Baikhabar , Ms. fol. 142a.

DOST MUHAMMAD DOST

Dost Muhammad had his nom de plume Dost. Darkness prevails on his life. What we have been informed by the Tazkirah writers is that he was one of the servants of the Emperor Shāhjahān. What office he held, no one knows. Shafīq says that he could play at chess very well.

در شطرنج بازی مانند من دستی درست داشت[1]

" He like me was experienced in playing chess."

Receiving this information from Shafīq, Sayyid Ālī Hasan Khān writes in his Tazkirah.

در شطرنج بازی شاطران دیگر را باوی نسبت پیادگان با وزیر[2]

" At playing chess, the other chess players had their position before him like pawns before the queen."

Following is the specimen of his poetry.

ای قوس کجت نماز جان را محراب ⁖ ابروی تو سجده جان را محراب
گردید نگردد ما فلک خم یعنی تو ⁖ پیوست نماز نماز را محراب[3]

بلا ست از تو بما هر زمان جفائی دگر ⁖ چنانکه هر دگری میکنی بلای دگر[4]

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 122b.
2. Ālī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 165.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 122b.
4. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-Ashqīn, Ms, fol. 183 b.

CHAPTER VI

POETS OF AURANGZAIB ʿĀLAMGĪR'S REIGN

POETS OF AURANGZAIB 'ĀLAMGĪR'S REIGN

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1. Ḥājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim.
2. Mirzā Dārāb Baig Joyā.
3. Mirzā Kāmrān Baig Goyā.
4. Muḥammad Shāh Khān Vahshat.
5. Ḥājī Ḥaidar 'Alī Fanā.
6. Muḥammad 'Āshiq Himmat.
7. Ḥāfiz 'Abdur Raḥīm Kamgo.
8. Mullā Luṭf Ullah Sālim.
9. Nāṣir 'Alī Ḥanbalī.
10. Sheikh Rashīd.
11. Muḥammad Rafīq Munshi.

ḤĀJĪ MUḤAMMAD ASLAM SĀLIM

INTRODUCTORY:

Kashmīr the very paradise on the earth has, always been loved, admired and eloquently eulogised by the top ranking men of letters. the poets, in their immortal verses have praised the enticing charm of her human beauty, the splendour of her nature, the loftiness and majesty of her snow-capped mountains, the sweetness and stillness of her mirror like streams, even the chirping of her birds and her cool, scented morning breeze. They found themselves lost in her gardens of fruits and flowers. Even in modern times, our national poet, ʿAllāmah Iqbāl praises his ancestral land in the following verses:

رخت بکاشمر گشا کوه و تل و دمن نگر ؛ سبزه جهان جهان ببین لاله چمن چمن نگر
باد بهار موج موج مرغ بهار فوج فوج ؛ صلصل و سار زوج زوج بر سر نارون نگر
تا نفتد به زینتش چشم سپهر فتنه باز ؛ بسته به چهرهٔ زمین برقع نسترن نگر
دختری برهمنی لاله رخی سمن بری ؛ چشم بروی او گشا باز به خویشتن نگر[1]

The most beautiful of all his verses in the praise of Kashmīr is the following imperishable couplet.

تو گوئی که یزدان بهشت برین را ؛ نهاد است در دامن کوهساری
که تا رحمتش آدمی زادگان را ؛ رها سازد از محنت انتظاری[2]

No doubt the picturesque beauty of Kashmīr fascinated the fancy of all persons having an aesthetic sense and we find that the people paid much heed to the charming beauty of Kashmīr, her physical features and their influence on her inhabitants in the sphere of their occupations, clothes and such like other things;

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1. Iqbāl, Muhammad, Dr. Sir, ʿAllāmah, Payām-i-Mashriq, p. 155.
2. Ibid., p. 133

but they fail to recognise that such a land cannot fail to be a home of poetry------perhaps the highest expression of beauty. No attention worth appreciation has ever been paid to the men of literary taste, who made brilliant strides in all the walks of of life. No serious attempt has been made in the past or even in the present, to write the biographies of these poets and to-day we find obscurity surrounds their lives. None has tried to introduce the genius of Kashmīr to the out side world. The 'Tazkirah' writers have endeavoured in a haphazard manner to acquaint them and their poetry to the men of literary taste. But as their Tazkirahs are still in the manuscript form and have hardly seen the light of the day, the poetry of Kashmīr has not as yet been properly appreciated, and the outside world knows very little of what the genius of Kashmīr has contributed to the realm of poetic thought. In some cases we have a vivid picture of their lives before our mind, but in no case the plainest lineaments are revealed to us by any writer of the past or the present. It is perhaps due to lack of facilities for personal contact with Kashmīr, that the necessary facts of the famous poet who was the renowned pupil of a celebrated scholar and poet, and a mystic with a heart overflowing with religious ardour, are not known. By this poet we mean Hājī Muhammad Aslam Sālim of Kashmīr who was a Brahman by birth but embraced Islām and got an opportunity to go to a pilgrimage to Mecca. In the following pages we shall write his biography in the light of the facts gathered from both internal and external sources.

NAME AND CLAN:

About three centuries ago, a brilliant star appeared on Kashmīr's literary horizon-------Hājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim, a Brahman by birth.[1] His father's name, as we are told by A'zam, was Abdāl Bat, who was one of the nobles of Kashmīr.[2] Of, what was his first name we can say nothing, but later on, when he embraced Islām, he was named as Muḥammad Aslam. Abdāl Bat had four sons. Sālim the poet, as has been pointed out by Ārzū, was very handsome.[3]

BIRTH:

His biography, like that of many other poets of Kashmīr, as we have already stated, is shrouded in obscurity. We are ignorant about the year of his birth. The 'Tazkirah' writers, as well as the historians, have contributed to the realm of his biography praises and praises only-----they have tried to raise him up to the skies, to immortalize his name as they would say. However, we can roughly say that he was born in the second half of the eleventh century, or a little earlier. It may be pointed out here that our sources tell us neither the year of his birth nor approximate age at the time of his death. This supposition of ours regarding the period of his birth is based on a few of his verses which hint towards his old age:

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1. 'Abdur Rahmān, Hashmi, Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, p. 116.
نامش حاجی محمد اسلم برهمن پسری کشمیری بود

2. A'zam, Muḥammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 322.
سالم تخلص پسر ابدال بت است که از اعیان هنود کشمیر بود

3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma' un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 320.
از ثقات مسموع است که سالم خیلی شگفته رو و خوش صحبت کسی بود

هزار شور جوانی ست در سر نگرم ⁝ چه شد که در نظر خلق چون فلک پیرم [1]

In another verse he also emphasizes this fact saying:

بوقت شیب که مو شد سفید دانستم ⁝ که بی شباب گلستان عمر بی رنگست [2]

A mention of another verse in this respect would not be out of place

چنین گر رشته پیری زند برهم هوسم را ⁝ نگاه سوده از عینک چو گرد آسیا افتد [3]

HIS EDUCATION:

Nothing is known about his prelimnary education. Whether he got his education at home, we cannot say anything definitely. He was a Brahman by birth and the Brahmans of Kashmīr is those days were men of literary taste. They were learned, hence we can presume that he might have studied the primers at home. There is sufficient testimonony to the fact that he joined as an apprentice , the circle of the pupils of Shaikh Muḥsin Fānī who was a learned poet and a mystic, imparting education to the people of Kashmīr. About this prominent personality of Kashmīr we have already written in detail in the previous chapter. According to the information conveyed by A'zam in his Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, they were four brothers and they all embraced Islām.

باتفاق سه برادر دیگر در خدمت شیخ محسن فانی شرف اسلام یافت [4]

" He, along with the other three brothers, embraced Islām in the company of Shaikh Muh-sin Fānī."

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslm, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms. fol. 237a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 69b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 187 a.

4. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 322.

It would not be out of place to mention here that Shaikh Muhsin Fānī had great love for Sālim. According to a Tazkireh writer he was an adopted son of his. Rattan Singh writes:

نامش حاجی محمد اسلم ...... متبنای شیخ محسن فانی بود [1]

" His name was Muhammad Aslam..........He was an adopted son of Shaikh Muhsin Fānī."

SERVICE :

After completing the prevalent and prescribed courses of stud[y] he, presumeably, compelled by his economic responsibilities, left his native land for India to seek service in the court of the Emperor or the Princes. It was, perhaps due to the success he met among his friends and acquaintances that made him think that he could earn a living by exploiting his vocal potentialities and intellectual faculties. He was fortunate enough to become one of the courtiers of the prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh, the son of 'Ālamgir. A'zam writes:

عنان همت را به تحصیل کمالات انسانی تافت و در نظم اشعار آبدار گوی سبقت از اقران پیش برده متوجه هندوستان شد و در سلک نوکران شاهزادهٔ عالی جاه نظر الطاف یافت [2]

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1. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-'Ashqīn, Ms, fol 257 b.

2. A'zam, Muhammad , Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 322.

" He turned the attention of his courage for the attainment of perfection in humanity. In the arrangement of the illustrious verses he surpassed his contemporaries. He went to India and entered the range of the exalted prince's servants."

A'ẓam has not mentioned the name of the prince. Ārzū points out that till his last days of life he was in the service of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, son of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr. He was, even after the death of his patron, passing his days honourably.

تا اواخر عمر ملازم محمد اعظم شاه پسر عالمگیر بادشاه بود و بعد گذشتن او در
سلطنت بهادرشاه بادشاه هم بآبروی تمام گذرانید و در عهد محمد فرخ سیر
بادشاه بکشمیر جنت نظیر رفته بفردوس اعلی خرامید[1]

" Till the last days of his life he was the servant of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, son of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr, and after his death, he, in the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh, passed his days with dignity. In the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, he went to Kashmīr, the paradise on earth. From there he went to the highest paradise."

According to Aḥmad 'Alī the compiler of Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, he embraced Islam during the reign of Aurangzeib and it was the Emperor who appointed him in the service of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh who did favour to him and appointed him the superintendent of purchase of the house-hold necessities.

در عهد اورنگ زیب بشرف اسلام مشرف گشته اکثر خدمت بادشاهی
سرفرازی داشت شاه مذکور او را التفات شاهزاده محمد اعظم شاه نموده. شاهزاده

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, pp. 319-320

نظر تربیت بدو گماشته ترقی داد. خان سامانی و داروغگی ابتیاع خانه باو مخصوص ساخت 1

" During the reign of Aurangzaib he got the dignity of embracing Islām. He had the honour to go to the Emperor's court. The said Emperor appointed him in the service of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh. The prince bestowed the sight of civility on him. He appointed him lord of stores and the superintendent of purchase of necessities of the household."

"After the death of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh," writes Lachhmī Nārā'in in Gul-i-Ra'nā, " he retired to Kashmīr and Shāh 'Ālam appointed him his chronicler of Kashmīr but he died soon."

بعد شهید شدن محمد اعظم شاه حاجی سالم قصد کشمیر کرد و برای تقریب گوشه نشینی
خدمت وقائع نگار کشمیر از پیشگاه شاه عالم حاصل کرده بکشمیر رفت و در همان
سال یعنی سنه تسع عشر و مأة الف محمد سالم سفر بعالم دیگر بربست 2

" After the martyrdom of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh Ḥājī Sālim determind to go to Kashmīr, and for the sake of seclusion, he, obtaining the orders of appointment as chronicler from the portico of Shāh 'Ālam, went to Kashmīr and in the same year ie. in one thousand one hundred and nineteen he passed away to the next world."

A Rubā'ī in his 'Dīvān' indicates the Prince's accession to the throne of Delhī. The last hemistich of the quatrain serves as chronogram. The quatrain is as follows.

ایزد شه را که تخت دهلی داده ❊ اسباب جلوسش همه شد آماده
شهزاده رسید و گفت هاتف تاریخ ❊ شد همدم شه بکام دل شهزاده 3

1. Hāshmī, Aḥmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 61a.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 146 a.
3. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Ḥājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 351 b.

The numerical value of the fourth hemistich comes to 1117. It is impossible, because Aurangzeib died on the 28th Zilqa'dah, 1118 A.H. Hence as we are told by Shafīq the coronation of Bahādur Shāh took place in 1119 A.H. Taking this into view we think the last hemistich should have been thus:

شد بهرم شاه کام دل شاهزاده

The numerical value in this case would rise by two, thus making the total as 1119.

After Aurangzieb's death the two brothers namely Muhammad A'zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh fought for the throne of Delhī. History tells us that Bahādur Shāh defeated his rival to the throne and himself ascended the throne. Our poet perhaps said this Rubā'ī at the time of coronation. Probably it was by this time that a reumour was heard by him about an increase in position which later on proved baseless. This is evident from his 'Dīvān' He writes:

اکنون که اضافه پای یکسو بگذاشت ÷ از اصل و اضافه دست باید برداشت

این مژده رسانده بود بختم آخر ÷ گویا خبر اضافه ام اصل نداشت[1]

During the course of his service two incidents are important and worth mentioning. One of the two is the "Elephant accident" which took place in 1093 A.H. (1681 A.D.) The author of Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī has committed to writing in detail so we quote him:

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1. Sālim , Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Dīvān-i-Sālim . Ms, fol. 354 b

فیل فتح جنگ خان از شور مستی بر فوج دویده نزدیک بشاه رسید، تیری حوالهٔ
او فرمودند، نزدیک تر آمد، اسب سواری بی تابی کرد - از اسب فرود آمده
مقابل شدند و شمشیر بر خرطوم فیل رسانیدند، درین اثنا مردم رکاب که پریشان
شده بودند مجتمع گشته بزخمهای منکسر فیل را کشتند ...... محمد اسلم سالم
نوکر سرکار عالی بزور طبع سلاست نشان مثنوی در بیان این مقدمهٔ ندرت اقتران
گفته و از بحر شیرینی گفتار در آبداری شاهواری بر کنار یادگار آورده [1]

" The elephant Fateh Jang Khān, due to ardour of haughtiness attacked the army and reached near the Emperor, who shot an arrow but the elphant came nearer. The horse on whom the Emperor was riding showed excitement. The king came down and with the sword made an attack on the trunk of the said elephant. Meanwhile the escort which had scattered, gathered and made the elphant die of wounds......Muhammad Aslam Sālim, the servant of His Exalted Highness by the power of eloquent dispositon wrote a Masnavī stating the facts of this singular accident. He from the sea of sweet words bought the illustrious pearls suitable for kings on the bank of rememberance."

Perhaps these verses did not pay the poet anything as no mention to this effect has been made by the author of Maāsir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī. As these verses are not available in his 'Dīvān' which is not complete in all respects, therefore, we copy them from the said Maāsir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī. We deem it proper to point out here that the Maāsir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī itself has not copied the whole of the Masnavī in which Sālim has given the details of this accident.[2]

1. Musta'id Khān, Muhammad Sāqī, Maāsir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, p. 230-231.
2. Ibid, p. 231. He writes چندی ازان برشته تحریر در آمد

The number of the verses copied by him is fifty six. We cannot, however, say the exact number of verses which comprises the Mas̱navī as no other source has hinted it out. Here are those fiftysix verses which in the opinion of the author of <u>Maāṣir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī</u> are " the illustrious gems suitable for the kings."

سیه مست فیلی چو ابر سیاه ÷ سراپا غرور آمد از پیش شاه

چو ابری و از برق چالاک‌تر ÷ چو کوهی و از سیل بی‌باک‌تر

به حیرت از او هوش نظاره بود ÷ که گنجیده در تنگنای وجود

چو افتد گذارش به ملک عدم ÷ نماند در او باز جای قدم

اگر سایهٔ او فتد بر سحاب ÷ نشیند بروی زمین همچو آب

هر گام از بار دستش زمین ÷ فرو رفته در خود چو خط نگین

چنان زور سنگینیش در قدم ÷ که گاو زمین را شده شاخ خم

چو زانو زند بر زمین وقت کین ÷ ز مرکز فروتر نشیند زمین

چو خرطوم را گاه بالا کند ÷ شکم را فلک پشت ترسا کند

سیه چاه و از دون حیرت فزاست ÷ که با طالع خصم شاه آشناست

معلق بلندی سست وحشت نشان ÷ سزاوار آن خصم صاحب قران

مگر لی ستون بود آن کوه تن ÷ که شد فیلبان بر سرش کوه کن

لب عرض زد موج از هر کنار ÷ که می آید این فیل دیوانه وار

اگر شاه مزمان دهد بندگان ÷ بر آرند از مغز او عطر جان

کجا شاه را التفاتی به فیل ÷ خضر را چه پروا ز امواج نیل

لزوما باید گذارند کار ÷ که دارد تماشا غرور شکار

چون آن فیل زد چند گام دگر ÷ قضا ریخت خاک جهانش بسر
اجل بر دماغش فسونی دمید ÷ که چون گرد ره رنگ عرشش پرید
دو دیدار چنان رو لعاب قران ÷ که لرزید بر خود زمین و زمان
هر دیده شد غباری قرین ÷ هوا تیره تر شد بروی زمین
قضا گشت لبریز ظلمت چنان ÷ که افتاد بر هر دلی آسمان
دعا بر دعا ریخت از هر لبی ÷ ز هر سینه جوش زد یاربی
بر آمد بهم اسپ و فیل و سوار ÷ که ره یافت آن فتنه روزگار
شهنشه چو آن فتنه نزدیک دید ÷ کمان را ز قربان کشید و کشید
بدست شه خصم افکن کمان ÷ همای ظفر را شده آشیان
شد آغوش سوفار لبریز زه ÷ کمان زد برابرو ز پیکان گره
چنان جست تیر از کمان شد رها ÷ که از هم بپاشید موج هوا
شده از کمان تا الفیل تباه ÷ باندازه تیر یک کوچه راه
بهم سر نیاورد موج هوا ÷ ستوز از خلا در مکان رخنها
که وا کرد آن تیر قدرت نمای ÷ چو پیک اجل در تن خصم جای
گرفت آن چنان جای در مغز فیل ÷ که غواص لب تشنه در رود نیل
درو ناوک شاه والا شکوه ÷ چو آتش نهان گشت در مغز کوه
بحیرت ازان عقل پیر و جوان ÷ که در کوه چون شد رگ کان نهان
دگر فیل شد مضطر اضطراب ÷ چو شیطان که لرزد ز تیر شهاب
شد از تیر شه شور مغزش زیاد ÷ که در چاه سیماب برق اوفتاد
چو گردی که یکبار خیزد ز راه ÷ قرین شد بظل همایون شاه

علم کرد خرطوم فیل سیاه ∴ که پیچید یکبار بر اسپ شاه

ندادش امان تیر شاه دلیر ∴ که خرطوم آرد ز بالا بزیر

کشید از میان شاه تیغ ظفر ∴ ز تیر نگه چابک و جلد تر

پی زخم خرطوم او بی دریغ ∴ برانگیخت رخش و علم کرد تیغ

ز جلدی باندازِ فیل عنان ∴ کمیت شهنشاه جست آنچنان

که زد شه بخرطوم او تیغ کین ∴ برنگی که گفت آسمان آفرین

شد از زخم کاری چنان فیل پست ∴ که چون سایهٔ خفته در خود نشست

چو از پا در افتاد آن فیل دون ∴ غرورش چو خرطوم شد سرنگون

سبک جست از اسپ صاحب قران ∴ شه جرأت آموز رستم دلان

که بی شک دلیریست در کارزار ∴ بخصم پیاده در افتد سوار

ولی شاه چون دیگران تیره روز ∴ لبش بر سکینه خاک نخوت هنوز

علم کرد شمشیرِ نصرت قرین ∴ ظفر گفت بر جرأتش آفرین

دو زخم پیاپی ز قهر آنچنان ∴ بران فیل زد شاه صاحبقران

که شد کار فیل سیه دل تمام ∴ برو هستی حشرم شد حرام

شهنشه عدو را چو افگند زار ∴ بیفشرد دامن ز خون شکار

دگر فیل شد لحظه خاص و عام ∴ کشیدند شمشیرها از نیام

ز بس بر هم از تیغها زخم ریخت ∴ هوا از سر فیل یکسر گریخت

چنان پاره پاره شد اعضای فیل ∴ که هر پاره گشته یک حال فیل

درو استخوان جوهر فرد شد ∴ همه جوهر استخوان گرد شد

بود لطف حق یاور شاه دین ∴ همین است حالِ عدویش همین[1]

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1. Musta'id Khān, Muhammad Sāqī, Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī, pp.231 - 234

The other incident is, that in Rabī-ul-Awwal 1104 A.H. (1692 A.D.) Prince Muhammad Beidar Bakht fell ill. When he recovered, Sālim wrote the chronogram of his regaining health. The Emperor praised the attempt. Musta'id Khān writes:

پادشاهزاده محمد بیداربخت بیمار شد چون شفا یافت محمد سالم اسلم که از نوکران ایشان بود

بخلوص عقیدت تاریخ صحت رقم زد. "شفای شه دعای پادشاه بود"

بمسامع بشارت مجامع نیز رسید و موجب خوشدلی حضرت و تحسین یابی تاریخ یاب گردید[1]

" The Prince Muhammad Baidar Bakht fell ill. When he recovered health Muhammad Aslam Sālim who was amongst his servants wrote with sincerity of opinion the chronogram relating to the recovery of his health. "King's recovery of health was owing to king's prayer." It reached the ears where happy news assemble, and it became the motive of king's joy, and applause for the one who got the chronogram."

From these two incidents it is evident that he joined the service before 1093 A.H. (1681 A.D.) and was in service till his death which took place in 1119 A.H. (1710-1711 A.D.) about which reference has already been made.[2]

HAJJ:

It has been accepted by all that he got an opportunity of visiting the holy lands of Mecca and Madina and the privilege of

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1. Musta'id Khān, Muhammad Sāqī, Maāsir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 361.
2. See page 699 supra.

seeing the sacred shrine of the prophet Muḥammad (May peace be upon him). The word 'Ḥājī' before his name is sufficient to show that he had had an opportunity of pilgrimage to Mecca. We cannot, however, definitely say when he went to perform his Ḥajj. Mardān 'Alī Khān tells us that he joined service after performing the pilgrimage.[1] He was in service in 1093 A.H. (1681 A.D.) as he wrote the 'Masnavī' on the incident of the elephant. Hence the Ḥajj was performed by him much earlier than 1093 A.H.(1681 A.D.) Ārzū informs us this much that he went to Mecca when he was in Gujrāt. But as to when was he in Gujrāt he says nothing. Ārzū writes:

ایامی که در گجرات بود توفیق حج یافته بزیارت بیت الله خانه دین خود آباد ساخته[2]

" In those days when he was in Gujrāt, he, by the grace of God, performed Ḥajj; and by seeing the house of God he inhabited the house of his religion."

With reference to the internal evidence the following Rubā'īs (Quatrains) in his 'Dīwān' clearly indicate that he performed the Ḥajj ceremony. Those two Rubā'īs are as follows:

عید فطر است و بر در پیغامبر ؛ شیئاً لله گفتم ولبی یاور
این عید و مدینه بخت من و طالع من ؛ انشاالله مکه و عید دگر[3]

ای رحمت عالمین بعالم نظری ؛ غیر از تو ندارم بخدا رهبری
لب تشنهٔ رحمتت ز دور آمده ام ؛ ای ابر کرم بمیهمان ماحضری[4]

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1. Mardān 'Ālī Khān, Muntakhab-ul-Ash'ār, Ms, fol. 63a.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Ālī Khān, Majma' un-Nafā'is , Ms. p. 320.
3. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, ~~Hāji~~ Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 324 b.
4. Ibid, fol. 324 b.

Taking into view the first Rubā'ī that has been quoted above, Ārzū presumes that Sālim went to Madīna before the days of Ḥajj; but the days of Ḥajj elapsed while he was staying at Madīna. He wrote this Rubā'ī to make others comprehend his mistake. Ārzū writes:

اتفاقاً پیش از ایام حج بمدینه منوره علی صاحبها الصلوٰة والسلام رفته بود
که ایام حج منقضی گشته و دران باب رباعی گفته که بیت دومش اینست
این عید و مدینه بخت من واطالع من ؛ ان شاء الله مکه و عید دگر

" By chance, he had gone to Madīna (May the blessings of God be upon her) before the days of Ḥajj and the days of Ḥajj passed away. He wrote a quatrain in that connection, the second verse of which is this:

This 'Īd and Madīna, how fortunate I am, if God willing I would be in Mecca enjoying the second 'Īd."

It would not be improper here to point out that Ārzū is wrong in assuming that he remained in Madīna and the Ḥajj days passed. The quatrain does not vindicate it. From the Rubā'ī quoted above we can say without least shadow of doubt that Sālim first went to Madīna and was staying there when 'Īd-ul-Fiṭar which falls on the first of Shavval was celebrated by him there; so he thought himself fortunate enough to celebrate the first 'Īd on the threshold of the Prophet's (May peace be upon him) shrine and expressed his views that, God willing, he will be on the tenth Ẓilḥajj, in Mecca as he had a mind to perform the Ḥajj ceremonies which are performed in Mecca a day before 'Īd-uz-Ẓuḥā. It is, therefore, clear that he

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma-un-Nafā'is , Ms. p. 320.

cannot be any where else but in Mecca on the ʿĪd day.

Zakhmī informs us that after the pilgrimage he returned home and in his way he stayed for some time in Irān with Amīr Nijāt. Zakhmī writes in his 'Tazkirah' :

بایران افتاده مدتی با میر نجات همطرح بوده آخرها بهند برگشته[1]

" He came to Irān, remained with Amīr Nijāt for some time and at last returned to India."

Aḥmad ʿAlī Hāshmī writes that after performing Ḥajj and seeing Irān, Shīrāz and Khurāsān he returned and reached Delhī Shaikh Rashīd a poet from Kashmīr said a fragment. The fragment quoted by him is as follows:

در شهر سخن سالم خوشگوئی رسیده ÷ دیدیم رشید از شعر تازه تری چند
آن حاجی نیکو روش کعبهٔ معنی ÷ آورد زبهر برائی حج خوش خبری چند[2]

T R A V E L S :

Before we take up the question of his death it seems proper to mention that he travelled abroad. Internal as well as external sources do not throw sufficient light on the subject. 'Tazkirah' writers inform us that he went for Ḥajj. His Rubāʿyāts (quatrains) also impart this information, and inform us that he visited Mecca

1. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-Aḥbāb, Ms, fol. 257 b.
2. Hāshmī, Aḥmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 127b.

and Madīna. Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib indicates that during the course of his travel for pilgrimage he visited Irān , Khurāsān, and Shīrāz. Ahmad 'Alī writes[1] in the biography of Shaikh Rashīd Kashmīrī. Here we quote the orinal text from Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib .

وقتی که حاجی سالم که یکی از منصبداران اعظم شاه بوده از حج و از سیر ایران
و شیراز و خراسان مراجعت کرده بدهلی رسید در آن باب میگوید[1]

" At the time when Hājī Sālim who was one of the officials of rank of A'zam Shāh reached Delhī after his return from Hajj and after traveling in Irān, Shīrāz and Khurāsān, he says in that respect."

After entering the service of A'zam Shāh he remained in India till 1119 A.H.(1711 A.D.) ie. the year when he left for his sweet home, perhaps to meet his death in the paradise on earth.

About his stay in Mecca and Madīna we have already quoted Quatrains from his 'Dīvān'[2] As regards his stay in Irān, etc, our internal source is quite silent. So far as India is concerned he says:

یاد کشمیر تو سالم که تماشش چمن است تا خاک برهند که نیمش زرد و نیمش سیم است[3]

DEATH:

Sālim remained in the service of Muhammed A'zam Shāh until the later was killed in the battle field in 1119 A.H. (1710-11A.D.)

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1. Hāshmī, Ahmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 127 b.
2. See page, 705 supra.
3. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms. fol. 49 b.

After the death of his patron, he could not survive long and died in the same year. Laghhmī Nārā'in has narrated this event in detail. He writes:

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر در سنه ثمان وعشر ومأة الف در دکن متوجه عالم بقا شد و محمد اعظم شاه
از دکن قصد هند کرد و شاه عالم بهادر شاه که در آن وقت از پدر ناظم صوبه کابل بود
از کابل جانب هند خرامید - هژدهم ربیع الاول سنه تسع عشره ومأة الف قریب
اکبرآباد هر دو برادر صف قتال آراستند محمد اعظم شاه جرعه شهادت چشید بعد
شهید شدن محمد اعظم شاه حاجی سالم قصد کشمیر کرد و برای تقریب گوشه نشینی
خدمت وقائع نگاری کشمیر از پیشگاه شاه عالم حاصل کرده بکشمیر رفت و درهمان
سال یعنی سنه تسع وعشره ومأة الف محمد سالم سفر بعالم دیگر بست [1]

" In Deccan, in one thousand one hundred and eighteen, Aurangzaib diverted his attention towards the unperishable world. Muhammad A'zam Shāh moved from Deccan to India and Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh who at that time had been apointed Governor of Kābul by his father marched from Kābul to India. On eighteenth Rabī-ul- Avval one thousand one hundred and nineteen both the brothers arranged their troops near Akbarābād for fighting. Muhammad A'zam Shāh suffered martyrdom. After the death of Muhammad A'zam Shāh Hājī Sālim left for Kashmīr and for the sake of seclusion he obtaining the orders of appointment as chronicler from the portico of Shāh 'Ālam, went to Kashmīr and in the same year, ie in one thousand one hundred and nineteen he traveled to the next world.

1. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 146 a.

SĀLIM'S RELIGION AND OTHER ASPECTS OF HIS LIFE :

Sālim was a Brahman by birth but by the grace of God he embraced Islām. This is evident from a Rubā'ī which appears at folio 324b of his 'Dīvān'. The same is quoted below:

قربانت شوم ز درد دوری مردم ؛ اینک بدرت پناه خویش بردم
راه آوردم قبول کن راه خدا ؛ ایمان بخدا و برسول آوردم [1]

From amongst the Islamic sects he followed the Sunnī doctrine. We have assumed this on the basis of the Rubā'is which he wrote in praise of the companions of the Holy Prophet (May peace be upon him)

دارند صحابه فضل و عز و شان هم ؛ حق راضی از ایشان و ز حق ایشان هم
بالله همه جامع فضائل بودند ؛ ذوالنورین است جامع قران هم [2]

شیخین در اصحاب چه عالی‌شانند ؛ آسوده بمرقد نبی ایشانند
در سایهٔ مصطفی است بوبکر و عمر ؛ یعنی بحقیقت دو تن و یک جانند [3]

در نور محمد علی انباز خفی است ؛ اعجاز علی تیمم اعجاز خفی است
یک نور اگر دو شد همان نور یکیست ؛ شق القمر آئینهٔ این راز خفی است [4]

So far as other aspects of his life, such as marriage, children etc., are concerned, they are still a mystry for us; and to fathom this mystry is beyond our control, because both the internal and external sources are silent on these points.

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1. Sālim, Aslam, Muḥammad, Ḥājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 324 b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll, 325a & 325 b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 325 a.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 325a.

SALIM IN THE MIRROR OF HIS OWN POETRY:

About his character and other aspects of his life we find the external sources keeping silence. So far as the internal source is concerned it throws some light. What the mirror of his verses reflects is as follows.

1. He is proud of his poetcy. He is fully aware of his talents and has expressed it at various occasions. This complex of his has been discussed under the caption---" Sālim's poetry in the mirror of his own verses."

2. Sālim writes 'Ghazals' in reply to the Persian poets and that is evident from the Maqṭa' or the last line of some of his 'Ghazals' eg:

١. ز مصرع کلیم افتاد شور این غزل سالم ÷ بدل کردم بستی عاقبت زهد ریائی را

2- این غزل سالم بمصرع نظیری کی رسد ÷ بر سر راهش ببیند از بد مکتوب مرا

3- سالم ازین غزل مپرس یاد نظیری اداه ÷ بر برو دوش سر دهی گریه کم پیامیرا

4- سالم این مصرع صائب شد به پیری حالیم ÷ در لباس طمع صائب کردی کم نامده است

5- قبول نظم تو سالم ز فیض سعدی بود ÷ رضای دوست مقدم بر اختیار منست

From the above quoted verses, it is clear that he had great regard for Sa'dī and Naẓīrī; as he writes their names with much respect. So far as his contemporaries and other poets (who are not known now-a-days) are concerned he shows due deference to them too.

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1. Sālim, Aslam, Muhammad, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms. fol. 21 a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 21b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 43a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 54b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 77b.

This shows that he was gentle and acting upon the maxim "respect others and be respected by others." But Khushgo has given an episode while writing the biography of his teacher ʿAbdul Qādir Baidil which indicates that Sālim was prejudice minded or rather jealous to some extent. He says that after the death of Aʿẓam Shāh he went to Delhī. As he was an old friend of Baidil, he went to see him. On his request Baidil recited a few verses, but Sālim on hearing them said:

این همه شنیدم، آن چه درین روزها برحاشیه نوشته از آن هم باید خواند
وغرض ازین داشت که ترقی فکر معلوم کند[1]

" I have heard all these. You should read out what you have written these days. From this he wanted to know the elevation of his thought."

Commenting on this Khushgo writes:

مزاقش ازین جا تصور باید کرد که باهم چه میرزا بیدل این قسم حرف زده

" His temperament can be understood from this that he talked in such a manner with Mirzā Baidil."

3. He trusts in God and is of the view that Divine mercy will forgive the sinner.

سالم بحشر جرم تو داند کریم و بس ؛ حاشا که در میان خلائق خجل کنند[2]

He also believes that the holy prophet(May peace be upon him) will be the only mediator.

سالم امید دار شفیع کریم باش ؛ جز سایه اش بحشر نداری پناه ، هیچ[3]

4. He believes in destiny as he says:

سعی مکر است به بحر طلبش نقش بر آب ؛ عرق جبهه هر قطره حباب است اینجا[4]

But inspite of this he does not believe in sitting idle. It is necessary, according to his point of view that one should leave no

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1. Maʿārif, Vol. 50 No: 1 p. 44
2. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 117a.
3. Ibid, fol. 100b. 4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 6b.

stone unturned in achieving his objectives.

شناور گشته بر دریا نند تا دست و پا دارد :: عمل شرط است ولی باید توکل بر خدا کردن[1]

5. From his verses he seems to be a broadminded man, free from all sorts of religious prejudices. He says:

موافق است بهر طبع شعرم سالم :: بهر کجا که روم چون خیال جای من است[2]

<u>HIS PUPILS:</u>

<u>I. MUHAMMAD MUQĪM ĀZĀD</u>

Muhammad Muqīm who had his nom de plume Āzād was a Kashmīrī by birth. He was a pupil of Ḥājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim. Pitch darkness prevails on his biography. The 'Tazkirah' writers have not given an out line of his life. The information conveyed to us by the author of <u>Nistar-i-ʿIshq</u> is only this:

آزاد- محمد مقیم از مقیمان کشمیر جنت نظیر است باکبرآباد رسیده با سید امیر خان ناظم آنجا روابط ظاهری پیدا کرده و هم آنجا سکن گزید از تلامذهٔ حاجی محمد اسلم متخلص بسالم کشمیری است در کبرسن بعارضه چشمش عور گشت و در سنه یک هزار و یکصد و پنجاه ملبرای جنتی در شد[3]

" Āzād, Muḥammad Muqīm is one of the inhabitants of Kashmir ....the paradise on earth. He went to Akbarābād and made apparent connections with Sayyid Amīr Khān, the administreter of that place. He also resided there. He is amongst the pupils of Ḥājī Muhammad Aslam who had his pen name Sālim. In old age, by an accident, his eyes lost sight. In one thousand and one hundred and fifty he died."

1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, <u>Dīvān-i-Sālim</u>, Ms, fol. 268a.
2. Ibid, fol. 82b.
3. [illegible] Nishtar-i-ʿIshq, Ms, fol. 14[illegible]

Only one and the same verse has been quoted in Nishtar-i-ʿIshq Anīs-ul-ʿAshqīn, and Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan which is as follows.

ظلم بر ساغر و بیداد به مینا نکنم ∴ نکنم موسم گل توبه بی جا نکنم[1]

From this it is evident that he was not a populer poet of the day. Ārzū who was his contemporary 'Tazkirah' writer did not give him room in his Tazkirah. Moreover, his verses or his poetry could not charm any body. The people neither committed his verses to memory nor they found them suitable for their note-books. Under these circumstances it can be said that he found his popularity as a poet on the wane even in his life time. His unpopularity as a poet persuaded the men of letters to neglect him, and it is because of this we are in the dark about him.

II. BHORĪ SINGH:

Shafīq the author of Gul-i-Raʿnā has quoted half a dozen verses of Sālim's pupil Bhorī singh who later on changed his name as Ibrām Singh. This gentleman had both Mashrab and Maghrabī as his 'Takhallus' A specimen of his poetry would not be out of place here.

از ابلیس آن بی خرد کم نباشد ∴ که در پیش او قدر آدم نباشد
در قفس از فکر آب و دانه آزادیم ما ∴ گوشه گیریم از دعا گویان صیادیم ما
ندیده ایم رخش آنقدر که روز جزا ∴ توان شناخت که این ظالم است قاتل ما
ز جنگ کردنت ای ترک جنگجو شادیم ∴ که گاه گاه شود زین سبب مقابل ما[2]

1. Hussain Quli Khān, Nishtar-i-ʿIshq, Ms, fol. 140a.
Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-ʿAshqīn, Ms, fol. 10b.
ʿAlī, Hasan Khān, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 6.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī, Narain, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 331 b.

SĀLIM IN THE EYS OF CRITICS:

As a poet he ranks high in the circle of men of letters. All the 'Tazkirah' writers praise him. In quoting the views of these Tazkirah writers, we shall confine ourselves to a few possessing high rank in the literary circle and whose opinions are accepted by the men of literary taste. A'zam writes:

در نظم اشعار آبدار گوی سبقت از اقران پیش برده ...... و از میان اقران در لطف طبع و حسن تلاش بغایت ممتاز بود[1]

" In arranging the illustrious verses he surpassed his contemporaries, and in the sweetness of disposition and the beauty of search he was eminent amongst his contemporaries."

Sarkhush is of the opinion that he possessed lofty imagination and good thoughts. He writes in Kalmāt-ush-Shu'ara :

بسیار خوش فکر و معنی یاب است. بیت او آئینهٔ خیال بلند اوست[2]

" He is of good thought and creats new meaning. His verse is the mirror of lofty imagination."

Shafiq accepts him as a teacher. His verdict is:

در شاعری رتبهٔ استادی بهم رسانید[3]

" In poetry he attained the rank of a teacher."

Khān Ārzū has expressed his view in detail in Majma'-un-Nafā'is. He writes:

در مضمون عالی و خیال بندی و خوش محاورگی مثل او از کشمیر چه از جای دیگر هم بسیار کم برخاسته و اکثر اشعارش دو سه تشبیه بدیع و تازه دارد که کمال مراعات علم بیان

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'āt-i-Kashmir, Ms, p. 322.
2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shu'ra, p. 47.
3. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 146 a.

است و بعضی از ابیات بسبب نزاکت تشبیه بفهم ناقص فهمان کم می آید فقیر آرزو
اوائل جوانی مطالعه دیوان او بسیار کرد و فیضها برداشته دیوان بلاغت بنیادش بسبب
طرزی که حالا در کشمیر رواج دارد و حاجی مذکور از آن محظوظ نبود در آنجا کم اشتهار دارد
بلکه مردم کشمیر را بکلام او اعتقادی که باید نیست، هرچند افکارش همه انتخابی است اما پاره از آن
که انتخابش نکردنش بیدردی است می نگارد و نمی داند که چه خواهد نگاشت [1]

" In using excellent subjects, lofty ideas and beautiful idioms very few were born in Kashmīr or even in other places who could rival him. Most of his verses contain two or three novel and new similies which show his great regard for the science of eloquency. A few of his couplets on account of delicacy of similies are not understood by those who are deficient in understanding. Poor Ārzū, in the prime of his youth, often studied his 'Dīvān' and gathered profit. His 'Dīvān' which has eloquency as its foundati-on due to the style which at present is prevalent in Kashmīr and the said Ḥājī was not delighted with that, is not famous in Kashmīr. Moreover, the people of Kashmīr do not put that faith in his poetry which he deserves. No matter, all his thoughts are selected one, but it would be an unsympathetic attitude if a little from them is not selected. I write, but do not know as to what I shall write."

We may point out here that Ārzū has spent about sixteen pages in copying selected verses from his 'Dīvān'.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 320.

DĪVĀN-i-SĀLIM:

We should be thankful to God as the cruel hands of time have not been able to destroy the illustrious and precious pearls of the sea of Sālim's deep meditation. Sālim's 'Dīvān' is still in manuscript form and no one can say for how long more it will not see the press and publisher's shop. A manuscript copy of his 'Dīvān' which is defective is preserved in the Panjāb University Library. It contains pi vi 166 as its call number. It comprises 'Ghazals' (Lyrical poems) and Rubā'īs (Quatrains). The 'Ghazals are in alphabetical order extending to folio 300b. It begins as follows. روشن است چو سحر زده بر عنوانها ؛ شفق رنگ تماشیت افق دیوانها

The handwriting of this first Ghazal, which appears on folio 1 b differs from the rest of the handwriting. At folio 4 a there are six verses on the margin which are in Shikastah hand writing. Moreover, the book binder has shown the sad miracle of his hand at the time of its binding. While cutting the pages he has paid no attention to these verses and now we can read only the first two or three words of each hemistich. In addition to this there are a number of pages which have been repaired by cutting the original and adding blank chits in their stead. It seems that some one had a mind to rewrite the verses which had become illegible. Correction of two or three hemistiches leads us to this conclusion. But the laziness of the owner persuaded him not to write, with the result that so many verses of his 'Dīvān'

are not available.

The total number of verses in various '<u>Gh</u>azals' is 6230. Each page contains 12 lines, but ten or eleven couplets. Between two '<u>Gh</u>azals' one line is always left blank. Ordinarily his '<u>Gh</u>azals' contain seven to twelve couplets, but in some cases more or less have also been counted. There are also instances of two '<u>Gh</u>azals' of the same rhyme, 'Radīf' and 'Qāfiyah' eg. at folio 4a there is a '<u>Gh</u>azal' which has the following as its opening line.

بباغ فیض سخن آبشار خاموشی است ؛ بهار حیرت و ابر بهار خاموشی است

This '<u>Gh</u>azal' consists of nine verses but just after this '<u>Gh</u>azal' we find another '<u>Gh</u>azal' which begins thus:

قلم لبته سخن حصارِ خاموشی است ؛ سخن چو نقش نگین در کنارِ خاموشی است [1]

this '<u>Gh</u>azal' contains eleven verses.

Rubā'īs or quatrains begin from folio 301 a and end at folio 355 b. The first Rubā'ī is as follows:

در سایهٔ کعبه فیضها بود بسی ؛ دل داشت چو ستار فریاد رسی
یک چند چو ریسمان دلو زمزم ؛ در خلد بکام دل کشیدم نفسی [2]

Each page contains eight verses, but not four complete Rubā'īs The scribe has arranged them in such a manner that the first hemistich of the fourth Rubā'ī has been written on the first page and the second on the second page. After that we find three complete Rubā'īs and then the first verse of the fourth Rubā'ī. It goes on till the end. The number of Rubā'īs is 439½, thus the number of verses of the Rubā'īs is 879. Hence the total number of the verses of his Dīvān is 7109.

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, <u>Dīvān-i-Sālim</u>, Ms. fol. 40 b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 301 b.

From the above it is clear that the 'Dīvān' is incomplete. The name and the date of scribe is not given.

Moreover, we do not find any 'Qaṣīdah' in praise of Muhammad A'ẓam Shāh in whose court he spent the whole of his life. It is at least very strange. A manuscript copy of his 'Dīvān' is preserved in the Bānkīpūr Library which contains 'Qaṣīdahs' in praise of A'ẓam Shāh.

There are, however, Rubā'īs in praise of the king and his hawk which are, of course, of some considerable value. Verses regarding the accident of elephant are also missing from his 'Dīvān'. Hence we can definitely say that a portion of his 'Dīvān' is not available now-a-days:

About his 'Qaṣīdahs' we will discuss later on, under the caption ' Sālim's panegyric poetry.'

We have already stated that the 'Dīvān' contains 7109 couplets in all. The number of verses, 'Radīf wise' is given on the next page. A perusal of this statement will indicate that he attempted at all the 'Radīfs'.

Statement showing the number of verses 'Radīf' wise.

Name of Radīf	number of verses.	Name of Radīf	number of verses.
ا	597	ک	24
ب	40	ل	34
ت	1280	م	827
ث	64	ن	232
ج	25	و	128
خ	9	ہ	43
ح	65	ی	314
د	1863		
ر	122	میزان	6230
ز	93	رباعیات	879
س	33		
ش	254	میزان کل	7109
ص	53		
ض	65		
ط	27		
ظ	18		
ع	2		
غ	5		
ف	22		
ق	11		

Sālim AS A POET:

Sālim is a prominent figure in the literary history of Kashmīr. He was a famous man honoured and respected by men of letters. The critics hailed him as one of the celebrated poets of his time; and certainly next to Ghanī he was one of Kashmīr's greatest lyric writers.

Ghanī and Sālim were a glorious pair among the poets of their century. Ghanī had probably a more consumate poetic gift than Sālim but he died having produced too little. We for our part can never even think of compairing with them any other of their contemporaries ------except Fānī who was their teacher and we must not forget him in his endeavours in the field of poetry. He too, was a poet of undeniable strength, whose personality and imagination have some position in the sphere of Persian poetry of Kashmīr.

Fānī, Ghanī and Sālim were the great means of bringing the Persian poetry to a high level. Of these Ghanī was the only conscious reformer and the deepest thinker. Mānī is most essentially a poet and Sālim an intellectual whose poetry reflects the mood of his own taste and feeling.

Sālim's genius was essentially lyrical, and his moods, impression, thoughts and emotions embodied naturally in verse. As a lyric poet he ranks with any greatest persian poet and no praise would be excessive for the ecstasy of feelings, the felicity of phrase and in some cases the verbal music.

Ārzū's views about his poetry are impartial. His perennial

success in the realm of poetry is largely due to the delicacy of similies and metaphors and novelty in presenting even the ordinary ideas. No doubt he is matchless, but it is also correct as Khān Ārzū points out that some of his verses, on account of delicacy of similies, are not understood by those who lack understanding. There is no denying the fact that in many verses he becomes almost inarticulate and his imperishable poetry seems to be devoid of simpler and elemental utterances.

He was not a mystic; therefore, there is nothing mystical or spiritual in Sālim's poetry. If there are a few verses, they are conventional, or the out come of his imagination, without having a tinge of reality; so if we call him a mystical poet it would be nothing but to depreciate his claims as a poet. The mystical ideas available in his poetry were insensibly perceived and absorbed by him in his verses. In short, his genius definitely and brilliantly displayed itself, but he found his country little congenial. The main reason of this unsympathetic attitude of his country men towards him is due to the fact that he remained in India in the court of Muḥammad Aʿẓam Shāh, where he enjoyed the company of Mirzā ʿAbdul Qādir Beidil. The influence of his style on Sālim was high and stimulating, which caused him not to pay heed to the style which was prevalent in Kashmīr.

The mystical verses xxx available in his 'Dīvān' are perhaps due to the influence of Beidil who was a mystic.

SĀLIM'S POETRY IN THE MIRROR OF HIS OWN VERSES:

It is but natural that the poet consciously or unconsciously praises his verses. One may presume it to be the result of superiority complex, but even then we cannot refrain from saying that this is not in the case of one individual. All the poets were suffering from this complex. Sālim's endeavours in the field of poetry resulted in the compilation of his 'Dīvān' and it is his 'Dīvān' which has made him immortal. Sālim was perhaps himself aware of it, as he himself praises his 'Dīvān', his 'Ghazals,' his verses, and even his hemistich. He is proud of his innovations of meanings and lofty imagination, as he says:

در کمین فکر از هر مصرع برجستهٔ ∴ دام صیدی خانهٔ معنی شکارم می کند [1]

The reasons are obvious. He thinks over all the words and phrases and selects the most suitable one, and this is why he creats new meaning.

چون افق سر در گریبان خیالی میکشم ∴ معنی برجستهٔ از غیب پیدا می کنم [2]

He has got such a mastery over the language that no one can raise objections:

دست رد کی گذرد میزان فکر سالم است ∴ راست بر کرسی نشیند نکتهٔ سنجیده اش [3]

Even the sweet red lips of the sweet-hearts cannot stand as rival to his beautiful verses.

ندارد لعل خوبان آب و رنگ مصرع سالم ∴ خط سطر شود باطل پری از شعر رنگینش [4]

1- Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 183b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 234a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 214a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 212 b.

These verses are as pleasing to the men of taste as the smell of wine to the drunkard.

سالم بهار لشانهٔ فکرت چو رنگ داشت ؛ شعر ترت شگفته چو بوی شراب بود[1]

Now it is clear as to why a page of Mānī's painting cannot stand a match to a page of Sālim's poetry.

آب و رنگ صفحهٔ اشعار سالم را ببین ؛ نقش مانی خامهٔ معنی نگارش میکشد[2]

But he emphasizes that all this is due to the life long labour and tremendous efforts.

ماندم همه عمر تشنهٔ فیض کمال ؛ تا گشت ز نور سینه‌ام مالامال
هر صبح لبکر معنی تازه دلم ؛ دارد چو افق سری بزانوی خیال[3]

and when

از فیض سخن که شد دلم مالامال ؛ پیوسته پذیرد بتجدد اشکال
چو آئینه در مدرسهٔ اشراقم ؛ نور معنیست شمع فانوس خیال[4]

Due to these reasons, the verses are like the garden and their meaning like the spring etc:

شعرم همه باغست و بهار معنی ؛ رنگینی لفظ لاله‌زار معنی
مصرع بلند رتبه آمده اش ؛ از موج مناسبت آبشار معنی[5]

Under these circumstances it would not be out of place to say this much about the couplets:

اشعار بلندم که ز اهل رازند ؛ باهم ز ازل ندیم و هم آوازند
در بزم سخن دو مصرع هر بیتم ؛ از شوخی الفاظ بهم گلبازند[6]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 185a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 184b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 337 b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 337b & 338a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 339a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 340b.

About his pen and '<u>Gh</u>azals' he says only this much:

گکلکم زغزل دستهٔ سنبل بندد ∴ شیرازهٔ نسخهٔ گل و مل بندد
هر مصرع برجسته که تحریر کند ∴ بر بحر خیال تازه پل بندد[1]

From all these facts one can form an idea about his 'Dīvān'. His opinion about the same is:

دیوان منست نو بهار معنی ∴ هر صفحه اوست لاله زار معنی
هر مصرع در دو بیت از شوخی لفظ ∴ لبریز شگوفه شاخسار معنی[2]

He, therefore, prays to God that the reader should be a man of taste .... a jeweller, who may understand the worth of his pearls:

خدا چشمی دهد غواص فکر شعر فهما نرا ∴ گهر بر گوشهٔ دامان بحر پیمایان ببستم[3]

The following '<u>Gh</u>azal' also reflects something important:

فکرم چو با عروج ز شان سخن گرفت ∴ کلکم ز غیب گنج روان سخن گرفت
ببستم دو لب بهم که خیالم نشانه زد ∴ خاموشیم بدست کمان سخن گرفت
چسپان نداد مصرعم چو دو لب از علاقه‌ست ∴ شعرم چو شهد ناب ز شان سخن گرفت
مصرع بمصرعی نرساندم بزور فکر ∴ قوت بتازگی دل و جان سخن گرفت
شد تازه از طراوت طبعم زبان شعر ∴ رنگ بهار برگ خزان سخن گرفت
میگفت شعر درد دلی با سخنوران ∴ آمد خیال بندد دهان سخن گرفت
هستند چون سپند هوس پیشگان شعر ∴ صاحب سخن چو شعله زبان سخن گرفت

سالم گشته بود بدو توسن خیال
ممنون حیرتم که عنان سخن گرفت[4]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, <u>Dīvān-i-Sālim</u>, Ms, fol. 340a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 339b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 264b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 86b & 87a.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF SĀLIM'S POETRY :

"Persian poetry," writes E.G. Brown, " is intensely convention -al and artificial." It is perhaps due to this fact that the post-Muhammadon literature which arose gradually after the subjugation of Persia (Irān) by the Arabs and the over throw of Islām of the Zoroastrian creed, and may be said to have begun about a thousand years ago, has undergone but a very slight change. In other words we may emphasize that the Persian poetry which began to be composed undet the earliest independent or semi independent rulers who sprung with the decline, decentralisation and disintegration of the caliphate of Baghdād hardly presents any difficulty or even uncouthness or un-familiarity to the Persian of today. The only change visible during this long span of one thousand years is that at certain periods and in certain circles it became essentially florid and ornate, abounding in rhetorical embellishment and over laid with metaphor, but materially there was no change. As a matter of fact, '<u>Gh</u>azals' in Persian poetry are formal and conventional.

The greatest philosophical historian of the Arabs, the celebrated Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn (born in Tunis A.D. 1332, died in Cairo A.D1406) says:

" The art of discourse, whether in verse or prose lies only in words and not in ideas, for the latter are merely accessories while the former are principal concern of the writer. Again ideas are common to all, and are at the disposal of every understanding, it is the construction of speech to express them which needs art. The tongue and the speech deal only with words, while the ideas belong to the mind. So one who endeavours to express his thought,

1. Browne, E.G. <u>Literary History of Persia</u>, vol. II, p. 86

but fails to express well, is like the paralytic who desires to rise up, but cannot do so for loss of power there unto."

It means he gives importance to words. Depending upon this view of Ibn Khaldūn one is apt to believe that Sālim's poetry has reached its climax, and Sālim was one of the greatest poets having innate merit or literary talents. He, with the help of his rare litrary qualities and gifts of mind, strived to emulate his rivals and peers in intelectual brillancy. A study of his 'Dīvān' implies that there is no dearth of delicate words, tender phraseology, suggestive similies and metaphors. Beside these, the imaginative talent has revealed itself most powerfully in his 'Ghazals' What is commonly known as 'Imaginative flights' مضمون آفرینی and 'Subtle exposition of delicate theme' ادا is present in him to a large extent. At times his flights of fancy are invested with orignality which is an essential ingredient of this type of poetry.

Sālim's poetical qualities and their values have already been discussed in a nustshell in the preceeding pages;[1] here under this caption we shall state the chief charecteristics of his poetry, with examples from his 'Dīvān' and by explanining the verses we shall try to prove our statement. Besides this, verses will be quoted under each caption but no explanation will be given. This will help the reader to form an idea about his poetical values. We must make it clear here that due to reasons of space we have no mind to quote scores of examples, but wish to be too brief. Hence a few examples, say a dozen, in each case would, we presume, sufice to clear the point.

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1. See pages 721 & 722, supra.

IMAGINATION:

Imagination is an indispensable factor of poetry. There is no poetry without imagination. It is this imagination which makes poetry reach the culmination point. It is this which reveals to the reader the loftiness and sublimity of poetry. Owing to this reason we have given the first and foremost place to imagination, while discussing the main charcctáristics of Sālim's poetry.

اجل دیوانه و صبح عمر مست جلوه در ترسم ؛ صدای پای رهرو شیر را از خواب بردارد [1]

Death the mad beast, is sleeping: Life
The gay coquette, goes dancing, tripping.
Her jingling feet will wake
Him and his claws one day.

Here the simple idea has been expressed in a manner worth appreciation. The poet has, with the help of similies and metaphors, described the ordinary thought that death is sure to come and no body knows when. In the first hemistich he similizes death with an insane and tells us that life is delighted and absorbed in the splendour of the world and its affairs. The one who is absorbed in his thoughts or affairs cannot defend himself fully when some one suddenly attacks. Moreover, no one can say when an insane will attack. Similarly we are busy in our affairs while the mad death is near to us and no body knows when we will be attacked by her.

In the second hemistich death has been metaphorically described as a lion who is lying asleep in the way. It is evident that the sleeping one wakes up by the sound of the goer's feet. Now, our life is going on. It is, therefore, definite that its sound will

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms; fol. 107 a.

awake the lion of death who will attack life and then life will be no more. The ordinary idea by the imaginative flights has reached its climax.

در شباب و شیب چشم دل زغفلت وا نشد ٭ بگردش ایام گوئی جنبش گهواره بود[1]

In youth, in age, this spirit never rubbed
Its eye from languid slumber's mocking;
Time's rumbling revolutions were to it,
No more than drowsy cradle rockings.

In youth or even in old age people do not try to understand the reasons of their creation. In this world we see an overwhelming majority of both the young and the old busy in their worldly affairs, paying little heed to the duties entrusted to them by God.....the creator. In a broader sense we will say that they are in an unmindful sleep and the passing of the days are serving as a swing of the cradle of life. The swing of a cradle helps babies to have a sound sleep. The poet with the help of imagination has expressed beautifully that the people are careless and are not discharging their duties honestly which were entrusted to them by God the Almighty on the day of creation.

بصیدگاه تو عشاق جمع و اهل هوس هم ٭ میان صید حلال و حرام فرق ضرور است[2]

At a hunting place the true lovers and the voluptuary persons are present. Naturally there is a difference between a lawful and unlawful game. Here the poet by the help of simile has created a new idea. By similizing the true lover with the game which is lawful according to the religious sanction and the slave of lust has been similized with that of un-lawful. These similies are of common nature, but the imagination has made the verse

1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol.110b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 88a .

laudable.

دل پیران زبیم تند باد نیستی لرزد :: چراغی زیر داماست هستی قامت خم را[1]

Life is mortal, but no body likes to die, espacially the old man never likes death. A young man can be expected to meet death with open arms but an old man will never. He will always try to live long. Oldmen are always afraid of death and try to avoid it. This is an ordinary idea and we see in every day life, but we have never cared. The imagination of the poet through his keen observation got help from the two phrases تند باد نیستی and چراغ هستی and made the verse to reach the summit of poetry. Moreover, the poet in order to make the expression more beautiful and to add beauty to the ordinary idea similizes قامت خم with دامان which prevents the lamp from being extinguishing by the air. Here the figure of thought known as congruity plays an important part and imagination reaches its culmination.

قد بر افراز بخاک و ایجادم کن :: تا قیامت رسد و زنده کند دیر شود[2]

We believe that on the resurrection day all the dead bodies will be revived. In Persian poetry beloved's stature is not less than resurrection, as it causes commotions in the tranquil life of his lover by his manners. By the help of this the poet's imagination has created a new idea. The lover in whose eyes his beloved's stature is not in any way less than resurrection requests him to throw the shadow of his stature on his grave so that he may get a new life perhaps to sacrifice it at the feet of his beloved once again as other wise he will have to wait long for the judgement day when he will be revived.

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 4a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 114b

ز پیش راه برانید قیصر و جم را :: که آمد آمد آن طفل نی سوار من است [1]

A child is always free from worries. He enjoys a care free life. He cares for no body. **He himself is a king in his own** domain. **In** his eyes a king is not more than an ordinary person. He deals with the king as he deals with the poor. This is a fact and imagination has described it in a manner worth appreciation.

We now quote here a few verses without explaining them.

2. خدا را این همه ای محتسب خمهای می شکن :: دو محراب ابرویم آری همین یک خم شود پیدا

3. سالم چو نشد قطره بدریا نتوان یافت :: ما بی خبرانیم که یابد خبر ما

4. چه کند سرو چمن پیش قد رعنایت :: چاک چاک ار بکند جامهٔ رعنائی را

5. خیال دو خواب نشاط شباب می بینم :: چو عکس آئینه پا در رکاب می بینم

6. بی آخرت چو هستی دنیا تمام نیست :: چسپانده اند این دو ورق را تلازم بهم

7. فریب آب بقا گو دهد سراب جهان
که غیر خاک درین خاکدان نمی بینم

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1. Salim , Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 77b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 24a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 18a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 20a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 232a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 233a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 234a.

ALLEGORICAL COMMISSION:

This 'Allegorical Commission' was common in the Persian poetry in the eleventh century. Sā'ib and Ghanī were lovers of this, but Sālim did not pay due attention to it. However, in his 'Dīvān' examples are available in not a neglectable degree. The verses under this category are no doubt praise worthy.

شناور تکیه بر دریا کند تا دست و پا دارد ؛ عمل شرط است وی باید توکل بر خدا کردن [1]

The swimmer, while his limbs are strong
  Trusts himself to the river;
So he who makes his day's work long
  May trust the heavenly giver.

It is of course necessary that one should first do one's level best to achieve the goal. After putting all his efforts into practice he should entrust the matter to God, as other wise he would be like a swimmer who does not posses hand and feet. The result is obvious. The swimmer will loose his life and will never reach the bank of the river. Similarly he who will never strive to achieve his purpose and will presume that trust in God is enough will fail. Maulānā Rūm says:

گفت پیغمبر باواز بلند ؛ بر توکل زانوی اشتر ببند

Intellect, reason or wisdom is of no value before love. In love we give little weight to wisdom, because love can do what wisdom cannot.

عقل را باید سپر انداخت آخر پیش عشق ؛ ماه با خورشید تابان گر مقابل شد چه شد [2]

Here the poet similizes wisdom with the moon and love with the sun. Before the sun, the moon is of no value. It loses its light. Similarly, before love, wisdom loses its charm. It is, therefore, necessary for wisdom to surrender before love.

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 268 a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 182a.

بمردن کم نگردد آرزوهای دل عاشق ؛ که نتوان رفت از صحرا بصرصر ریگ صحرا را [1]

Death cannot minimise the desires of lovet's heart; just as the boisterous wind cannot sweep the sand of the desert. Here death has been similized with the boisterous wind and desires with sand. Just as the boisterous wind is helpless in sweeping the sand from the desert similarly death is helpless to minimise the desires of true love. Here the poet by the help of the allegory tried to prove that true love never dies, and its desire for the union with the sweetheart never vanishes.

دستگیر خلق سالم دستگیر خود شود ؛ چو عصا با غیر امدادست بود امداد خویش [2]

Here the poet has the following proverb in his mind:

هر که خدمت کرد او مخدوم شد

The poet with the help of Allegory clears his point and says that the helper of others helps himself, just like the rod which helps the old man in walking, helps itself indirectly as it also gets the ficility of moving or rather walking side by side with the holder. Can we deny it ? Certainly not.

مال را نتوان بزور بخل سالم جمع کرد ؛ کی شود پر خانه در بسته از نور چراغ [3].

Wealth cannot be hoarded by excercising stinginess. How is it possible to fill the house with the light of a lamp by shutting the doors. To fill the house with the light of a lamp is an impossible task; similarly by becomming miserly, it is not possible to become wealthy, because one will get as much as he has in his fate

جوش اختر ماه را غافل نگردد از کار خویش ؛ در میان خلق باشد زنده دل با کار خویش [1]

The stars cannot make the moon neglect its duties. It rotates it gives light and does what it has to do. Similarly the living

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Dīvān-i-Sālim., Ms, fol. 212 a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 224b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 212a.

heart remains with his beloved (God) no matter if he is in this world of worries. The worldly charms cannot entice him and the man cannot forget God. He does his duties honestly and efficiently.

۱- نگاهبد تا سه کامل کلف زایل نمی گردد ؛ با فنون ریاضت نفس سرکش را زبون کردم

۲- در لحد هم دردمندان از طلب غافل نیند ؛ سر برون آرند از چاک دل خود دانها

۳- در گر لبته شد سالم ز راز غیب بگشاید ؛ چو پوشد هر چشم از آسمان انجم شود پیدا

Sa'di Says:

خدا ار به حکمت ببندد دری ؛ گشاید به فضل و کرم دیگری

4. آسیا را بدو دست آخر هیچ ؛ حاصل هر دو جهان در گذرا ست

5. تا هوس رسوا نگردد عشق نتواند شدن ؛ آتش خارا بود در سینهٔ خارا خنک

6. بوی راز عشق ز اهل فنا نتوان شنید ؛ از شکست کوزه در دریا صدا نتوان شنید

۷- رزق هر ذره ز افلاک جدا می آید

سالم این مسئله تحقیق ز باران کردم

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1. Sālim, Muhammed Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 9a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 9a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 24a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 51b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 227a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 185b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 253b.

SUBTLE EXPOSITION OF DELICATE IDEAS: (INNOVATION OF EXPRESSION)

To express an idea already expressed by others or by the poet himself, in various manners comes under the category of 'Innovation of expression'. Sālim is master minded in this respect he has expressed even the ordinary ideas so many times, and in all cases so beautifully that to select the better or the best seems to be somewhat difficult. In each case he brings forth new similies and metaphors and thus attracts our fancy, and at the time of selecting the verses our judgement seems to be failing. Here are some of the examples.

1. Life in this world does not last long. He expresses this truth in so many ways. A few of them are given below.

۱- چه قدر فرصت گلگشت بباغ دهر است ؛ عمر چون سایهٔ گل پا برکاب است اینجا

2- بزم جهانیان بود کاغذ پرشراره ؛ پا برکاب نشستند گرم کرده جا را

3- اعتمادی نیست بر هستی درین بحر خطر ؛ هر دمی چون موج پندارم همین دم مانده است

4- عزیزان عمری دانند و من پندارم خوابی ؛ طلسمی را که هستی بسته از معدوم و موجودش

5- خیال هستیم این روی آب ماند و هوا شد ؛ دمی که از پی پندار چون حباب گذشتم

2. Man is sinful but God is merciful. He has expressed this idea in a hundred and one ways. Here a few would be able to do the needful.

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 6b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 22a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 43a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 211a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 257a.

۱- چندان سیه بود که در حشر رحمتش ÷ صد بار شسته خوانده کتاب گناه را

2- امروز کار من بود عصیان تمام کردم ÷ فردا که کار عفو است آنرا کریم داند

3- شمار جرم نباید ز بنده روز حساب ÷ مگر کریم کرمهای خود حساب کند

۴- عفو کریم دارد با ما میان شماری ÷ زاهد بیا بحشر از ما حساب بردار

5- بحشر نامهٔ اعمال خود بدو دست سپردم ÷ من از کتاب بریدم هم از حساب گذشتم

۶- ز هول پرسش محشر چه ترسانیم واعظ
کریمی هست نا پرسیده می بخشد گناها را

3. Every poet attacks the Shaikh or the ascetic. Sālim also does so and says:

7- دی که از سر خنگ مستان شیخ تا مسجد گریخت ÷ شیشهٔ می در بغل زیر بغل قرآن گرفت

8- شب چها در بزم می غلطید و وا غلطید شیخ ÷ روز در مسجد به با تمکین نشست و وا نشست

8. به مسجد میروی مست شراب از بزم ما زاهد ÷ حواست باد میگوئی حلال اینجا حرام آن جا

4. The stature of the beloved is usually similized with the cypress tree. Sālim's similies may be persused in this respect:

۹- چه کند سرو چمن پیش قد رعنایت ÷ چاک چاک ار نکند جامهٔ رعنائی را

۱۰- قد برافراز بخاک من و ایجاد مکن ÷ تا قیامت رسد و زنده کند دیر شود

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 19a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 113a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 122a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 200a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 257a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 13a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 357a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 50a.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 20b.
10. Ibid, Ms, fol. 114a.

Heaps of examples can be laid down, but we refrain from doing so owing to limitation of space. We however, quote some verses from his 'Dīvān' as examples of innovation; and subtle exposition of delicate ideas:

۱- ز لغزت بیرت گر غلطت بتمکین آشنا گردد ؛ سخن گردیدت صد بار گردد تا جدا گردد

۲- چراغ بابروی شکیست نسنجد ماه نو ؛ این قدر فرق از سفیدی تا سیاهی میکند

۳- نیم شب پروانه دیدم گرد آن تا بانه سوخت ؛ شعله بر خاست خاکستر نمی دانم چه شد

Mīr Taqī Mīr has expressed this idea too. He has rather translated this verse into Urdū.

کچھ نہ دیکھا پھر بجز یک شعلۂ پر پیچ و تاب ؛ شمع تک دیکھا تو تھا جینے کہ پروانہ گیا

۴. شادم که از عدم بوجودم ز لطف خواند ؛ محتاج دوست بودم و محتاج تر شدم

۵. سعی شکر است به بحر طلبش نقش بر آب ؛ عرق جبهه هر قطره حبابست اینجا

۶. پیام خود فرستد بعاشق از محبوب ؛ شکن چو تیر نشیند بپهلوی مکتوب

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1. Sālim , Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 110a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 143a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 128a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 266a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 6b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 32a.

BEAUTY OF DICTION:

The development of lyric poetry depends upon the beauty of diction. Sa'dī was the first to divert his attention to this side. Later on other poets with the help of their natural gift endeavoured in its advancement. The beauty of diction lies in the fact that even an ordinary idea may be expressed in such a manner that the read -er should appreciate the idea. The subject matter may be ordinary but its expression should be extraordinary. Let us see how far Sālim's diction is beautiful. eg. A greedy person cannot be satisfied even if he gets control over the whole of the world. Sa'dī says:

گفت چشم تنگ دنیا دار را ÷ یا قناعت پر کند یا خاک گور

Sa'dī's position in the realm of poetry is an open secret. The subject has been expressed beautifully. But Sālim's verse also speaks volumes of his beautiful diction. Sālim says:

1. بر سر خوان جهان نعمت الوان مراد ÷ آن قدر نیست که چشم هوس سیر شود

An Old-man is considered to be greedy of every thing. It is said: مرد چون پیر شود حرص جوان میگردد How beautifully this idea has been expressed by Sālim:

2. مپرس از داغ های حسرت برگ خزان سالم ÷ که پیران را بدنیا آرزو بسیار می باشد

A son inherits some habits of his father. He tries to prove it logically:

3. نه قائلم بتناسخ ولیک می دانم ÷ حیات ثانی آبا وجود فرزند است

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol.114 a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 130b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 183b.

It is believed that God is the only supplier of means of subsistance. If one way of income has been closed by him, He opens scores of other ways. This idea has been expressed with the help of 'Allegorical Commission' saying:

۱. دری گر بسته شد سالم هزار از غیب بگشاید ÷ چو پوشد مهر چشم از آسمان انجم شود پیدا

Beloved is considered as the thief of the heart. The beloved has stolen the heart of his lover. The lover makes thorough search for finding out the stolen heart. The difficulties and troubles which confront in love have been stated in a praiseworthy way:

۲. غبار شرق و مغرب بمژگان چون شفق رفتم ÷ دل گم گشته جویم آه چندین جا و چند جا

Sweetheart's modesty and impudance is expressed as follows:

۳. حیا پرور نگاهت شوخ و شنگ است ÷ مسلمان زادهٔ شهر فرنگ است

At an other place he says:

۴. نگاه گوشهٔ چشمت برحمت آشنا اما ÷ نابخشی مسلمانی که از شهر فرنگ آید

The attractiveness and charm of the sweetheart has been expres--sed in the following manner:

۵. آفت هست درین شهر که سرو نازش ÷ نیم گامی نرود تا نبرد هوش کسی

Happiness without sorrow is no happiness at all.

۶. بجنت یاد آمد لذت درد جگر سوزم ÷ بکام آرزویم تلخ شد حلوای بی دودش

The period of youth is very short.

۷. چو سیل آه زسر منزل نشاط جوانی ÷ بآن شتاب گذشتم که از شتاب گذشتم

Follwoing couplets will also serve as examples;

۸. دیدیم زبام بتکده صد بار کعبه را ÷ دوری حجاب دیدهٔ بینا نمی شود

۹. چه پا بند دنیا شد دلم سر بر فلک دارد ÷ حباب از فیض همت آب دریا نگیرد

1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 24a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 69b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 106a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 290b. 5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 211a. 6. Ibid, fol. 257a
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 108a. 8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 162b. 9. Ibid, fol. 13)

MUSIC AND MELODY:

Poetry and music are related to each other, but it does not mean that every great poet shows greater sensitiveness to music than his contemporaries. In Sālim's case, there are some 'Ghazels' of his which show the poet's sensitiveness to music. But, it cannot be said, of course, that these lyrics are 'infallible touch-stone of lyrical or musical appreciation' as these do not come under the category of ' highest excellence.' The following 'Ghazels have been selected at random to provide examples to the readers:

۱. نه تنها می رود در وادی دل هوش از سرها ؛ چو برق از ابر بیرون می جهد پرواز از پرها
ز دود دم شوخی مژگان خوبان میزند چشمک ؛ شکست رنگ خون باشد نشان زخم لشکرها
سر شوریده را ای چتر دولت در قفس (دام) دارد ؛ سپند شوخ می رقصد برون از مجمرها
دهد پرواز مشرب شوق او گر اهل مذهب را ؛ خورد کیلار برهم چون کبوتر خانه دفترها

بنزمی کز سخن شکر فشان گردد لبت سالم
شود چون خانهٔ زنبور شهد آلود مجمرها[1]

2. چمن طوفانی فیض و تجلی بی نقاب امشب ؛ نمک دارد شکست رنگ گل در ماهتاب امشب
که شد طاقت گدازم میطپید در استخوان جوهر ؛ چو فانوس خیالم از هجوم اضطراب امشب
ز جوش انتظار کیست طوفان گداز من ؛ نگاهم می چکد از دیده چون اشک کباب امشب
سیه مست خیالم تا نشست در مغزم ؛ چو مهتابم بود بیداری سر جوش خواب امشب
ز هر برگ گلی بوی کباب تازه می آید ؛ که می آید گلشن برق شوخی در رکاب امشب
هواس بیخودی جمعست مدهوشی شگون دارد ؛ قدح لبریز و مطرب مست و ساقی بی حجاب امشب

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Divān-i-Sālim , Ms, fol. 21b.

با حیرت هم زبانم با خموشی گفتگو دارم ؛ صدای آید از هر سو که میگوید جواب امشب

شب هجر است پنداری کباب دیده ام سالم

نشستم تا قیامت در کمین آفتاب امشب [1]

وقت است بیا ساقی بیدرد کجائی تو ؛ ابر است و هوای می لمن درچه هوائی تو

خمیازه ناز است این یا سایهٔ آن مژگان ؛ خوش ای که مستش مخمور نمائی تو

ترسم بدل جورت رحم آید در آن رنجی ؛ طفل چکنم بیهات نوشق جفائی تو

حسن رقم قدرت تاب کثرت دارد ؛ بسم الله رعنائی خوش نام خدائی تو

ای گرد ره نازش نوری همه در چشمم ؛ یا سرمهٔ نوری تو یا خاک شفائی تو

گفتم که مگو واعظ بگذار سر پیرت ؛ برخیز و برو کم شو آخر چه بلائی تو

در راه تو شد ای مهر چون صبح همه عمرم ؛ روزی که نباشم من شاید که بیائی تو

چشمت بنگاه خود میگوید و می خندد ؛ ای فتنهٔ خواب آلود بد مست چرائی تو

سرخوش ز می وحدت در عالم نورائی

چندانکه ز خود سالم چون سایه برائی تو [2]

کو چشم روشنی که تماشا کند کسی ؛ چون صبح کاش دیدهٔ دل وا کند کسی

دنیا بکام اوست اگر چون هلال عید ؛ امروز کار دولت فردا کند کسی

گر طالع قبول چو موج هوا دهد ؛ شاید که یک نفس بدلی جا کند کسی

در زیر بار هستی موهوم چون حباب ؛ کو فرصتی که چشم بیالا کند کسی

ساحل نشین عشق کشد رنج انقلاب ؛ کی فکر مد و جزر بدریا کند کسی

سالم ز فیض عشق به پیری جوان شود ؛ زان سان که گنج گم شده پیدا کند کسی [3]

1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Sālim, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, foll. 30b-31a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 280b-281a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll. 291b-292a.

ز بیتابی شب وصلت نمی دانم چها کردم ÷ گریبان میدرد نظاره ام تا چشم وا کردم

چو از من عالم و جا تنگ بر عالم نمی سازم ÷ چو مهتاب از لطافت جا در آغوش هوا کردم

در راحت زدم رفتم بخلوتخانهٔ عرفان ÷ کمند وحدت از آغوش محراب دعا کردم

ندانستم ز دین تا کفر راهی هست پنهانی ÷ رهم دیر و حرم چون شیشهٔ ساعت جدا کردم

چه میکردم بجز جرح سخت رو آه ارمنی بودی ÷ کلیدی داشتم در آستین این قفل وا کردم

چو عینک نال و اژدون میزنم از دیده بینی ها ÷ نظر در پیش دارم گر نگاهی بر قفا کردم

شدم چون سایه مشغول خیال قامتی سالم

بحمد الله نمازی با حضور دل ادا کردم[1]

تاب کباب داده ام سینه شعله زا را ÷ در تب دل برشته ام گریهٔ کهربا را

بزم جهانیان بود کاغذ پر شرارهٔ ÷ پا برکاب وحشتند گرم نکرده جا را

خار ره محبتش ناخن شیر آفت است ÷ عشق بدوش می کشد عقل برهنه پای را

زنده دلان خرقه پوش سایه نشین دولتند ÷ بر سر و دوش بسته اند بال پری همای را

کشته ناز مهوشان تشنهٔ شور محشر است ÷ بو که تغافلی زنند بار دگر خدای را

آخر دور سلطنت گردش چشم حیدر است ÷ مست لب که کشیده است جام جهان نمای را

عالم هیچ و تاب دل محشر بی خودی شود ÷ شانه کشند چون بتان زلف گره گشای را

سالم ازین غزل مپرس یاد نگری آگاه

بر سر و دوش سردی گریه های های را[2]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, foll. 245a
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 22a-22b.

FIGURES OF THOUGHT

1. ANTITHESIS تضاد :

چه مانند است مغلوب الغضب تیر هوائی را ؛ ز بدمستی سبک از جای برخیزد گران افتد [1]

Here the words سبک and گران are of opposite meaning.

نماید زشت دنیا هم نکو در عالم غفلت ؛ که زنگ صورت بینا بود تصویر اعمی را [2]

The words زشت and نکو in the first hemistich and بینا and اعمی in the second one bear the opposite meaning.

2. CONGRUITY تناسب :

در طلب سوخت برهمن دل بت آب نشد ؛ هیچ کافر نشود آه بدونان محتاج [3]

Here کافر , بت , برهمن are naturally associated together.

3. SIMILE تشبیه :

Sālim's 'Dīvān' is full of similies, but here too, two verses are quoted.

بپهلوی تو ندانم چه خواب می بینم ؛ شبیه نیم رخ آفتاب می بینم [4]

صباحتی ست عجب در ملاحت حسنت ؛ عیان ز ابر تنک ماهتاب می بینم [5]

4. Trope or metaphor استعاره :

شب هجر است پنداری کباب وعده ام سالم ؛ نشستم تا قیامت در کمین آفتاب امشب [6]

Here the word آفتاب does not mean "the sun" but it refers to the beloved.

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms, fol. 187a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 20b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 100a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 232b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 232b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 31a.

حیران این طلسم توای مهر عالمم ∴ چون سایه بر در تو ام و دربدر شدم[1]

Here also the word مهر عالمم " the sun of my world" reffers to the beloved.

5. Hyperbole مبالغہ :

بسکه چون مجمر ز آه حسرتم پر رخنه شد ∴ جلوهٔ طاؤس باشد سایهٔ بام مرا[2]

سیل دادم هر طرف شور دگر انگیخته است ∴ از فغانم کوه می نالد جدا صحرا جدا[3]

6.POETICAL AETIOLOGY حسن التعلیل :

شاگرد اوستاد ازل بود نو بهار ∴ کیف معنی شگفته بصد رنگ بسته است[4]

7. ALLUSION تلمیح :

عصمت به همتی ز عزیزان نمی رود ∴ بوی گل حیا ز گریبان نمی رود[5]

برغبار کوهکن ای باد محشر مگذری ∴ میکند از ذوق گلها زی بموج خون هنوز[6]

آدم از قوت دل کوه امانت برداشت ∴ تاب این بار نیاورده دگر دوش کسی[7]

8. THE ADJECTIVAL PROBLEMS تنسیق الصفات :

ای آیهٔ نازت همه در شان قیامت ∴ تاب قدرت سلسله جنبان قیامت

رعنای سرو تو کند موج هوا را ∴ از جلوهٔ مستانهٔ گل افشان قیامت

در سایهٔ ناز تو رعونت چه به تمکین ∴ هرگام کشد گوشهٔ دامان قیامت

از گردش چشم و نگه گوشهٔ چشمت ∴ ناز تو فرو شد سر و سامان قیامت

صد فتنهٔ خوابیده کند زنده نگاهت ∴ ای شوخی مژگان تو طوفان قیامت

1. Selim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Selim, Ms, fol. 266a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 24b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 85a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 182a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 202b.

از موج خرام تو دل فتنه ببالد
رعنای قد تو بود جان قیامت[1]

9. INSINUATION ایهام :

ساقی امروز کجائی که ہجوم باران ؛ می کند شور که می درد ہوا دریاب[2]

The word ہوا stands for insinuation.

10 DIALOGUE سوال و جواب :

این چه شور است ز دل پرسیدم ؛ گفت خاموش که گویا عشق است

کیست در خلوت وحدت گفتم ؛ آمد آواز که تنها عشق است[3]

11. PROVERBIAL COMMISSION تمثیل :

چاه کن را بوده چون گرداب چاهی پیش راه ؛ بر سر دل زد جنون طشت ز بام افتاده ام[4]

THE FIGURES OF WORDS

1. PERFECT HOMOGENIETY تجنیس تام :

چه باشد گر بسر آید فراق یار و یار آید ؛ در آید تا ز در چون ماه تابان در کنار آید[5]

In the above quoted verses the word در has been used in different meanings.

2. REDUNDANT HOMOGENEITY تجنیس زاید :

حیرانیم چو آئینه زد فال آگهی ؛ رم کرده ہوش و خاطر اندیشه رام شد[6]

In this couplet the word رام has one letter more than رم.

حق و باطل می کشم سالم بیک میزان عدل ؛ دیدهٔ احول بود آئینهٔ احوال ما[7]

Here too, the word احوال contains one letter more than احول.

1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Hājī, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 42a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 31b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 60b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 230b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 157a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 183a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 12b.

WORDS AND PHRASES:

Innovation of words and phrases is essential for a poet, as without this, he cannot get a high place in the realm of poetry. In other words we can emphasize that the prime poetic period of a poet begins when he lays before the critical eyes of the readers new words or phrases. These words and phrases lead to the conclusion that the poet has orignal and seminal mind as these exercise an influence on the readers mind. In short, a creation of rare and delicate words and phrases ravishes the imagination of man. Following verses will serve as examples of Salim's power of creation:

1- چو شمع که رشتهٔ اندیشه ام گره گره است ÷ که ریشهٔ سخنم سر بر آسمان دارد

2- نشاط دل بزم عمر در پیری بدان ماند ÷ که بلبل سرخوش از ته شیشهٔ برگ خزان باشد

3- می‌پرورد کتان نگه را بماهتاب ÷ عمر تبسم تو الهی دراز تر

4- چو می در خم فرو شد راز پنهانی که من دارم ÷ نگنجد در شعور سیر طوفانی که من دارم

5- نظر از حاصل این مزرعه برداشته ام ÷ تخم نظاره در آئینهٔ دل کاشته ام

6- نعمت کونین در هر گوشه اش افتاده است ÷ وسعت معمورهٔ دشت توکل دیده ام

7- دارد ابر توبه ام طوفان برق انفعال ÷ ساحل دریای رحمت را چراغان می کنم

8- بهشت حیرتم چون سایه پر شد از خیال تو ÷ توئی ای نوبهار حسن تعبیر خواب من

Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 185b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 189b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 198a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 238a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 241a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 262b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 265b.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 276a.

٩- در سردی عدم سرو پایت برهنه ماند ؛ از بسکه کوته است گلیم وجود تو [1]

١٠- سراغ مستی اندیشه از هر مصرعم یابی ؛ براه بی‌خودی دارد دو عالم نقش پا هوشم [2]

١١- خموشم چون شکست رنگ در بازار بی‌دردی ؛ لب شهر سینه‌چاکان کی کند بیداد فریادم [3]

١٢- سالم از شهر دو عالم خانهٔ دارم برون ؛ سیر وحشت می‌کند مهتاب در ویرانه‌ام [4]

A few phrases(without verses) are quoted here to show his skill in this art:

طلسم ظلمت - بهشت خیال - کعبهٔ خواب - آستین دل - موج پرواز - صیدگاه تمنا
باغ عمر - شهر فنا - نغمهٔ آزار - گل حسن - شبنم عشق - آشیان حیرت
اشک کباب - رگ خواب تغافل - کباب وعده - ترازوی مکافات - زلال فکر
فسان تغافل - فضای جلوه - غزال صیدگاه آرزو - خلوت اندیشه - مار زخم
قحط وفا - قفل وسواس -

These are but examples. The whole 'Dīvān' is full of this sort of coinage.

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 283a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 233b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 238b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 240b.

SUITABILITY OF METRES:

Maulānā Shiblī Nu'mānī who was one of the most keen and learned critics of the East, commenting on Ghazals of Amīr Khusraw (d. 725 A.H.) writes in the second volume of his famous book Shi'r-ul-'Ajam:

اس (غزل) کیلئے یہ بھی ضرور ہے کہ چھوٹی چھوٹی بحریں ہوں۔ جملوں کی ترکیبوں میں نام کو بھی
الجھاؤ نہ ہو۔ قریب الفہم خیالات ہوں۔ اس حد تک امیر خسرو شیخ سعدی کے دوش بدوش ہیں [1]

He further writes on the same page under the caption:
بحروں کی موزونی ' The suitability of metres.'

وہ (امیر خسرو) اکثر شگفتہ اور چھوٹی چھوٹی بحریں اختیار کرتے ہیں جن میں خواہ مخواہ
بات کو صفائی، سادگی اور اختصار سے ادا کرنا پڑتا ہے [2]

Maulānā Shiblī "was a man of profound learning, the verdict of whose judgement," says Dr. Ṣūfī, " can hardly be questioned."[3] Now taking the above quoted verdict of the said Maulānā, we can say without the least fear of criticism that Sālim in this respect ranks very high. Here, too, his seminal mind and precociousness are obvious. He has not only written Ghazals containing the maximum number of verses allowed but has also written دوغزلہ ie two 'Ghazals' in one and the same metre and in the same rhyme and rhythm. About their worth we reserve our judgement, as quotations from his 'Dīvān' will speak themselves and will show their worth

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1. Shiblī Naʿmānī. Shiʿr-ul-ʿAjam, Vol. II, p 101.
2. Ibid, , page. 101.
3. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D., Kashīr, Vol. II, p. 450.

to the reader.

تن را غم یار می‌گدازد ؛ این بحر کنار می‌گدازد

از سیل طلب چون سایه از نور ؛ کوه پندار میگدازد

در بزم دگر بانتظارت ؛ جام سرشار میگدازد

بی مهر تجلیت چو شبنم ؛ در خویش بهار می‌گدازد

از آتش ناله در هوایت ؛ بلبل منقار می‌گدازد

عمریست که ز آتش تمنا ؛ کم کم لب یار می‌گدازد

دهر است که قطره قطره ابرش ؛ تا روز شمار می‌گدازد

مانند شفق شب فراقم ؛ در دیده غبار می‌گدازد

تو غافل و هستیت چو اخگر ؛ خوش خوش هموار می‌گدازد

دل اول داغ خوش گداز است ؛ چون شمع دوبار می‌گدازد

در بوته که آشیان عنقا ؛ خود را زر دار می‌گدازد

زاهد چه جبین سرکشی چیست ؛ سر را دستار می‌گدازد

چون خامه براه فکر سلیم
پای رفتار می‌گدازد[1]

گردش جام کارها دارد ؛ باغ هستی بهارها دارد

قلقل شیشه در هوای می ؛ شوخی آبشارها دارد

مژه‌ات دلفریب عیاریست ؛ گر نگه دستیارها دارد

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, foll. 145a-b.

طپش دل پیام وصل کسی است ؛ بیقراری قراری دارد
در شب ماه وصل ابر بلاست ؛ وعده‌ای انتظاری دارد
ما نداریم گرچه ره بدلش ؛ دلش از ما غباری دارد

سالم از صبر کام دل یابی
بی تابت نشاری دارد[1]

گفتم این وعده‌ها وفا دارد ؛ گفت هیهات از کجا دارد
در تماشای چاه غبغب تو ؛ گر شود غوطه سراب جا دارد
بی نیازیست معنی نازت ؛ نکهت رنگ کبریا دارد
سایه‌ات هم چو عکس ماه در آب ؛ پیرهن پیرهن صفا دارد
جلوه می‌جهاند در میناست ؛ شوخیت برقع از حیا دارد
هست در هر سری نهان سری ؛ هر قدح نشئه جدا دارد
مست نازاست بوی گل بچمن ؛ تکیه بر موج هوا دارد
سالم از آفتاب حشر چه باک ؛ سر ما سایهٔ خدا دارد[2]

که ز بزم شراب می آید ؛ بوی جان از کباب می آید
محو پرواز بی خودی چمن ؛ پرتو ماهتاب می آید
نامه بسته‌ام ببال نفس ؛ از در دل جواب می آید
در رکاب نگاه تشنهٔ ما ؛ کاروان سراب می آید
بهر تاراج نیم شبنم دل ؛ یک چمن آفتاب می آید

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1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Ḥāji, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 179a.

2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 179a-179b.

بست این طفل نی سوار اشب ÷ نور مه در رکاب می آید

طفل شوخی چو عکس آئینه ÷ در بزم مست خواب می آید

در محیط گداز دل طوفان ÷ از تنور حباب می آید

در بیابان آرزو سالم

کار آتش ز آب می آید[1]

نرگس باغ بیمار نظر است ÷ سایهٔ ابر بیمار دگر است

شبنم جمع هوا می باشد ÷ ابر آبستن فیض سحر است

راز حق در گره بی خبری است ÷ صدف گوهر دل گوش کر است

آسیا را بدو دست آخر هیچ ÷ حاصل هر دو جهان درگذر است

عمر را چند کند زیر و زبر ÷ آمد و رفت نفس دردسر است

نامه را نیست شعوری سالم

آنکه دارد خبری بی خبر است[2]

حیا پرور نگاهت شوخ و شنگست ÷ سلطان زادهٔ شهر فرنگست

نخود بالد نیاز و ناز اشعب ÷ در آغوش تبسم بوسه تنگست

دران محفل که بزم آراست حسنت ÷ چراغان تجلی نیم رنگست

مجو گوهر ازین گرداب پرشور ÷ در دریا دلان کام نهنگست

دو عالم لشه دارد لغزه زندی ÷ که مست حالت درد ملام و ننگست

بهرنگ خانهٔ زنبور سالم

در آغوش دلم چو شش خدنگست[3]

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1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Ḥājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 126a.
2. Ibid, ~~232b-232a~~ Ms, fol. 51b, 52a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 69b-70a.

عشق را همسر و همتا عشق است ؛ با خدا عشق و خدا با عشق است

کیست در خلوت وحدت گفتم ؛ آمد آواز که تنها عشق است

این چه شور است ز دل پرسیدم ؛ گفت خاموش که گویا عشق است

هم کشد کوه بلا هم نالد ؛ ناتوان عشق و توانا عشق است

با عدم هم نفس او در جوش است ؛ محرم خلوت عنقا عشق است

شد نیاز آینه شوخی ناز ؛ طرفه خود بین و خود آرا عشق است

سالم این آیه رحمت عام است

دین و عقبیٰ دل و دنیا عشق است[1]

حیرت آمد بکنار چشمم ؛ لبریز تو شد کنار چشمم

نظاره دگر بهشت رنگ است ؛ بی آینه نوبهار چشمم

خوش میگذرد چو شعله شبنم ؛ از پهلوی دل مدار چشمم

امشب که خیال تست شمع ؛ باشد مهتاب یار چشمم

چون حلقه چو شد حیرتم شوخ ؛ شد نور نظر غبار چشمم

چون آینه نیست در تماشا ؛ نظاره باختیار چشمم

هرگل چه کنم نگاه سالم

بی اوست نگاه خار چشمم[2]

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1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Ḥājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms, foll. 60b-[illegible]
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 250b.

بپهلوی تو ندانم چه خواب می بینم ∴ شبیه نیم رخ آفتاب می بینم

هلال وار شدم همنشین مهر اما ∴ بقدر قرب ترا در حجاب می بینم

نگاه گوشهٔ چشم کرم تمام اینجاست ∴ چه شد ز گردش قسمت عتاب می بینم

تبسمت که بران لب برات بوسه نوشت ∴ تمام ناز چو موج شراب می بینم

صباحتی ست عجب در ملاحت حسنت ∴ عیان ز ابر تنک ماهتاب می بینم

مگر ز جوهر جان آفریده اند ترا ∴ که با تو زندگی شیخ و شاب می بینم

چو شمع اشک فرو شستم آب زر سالم
متاع درد درین شهر باب می بینم[1]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, <u>Dīvān-i-Sālim</u>, Ms, foll. 232b-233a

SĀLIM'S CHRONOGRAMS:

Sālim's quatrains also contain a few Chronograms relating to some important incidnets. But as they are mere quatrains, so they do not throw sufficient light on the subject. These are only six in number. Out of these, two have been written on the death of princess who died in 1116 A.H. (1707 A.D.) The name of the princes has not been mentioned in the quatrain:

در ماتم آن ماه که دوران آه ÷ خون شد دل مهر و چرخ پوشید سیاه
تاریخ وفاتش ملک رحمت گفت ÷ او را بجناب لطف زهرا است پناه[1]
1116

زین باغ فنا که هست بی رنگ قبول ÷ شد طایر روح قدسیش زود ملول
رضوان تاریخ رحلتش کرد رقم ÷ بادا بجنان مراد از قرب بتول[2]
1116

There is another quatrain written at the death of Mirzā Ibrāhīm who died in 1115 A.H. (1706 A.D.)

غمی از دهر آه و حسرت نیست ÷ هر روز جهان روز امید و بیم است
گو سال وفات میرزا ابراهیم ÷ حقا بجنان مقام ابراهیم است[3]

A Rubā'ī points out some accident which took place in 1113A.H. (1704 A.D) while hunting lions. The king was, however successful in his compaign. Sālim writes:

چو عزم شکار کرد شه نام خدا ÷ فتح آمد و نصرت که مبارک بادا + تاریخ شکار شیر و اعدا باهم ÷ هاتف گفتا شکار شیر و اعدا[4]

1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms, fol. 346a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 346a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 321a.
4. Ibid, Ms fol. 328a-328b.

The last Rubā'ī gives the chronogram of Bahādur Shāh's accession to the throne of Delhī.

ایزد شه را که تخت دهلی داده ÷ اسباب جلوسش همه شد آماده
شهزاده رسید و گفت هاتف تاریخ ÷ شد همدم شه بکام دل شهزاده

We think the last hemistich in the above mentioned quatrain should have been: شد همدم شاه بکام دل شاهزاده

The numerical value in this case would rise by two, thus making the total as 1119 which is the year of Bahādur Shāh's coronation. History tells us that after Aurangzeib's death two brothers named Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh had to fight for the throne of Delhī. In this battle destiny helped Bahādur Shāh who inflicted defeat upon his brother Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, the patron of our learned poet. Sālim. This Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh proceeded to Delhī and proclaimed himself the king of India in 1119 A.H. (1710 A.D.) We, therefore, presume that the copyist committed mistakes in copying the hemistich. The copyist, as it seems to us, had his eye on the meaning only but not on the fact that syncopating Alif from the words شاه and شهزاده will make the matter controversial.

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1. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms, fol. 351b.

VAQŪ'GO'Ī AND MUA'MLA BANDĪ:

Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Āzād writes in Khazānah-i- 'Āmrah

مخفی نماند که هنگامه آرای سخن طرازی شیخ سعدی شیرازی که مروج

طرز غزل است حال حال وقوع گوئی هم دارد مثل این بیت —

دل و جانم بتو مشغول و نظر در چپ و راست ؛ تا ندانند رقیبان که تو منظور منی

اما ناسخ نقوش مانوی امیر خسرو دهلوی ...... بانی وقوع گوئی گردید و اساس

آن را بلند ساخت ۱

" It should not remain a secret that the exciter of tumelt in the realm of poetry.......Shaikh Sa'dī who is the propegator of the style of Ghazal has "Vaqū'go'ī" but examples are very rare. eg. this verse:

دل و جانم بتو مشغول و نظر در چپ و راست ؛ تا ندانند رقیبان که تو منظور منی

But Amir Khusraw the obliterater of Mānī's painting, became the founder of 'Vaqū'Go'ī' and made its foundation higher."

Defining the 'Vaqū' Go'ī' Shiblī Naumānī writes:

عشق و ہوسبازی میں جو حالات پیش آتے ہیں ان کے ادا کرنے کو

وقوع گوئی کہتے ہیں، اہل لکھنو نے اسکا نام معاملہ بندی رکھا ہے ۲

" To express those circumstances which confront during love or lust are known as 'Vaqū'Go'ī'. The inhabitants of Lucknow (a city in India) name it as 'Mua'mla Bandī.'

From the above quotation of Khazānah-i-'Āmirah it is evident

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1. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Khazānah-i-'Āmirah, p 25
2. Shiblī Naumānī, Shi'r-u-'Ajam, Vol. II, p. 157.

that the innovator of this style is Sa'dī while it was propagated by Amīr Khusraw.

Sālim, as it seems to us, from the study of his 'Dīvān' paid but very little attention to this style of poetry. The examples available in his 'Dīvān' ate so rare that it would not be wrong if we presume that such verses were written by him unconsciously. We have, after thorough search, found only a small number of verses which can be copied under this caption.

1. دو چشم مست او با غیری نوشد قدح اما ؛ نگاه دل فریبش گوشهٔ چشمی بما دارد

The beloved is too kind to poet's rival yet, shows philanthropic attitude towards him too, off anon.

2. نذر تو کردم گلی دست کشیدی چرا ؛ گرد تو گردم مگر گل بکفم خار است

The lover presents a flower to his sweet-heart, but he or she declined to take it. The lover is surprised by this attitude of his or her, and says, "I have only presented the flower to you, why have you taken your hand back. Has it become a thorn in my hand ?

3. کی گفته‌ام که عاشق زار توام غلط ؛ حاشا چه نسبت است گدا را بشاه هیچ

When have I said, I am your lover. Oh, no it is all wrong. A beggar can never have any relation with the king.

4. از ادب در بزم او خاموش بودم ورنه دل ؛ از گله‌ها در بغل واکرده صد طومار داشت

Lover had so many complaints against his beloved but he could not say anything because he had in view the etiqette of society.

5. زنهار وقت قتل مبندید دیده ام ؛ ترسم بغیر قاتل خویشتم گمان رود

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hakim Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms. fol.174a

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 76b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 100b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 52b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 114b.

The lover requests that his eyes should not be tied at the time of his assassination, because it is possible that he may think that he has been murdered by some one else and not by his sweetheart.

۱. نمی دانم کدامین صیدش از دنبال می آید ؛ کلاه کج کلاه من نگاهی بر قفا دارد

۲. از حیا اقرارها در پردهٔ انکار داشت ؛ لعل خاموش تو رنگ سادهٔ پرکار داشت

3. دگر بدرد دل ما که میرسد سالم ؛ که یار آمد و گوشی بحرف ما نگذاشت

۴. بزم گر نبرد یار نام سالم را ؛ که روی حرف نگاه تغافلش با دست

5. بگرد سر تو چون سایه عمرها گشتم ؛ ز چشم وصل توام نی دل جدائی تو

6. بقهر نامه دریدی دگر مپیچ بقاصد ؛ تو از سوال گذشتی من از جواب گذشتم

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, <u>Dīvān-i-Sālim</u>, Ms, fol. 174b.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 52b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 72a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 87a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 147a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 257a.

EFFUSION :

Effusion is one of the characteristics of Sālim's poetry. This effusion indicates the breadth of vision and accuracy of erudition of a poet, provided the poet has creative energy and his verses contain vocabularistic magnificence. Moreover, there should not be strained interpretation of words or phrases in Ghazals and the poet by his descriptive power try to attain the climax. If on the other hand, one and the same idea is repeated, poetry loses its charm. It is an open secret that the mere turn of a phrase, the suggestion of a word, the verbal melody of the syllables, etc, have their influence on men of literary taste; Similarly repetition of ideas, defective imagination and crude thoughts manifest the poet's weakness. Sālim is not unaware of this fact. He says:

عیب پرگوئی ز تکرار بیان روشن شود ؛ چون مکرر گشته شد معنی سخن الکن شود [1]

Sālim's effusion is evident from his 'Ghazals'. Most of his 'Ghazals' contain nine to twelve verses, but in some cases there are 'two Ghazals' (دوغزله). ie., two Ghazals in one and the same rhyme having the same Radīf and Qāfiyah. We now quote a few of his 'Ghazals to show his effusion.

ره دنیا طلب منزل کجا دارد محالست این ؛ چراغی دیده شب از دور در وادی خیالست این

بگو پیش فرق از بیگانه تا محرم همین باشد ؛ که خاموشست آن از حیرت سرشار و لالست این

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 141a.

بمواج بیدسالم بمعرعی در خلوت حیرت ⁂ نو ابینم چون نفس همدم جوالست این سوال است این

ز مصرع مصرعم پیداست حسن معنی روشن ⁂ دو روآئینه صافست بر بیتم مثالست این

ندارد این قدر بر خویشتن چیدن باچنین هستی ⁂ گدای کرده چون بدر پنداری کمالست این

زلال خضر را لشا سد از خون جگر عاشق ⁂ چه می دانند مدهوشان حراست این حلالست این

ز رنگ عمر دست آرزو سالم چو گل چیند

که نقش کوچه باغی در طلسم ماه و سالست این[1]

بهار جلوه باغ ناز شوخ جامه آلست این ⁂ هنوز از صد طرش نشگفته یک گل نو نهالست این

قبای لاله گون مانند لبهای گل رو لیش ⁂ چه سیر و نیم سیر رنگ آن حسن و جمالست این

ز چاک جیب نور سینه اش پیداست پنداری ⁂ شفق پیراهن گلگون یار است و هلالست این

بآتش گر دهم چون برق سوزان آب خنجر را ⁂ بچشم تشنه بیداد او موج زلالست این

چو عینک از نظر دور از تو اما سخت نزدیکم ⁂ خیال دلنشین دارم که پندارم وصالست این

زند پروانه را انگشت بر لب شمع در محفل ⁂ تو ظالم حال عاشق را نمی پرسی چه حالست این

اگر بار دگر در حشر خون کشتگان ریزد

که گیرد دست شمشیرش کرا سالم مجالست این[2]

خیال و خواب نشاط شباب می بینم ⁂ چو عکس آئینه پا در رکاب می بینم

طلسم گردش رنگیست جلوهٔ هستی ⁂ جهان چو عکس چراغان در آب می بینم

ز لست بینشم ای آفتاب جبین چو صبح ⁂ که بی نقاب ترا در نقاب می بینم

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 269b & 270a

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 270a.

بحشر عینک شرت تماشود میزان ÷ که لطف دوست فزون از حساب می بینم

همین بس است چو آئینه بخت بیدارم ÷ که روی خلق ز حیرت بخواب می بینم

غنیمت است که در بزم خلق روی دل ÷ ز حرف و صوت چو ذکر شتاب می بینم

چو عکس آئینه ام حیرتست آئینه است ÷ ز سند باب نظر فتح باب می بینم

چو صبح عرض نیازم بمطلعیست ضرور
که گوش مهر کسی بر خطاب می بینم[1]

به پهلوی تو ندانم چه خواب می بینم ÷ شبیه نیم رخ آفتاب می بینم

هلال وار شدم همنشین مهر اما ÷ بقدر قرب ترا در حجاب می بینم

نگاه گوشه چشم کرم تمام اینجاست ÷ چه شد ز گردش چشمت عتاب می بینم

لبیانه نتوان گفت حرف پهلودار ÷ که تیغ تیز تو حاضر جواب می بینم

تبسمت که بران لب مباش بوسه نوشت ÷ تمام ناز چو موج شراب می بینم

حیا حقیقت عجب در ملاحت حسنت ÷ عیان ز ابر تنک ماهتاب می بینم

مگر ز جوهر جان آفریده اند ترا ÷ که با تو زندگی شیخ و شاب می بینم

چو شمع اشک فرودشتم آب زر سالم
متاع درد درین شهر یاب می بینم[2]

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1. Sālim, Muhammed Aslam, Ḥāji, Dīwān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 232a - 232b
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 232b - 233a

باغ فیض سخن آبشار خاموشی است ؛ بهار حیرت و ابر بهار خاموشی است

کنایه ابیات معای کثرت از وحدت ؛ ضبط یک سخن اینجا هزار خاموشی است

چو خامه دفتر دانش گشودم و دیدم ؛ که پشت کار سخن روی کار خاموشی است

نماند نام و نشانی مگر بلوح مزار ؛ کنون ز اهل سخن یادگار خاموشی است

نشان فیض گوآب بجوی در دم صبح ؛ که شهر زنده دلی را حصار خاموشی است

کنونکه دور سخن دور موقع الفاقت است ؛ کسی که خوش گذراند مدار خاموشی است

چو شام گر لب رحمت آسمان فرود آید ؛ خموش باش که در عشق کار خاموشی است

چنین بگوش صدف گفت ابر گوهر بار ؛ که حاصل سخن آبدار خاموشی است

...... بپیش رو راه فکر را سالم ؛ بدوش حیرت سرشار بار خاموشی است [1]

طلسم بسته معنی حصار خاموشی است ؛ سخن چو نقش نگین در کنار خاموشی است

چه شد که لعل بهای سخن سنگ سیر است ؛ سرم لباب که کوه از وقار خاموشی است

ز ناله ریخت دلم چون سپند و آه کنون ؛ برشته سوخته داغدار خاموشی است

ز حسن ساده بپکار غافلی هیهات ؛ چو رنگ رنگ سخن در بهار خاموشی است

نوشت در ازل این نکته را بلوح قلم ؛ که جمع خرمن ناگشته کار خاموشی است

بعمر نوح نگردد تمام کار سخن ؛ تمام دولت بی انتظار خاموشی است

خوشم چو شیشه ساعت بر عقده دل ؛ چه تازه رونقم در غبار خاموشی است

ز بسکه محو خیالم بزیر لب سخنم ؛ چو عکس آینه آیینه دار خاموشی است

گرفته است شهر خوشان ز معنی رنگین ؛ ببین که گنج شهیدان مزار خاموشی است

چه شد که نام سخن ننگ شد کنون سالم ؛ کدام ننگ برابر بعار خاموشی است [2]

It is also pointed out here that his 'Dīvān' has 'Ghazals' which contain more than the maximum number of the verses allowed. To quote two Ghazals would suffice.

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 40a
2. Ibid Ms, fol. 40b.

بسمل از خود نروی رو بقفا تا نکنی ∴ یاد امروز محالست که فردا نکنی

روز محشر که رسی بر سرم ای قاتل من ∴ از تو میرنجم اگر شکوهٔ بیجا نکنی

عالم از خون شهیدان چو گلستان کردی ∴ ستم است اینکه تو دانسته تماشا نکنی

سایهٔ سرو من ای سرو چمن گر بینی ∴ دست بر دل نهی و چشم ببالا نکنی

تا لب بام خرامش نروی چون مهتاب ∴ سیر رعنائی آن سایهٔ رعنا نکنی

چون صبا بگذری از زلف بت مجویم ∴ چشم دارم که دل گم شده پیدا نکنی

میکشی آینه دام نگه شوخ کسی ∴ چه بلائی تو که از برق محابا نکنی

پیر دیر ار نکشد دامن نازت ساقی ∴ در حرم شیشه بدست آئی و پروا نکنی

مستی ابر ببین در چه خیالی ساقی ∴ میتوانی که سر شیشهٔ می وا نکنی

ادب این است که با سعی توکل باشد ∴ دست و پا تا نزنی تکیه بدریا نکنی

هر قدم جلوهٔ خضر است چو با خود باشی ∴ سوزهٔ تنهٔ گو باش که تنها نکنی

سالم این فیض غزل زان غزل شوخ لبی است

بکشی تو بخنجر و خون ریزی و پروا نکنی [1]

The other 'Ghazal' of his 'Dīvān' which comes under this category is that which has the following as its opening line.

تن را غم یار میگدازد ∴ این بحر کنار می گدازد

For full Ghazal the readers are requested to counsult Sālim's 'Dīvān.' This Ghazal appears at folios 145a-145b.

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms, foll. 290b-291a.

CONTINUITY OF MOOD:

'Ghazals' in Persian poetry are formal and conventional. They lack the continuity of mood. This defect is common to almost all the 'Ghazal' writers. In 'Ghazal' every verse contains new thought and a new subject matter which has no concern with the ideas expressed in the rest of the verses. What to say classical poets, even the modern poets pay but very little heed to this aspect. In Amīr Khusrew's 'Ghazals' this continuity of mood is apparent to some extent. Similar-ly in the 'Ghazals' of our learned poet Sālim we find him devoting some attention to it. We cannot say that the outcome of his endeavours is extraordinary but we cannot refrain from saying that what he has writ-ten is laudable. His brilliant conception, executive style and diction, coupled with tender phraseology and suggestive similies, make him out shine. eg. in the separation of beloved the condition of the lover has been beautifully described in the following Ghazals.

چون شمع جان و دل ماست چشم تر بی تو ÷ بود سرشک جگر گوشهٔ نظر بی تو

ز بزم رفتنت ای آفتاب حسن چه بود ÷ شراب چون شفق افتاده از نظر بی تو

با انتظار تو چشم ل و بیدار گداخت ÷ در آب دیده حباب است تا کمر بی تو

ز ضعف تیم اثری وقت رفتن تو بود ÷ بعمر رفته کنون زنده ام اگر بی تو

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بانتظار تو چشمم و پیاله گداخت ÷ در آب دیده حبابست تا کمر بی‌تو

ز مقیم اثری وقت رفتن تو بود ÷ بعمر رفته کنون زنده ام مگر بی‌تو

چو شیشه‌ئی که شرابش چکیده برشکست ÷ دلم گداخت بخونابهٔ جگر بی‌تو

چو کاغذی که در آتش فتاده شب همه شب ÷ طپید به بستر آسایشم شرر بی‌تو

چو شمع گاه بهم از بسکه گرم را گذار ÷ نمی‌رسد و نگاهم بیک دگر بی‌تو

ز لب پیام دلم میطپید بسینه تنگ ÷ رسد ز سایهٔ من مرغ نامه بر بی‌تو

بهشت را چه کند آه بی رخت سالم
زبوستان بود دوزخی بتر بی تو[1]

چو ابر میچکدم از نفس فغان بی تو ÷ چو برق میطپدم مغز استخوان بی تو

چو مهر رفتی و از شام تا سحر چو شفق ÷ در انتظار نشستم بر آستان بی تو

حرام باد بی درد و مستی شوقم ÷ نه از زمین نشناسم نه آسمان بی تو

چو عینک از نظر افتاده ام هیهات ÷ بچشم پردهٔ چشمم بود گران بی تو

بناله شعله و اخگر شوم بخاموشی ÷ نه این چنین بسر آید نه آنچنان بی تو

ز تپش سالم بیدل چکی چکی مژدی
که می چکد ز گدازش چو شمع جان بی تو[2]

ز هستیم چه خبر بی تو کیستم بی تو ÷ تو آفتابی و من سایه نیستم بی تو

غبار تربت مجنون و کوهکن خون شد ÷ بکوه و بادیه از بس گریستم بی تو

بناخن مژه صد کوه درد می کندم ÷ نبود فرصت مردن که زیستم بی تو

چو عکس آئینه در وصل خود شناس شوم ÷ کیم کدام چه دانم که چیستم بی تو

ببزم وصل تو هم دیده ام چو شمع گداخت ÷ چها ز درد تو آیا گریستم بی تو

چو شعر حالی سالم برشته در خونم
بیا ببین که چنین هست زیستم بی تو[3]

که شد طاقت گدازم میطپید در استخوان جوهر ÷ چو مانوس خیالم از هجوم اضطراب امشب

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Salim, Ms, fol.278b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 280a.-280b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 283b.

ز جوش انتظار کیست طوفان گداز من
نگاهم می چکد از دیده چون اشک کباب امشب
سیه مست خیالم نشاه بهشت در مغزم
چو مهتابم بود بیداری سر جوش خواب امشب
ز هر برگ گلی بوی کباب تازه می آید
که می آید بگلشن برق شوخی در رکاب امشب
بحیرت همزبانم با خموشی گفتگو دارم
صدا می آید از هر سو که میگوید جواب امشب
شب هجر است پنداری کباب وعده ام سالم
نشستم تا قیامت در کمین آفتاب امشب[1]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 31a.

Sālim's ethical poetry:

We have already stated under the heading "Ghanī's ethical poetry" that the main topics of the ethical poetry of Persian language are contentment, courtesy, trust in God, obeisance, patience and generosity etc. These subjects have been dealt with by Sālim also.

Sālim like many other poets stresses that this world is not a place worth living and loving. For the renouncement of the world he instructs as follows:

دامن افشان بگذر از پست و بلند روزگار ∴ آشنا چون سایه با دنیا و مافیها مشو [1]

Life is short. It is, therefore, not good to have so many wishes or desires:

این هستی موهوم که نقشی است بر آب ∴ مانند خیالیست که بینی در خواب
با کوتهی عمر چه طول امل است ∴ بیرون نکشی پا ز گلیمت چو حباب [2]

No one should be teased, especially those who are helpless or weak.

دل افتادگان مشکن که همچو شیشهٔ ساعت ∴ سر برد تاج شاهی را کند زیر و زبر آهی [3]

As the friends indeed are not available so he directs that one should not trust in the love of these worldly friends.

سالم فریب الفت این دوستان مخور ∴ شیطان ازین فرشته خصالان فرشته تر [4]

Taking into view the friendship of these worldly friends it is better that one should depend upon himself only.

در بزم خلق همدم و همراز خویش باش ∴ چون تار ساز گوش بر آواز خویش باش [5]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 280a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 353a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 289b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 197a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 212b.

He directs that one should be self-contained and self respected.

چون آب گوهر باش محیط گهر خویش ÷ آئینه خود شو بنشین در نظر خویش 1

He teaches his fellowmen that one should first endeavour to achieve his goal and after doing strenuous efforts he should put his reliance on God.

ادب اینست که باسعی توکل باشد ÷ دست و پا تا نزنی تکیه بدریا نکنی 2

He has described this subject in another verse too.

شناور تکیه بر دریا کند تا دست و پا دارد ÷ عمل شرط است وی باید توکل بر خدا کردن

This world is full of misries and sorrows.

گذر کوچه دنیا مکن که اهل غرور ÷ بنرخ قند فروشند زهر مار اینجا 3

This world is the sown-field for the next world. As you will sow here so shall you reap there.

نمی بخشند بی دریغ عمل یک گندم از جنت ÷ گر آنجا خرمنی میبایدت تخمی بکار اینجا 4

He advises his fellow-beings to be content.

ما نه چون ظل هما صیاد صید لاغریم ÷ در کمین دولت دنیا نشستن عار ماست 5

This idea has been expressed by him in the following verse too.

حریص لقمهٔ مردم مشو گر عافیت خواهی ÷ که ماهی چون دهان را واکند قلاب خود گردد 6

The following verses will also serve as examples:

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1. Sālim Muhammad Aslam, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol.207a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 291a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 18b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 15a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 34a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 162a.
7. ~~Ibid, Ms, fol. 272b.~~

دگر مردانه پشت پا بزن بر عالمی سالم

بیفشان گرد پا را خاک بر فرق تن‌آسان [1]

فلک از عدل آخر سخت بندد دست ظالم را

ازین گنبد صدای نالها زنجیر بر گردد [2]

گردبادیست امل در ره دنیا طلبی

تا کجا خیزد و آخر بکجا بنشیند [2a]

سالم حذر ز حرص که تا چشم گشودی

هر قطرهٔ این چشمه محیط خطری شد [3]

گر غنی گردد گدا پیداست احسان کریم

زخم گر به شد برویش داغ مرهم مانده است [4]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 278b.
2. Ibid Ms, fol. 158a.
2a. Ibid, Ms, fol. 161a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 176a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 42b.

SĀLIM'S ROMANTIC POETRY:

In romantic poetry the poet eulogises the beloved or the fancy man. In his eyes the most beautiful creature ever created by God is his sweetheart. His or her face, tresseo, waist and eyes etc.,..... everything is of extraordinary beauty. Complaint against beloved's separation, his love for the rival, a transient gleam of hope of beloved's reunion, and death by his sword etc. serve as the main theme of Persian romantic poetry. These formal and conventional thoughts are available in the romantic poetry of Sālim too. In this field of poetry sense, passion and imagination are the avenues which lead to the goal. In the passion and struggle of ordinary human life, the poet discovers food for poetry. Poetry to Sālim was a world of the imagination only....... a realm of enchantment where he saw visions and dreamed dreams.

آفت هست درین شهر که سرو نازش ÷ هیچ گامی نرود تا نبرد هوش کسی

Sweet-hearts beauty is a catastrophe for the human being as every body who sees him, loses his senses by falling in love. All the parts of his body excell in beauty. About his features we can say this much.

ای آیهٔ نازت همه در شان قیامت ÷ تا بکمرت سلسله جنبان قیامت
رعنائی سرو تو کند موج هوا را ÷ از جلوهٔ مستانه گل افشان قیامت
در سایهٔ ناز تو رعونت چه نشینم ÷ هرگام کشد گوشهٔ دامان قیامت

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 290b.

از گردش چشم و نگه گوشه چشمت ؛ ناز تو فرو شد سر و سامان قیامت

صد فتنهٔ خوابیده کند زنده نگاهت ؛ ای شوخی مژگان تو طوفان قیامت

از موج خرام تو دل فتنه ببالد ؛ رعنای قد تو بود جان قیامت [1]

Every poet praises the tresses of the beloved and according to his point of view the hair entangle the hearts of the lovers . But the hair on the cheeks (رخسار) decrease the beauty. The sweetheart is aware of this fact. He makes complaint of it, but the lover cheers him up saying:

گو بر آئینهٔ چهره ات غبار خط است ؛ که عکس زلف تو نقش سیه بهار کشید [2]

You are as beautiful as you were before and your looks do the same job effeciently even up till now.

خط دمید و جلوه اش دارد همان تمکین هنوز ؛ بال می بندد بناز آن کاکل مشکین هنوز [2a]

There is nothing to be feared of this off shooting beard as now this has begun to hunt the hearts of the lovers.

شکار خط شده دلهای صید کردهٔ زلفت ؛ بشهر حسن مگر عدل نیست کار بزور است [3]

No matter if the way of thought to the tresses has been closed by the beard, but still your waist catches the fancy.

بسته شد هر چند بر زلفش ز خط راه خیال ؛ میکند تاب میانش مصرعی موزون هنوز [4]

In short, he is so beautiful that none can stand as a match to him.

از شرم عارضت رخ خورشید طلعتان ؛ پنهان بزیر برقع رنگ شکسته است [5]

He is so handsome that my only desire in this world is to have

1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms. fol. 42a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 284b.
2a. Ibid, Ms, fol. 202b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 88a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 202b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 185a.

a look upon his face.

جز تماشای جمال او چو عکس آیینه ؛ هیچ از دنیا و ما فیها نمی خواهد دلم[1]

But he never desires to sit with me even a minute.

مست ناز آمد ببالین که قربانش شوم ؛ گفتمش بنشین دمی گفتا نمی خواهد دلم[2]

I looked towards him with love. He thought that I wished to kiss him. This idea annoyed him, so he looked angerly.

چین بابرو زد که آیا بوسه می خواهد دلت ؛ گفتمش کی گفته ام حاشا نمی خواهد دلم[3]

How is it possible for me to embrace such an impudent sweetheart.

چسان گیرم در آغوش تنها آن پری رو را ؛ ز بس شوخ است چون اندیشه نتوان کرد ادراکش[4]

He always puts me off with the pretext that he will do the needful next day. I know, he cheats me, so I say to him.

منت صد وعدهٔ فردا نمی خواهد دلم ؛ بیوفا عیاری اینها نمی خواهد دلم[5]

I am full of complaints against him but I cannot complain owing to bodily weakness.

شکوهٔ سنگین دلی دارم ولی از ضعف تن ؛ چون رگ خارا نمی جنبد نفس در سینه ام[6]

However, I am still hopeful and have not yet lost heart.

همچو ماه آخر مه گاه بشکست از بهر چیست ؛ تا نفس باقیست مگسل رشتهٔ امید را[7]

and this is why my heart is not desirous of tranquality. But alas I was wrong in my thoughts:

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 237a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 237a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 237a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 215a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 237a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 262a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 12b.

دولت بیدار دانستم خیال خواب را ∴ وادی ایمن گمان کردم شب مهتاب را [1]

This is Sālim's romantic poetry all formal and conventional. But it does not end here. We finish it by quoting a few verses which may serve as the pattern of his poetry.

بهان در خود طپیدی لبهات از تنگ دهانی ∴ اگر ایجاد می کردند هر دنیای دیگر را [2]

سبک ز خاک شهیدان مرو سرت گردم ∴ که از کشته به دعوای خون بهار برخواست [3]

هم انتظار دارم و هم وصل چون هلال ∴ دستم بدامن که و چشمم براه کیست [3a]

ای نوبهار باغ حیای شناسمت ∴ داری هزار رنگ قبا می شناسمت [4]

گر از نظر نهفته خرامی چو فیض باغ ∴ از آب و رنگ موج هوا می شناسمت [4]

ز قاتل سر نتابم گردم شمشیر برگردد ∴ ازو دل بر نگردد گر همه تقدیر برگردد [5]

خار ره جنبش ناخن شیر آفت است ∴ عشق بدوش می کشد عقل برهنه پای را [6]

عالم بپیچ و تاب دل حشر بی خودی شود ∴ شانه کشند چون بتان زلف گره گشای را [6]

چه ستم فتاده کارم بستمگری که طفل است ∴ ز شکست شیشه رنجد دل نازنین سنگش [7]

در محیط عشق بی طاقت مشو سالم چون موج ∴ کرد ناهموار وحشت راه هموار ترا [8]

A study of the above quoted verses, has however made it clear that Sālim's romaticism, had not its root in realism. Even in appearance, his poetry cannot be summoned up in an exact faithfulness to reality. His poetry is to some extent devoid of sentiments and emotions and the daily observations are not without a trace of exaggeration or embellishment. Imagination plays an important part in the poetic transformation of his materials.

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 19 b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 5a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 38a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 85b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 69b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 158a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 22a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 208b.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 5a.

SALIM'S MYSTICAL POETRY:

Sanna'i, Awhdi, Maulana Rum and Khawajah Farid ud-Din 'Attar are considered as the "Four big" in the world of mysticism, The poets in every age have written mystical verses and their efforts in this field are laudable. Their simplicity, fluency and beauty of diction is praise worthy. But in spite of all this they have not been able to attain any high place. The main reason is that the overwhelming majority was not mystic but conventionalist who wrote mystical verses conventionally. However, we do not find dearth of Sufic subjects in their poetry but elegance and ecstasy are not visible in it.

The main subjects of mystical poetry are isolation, unity of God, retirement, contentment and the like. In Salim's 'Divan' we come accross a few verses which come under the category of mystical poetry. The same will be discussed here.

A mystic should pay no heed to the worldly necessities of life He should not be materialistic in his view points.

سالک که در محیط تجرد شنا کند ٭ او دل چو برق خانه بسیلاب می دهد[1]

Because it is essential on the part of the devotee to mortify himself, as without this he cannot achieve his goal.

طالب دالته در تب و تاب افتد ٭ تا نقش قبول دلنشینش گردد

در باختن هستی ناقص بر دست ٭ زر میسوزد که قابل سکه نمیشود[2]

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, 182b.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 230b- 231a.

This is why mystics like solitude. In other words a mystic, when gets even a ray of Divine light, likes isolation.

آنرا که سراغ راه توحیدی هست ÷ از غیر گریز و ترک و تجریدی هست
چون موج محیط عارفان حق را ÷ دایم با خویش دید و وادیدی هست[1]

To emphasise this he further says:

هر کرا چشمه از ساغر دل داده اند ÷ سر بزانوی نشیند چون صدف تنها خموش[2]

The mystic, doubtless, lives in this world, but he abstains himself from the contamination of the world. Residing in this world he keeps his conscience purified.

بود در کار دست عارف و با یار دل باشد ÷ هم آغوش صفائی دُر صدف در آب و گل باشد[3]

To serve the purpose one should believe in one God and should nourish His love in his heart.

دل را اول ز غیر حق خالی کن ÷ پس سرنوشتش بملک دل والی کن
راز تحقیق را بتقلید گوی ÷ مانند کتاب فال را حالی کن[4]

Surely the worldly enchantments entice the mystic, but his endeavours to renounce the world prove futile.

رشته سوزن ز سوزن عاقبت ماند جدا ÷ خود بخود از پای سالک خار می آید برون[5]

In the preliminary stages the mystic is bewildered by the enviornments and cannot even solve the dilemma of his existence.

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 340a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 216a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 160b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 352a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 274a.

چو سایه نیست خبر از مقام مقصودم ÷ رفیق قافله با پای خواب آلودم

خبر ز حال خودم همچو عکس آئینه نیست ÷ بحیرتم که کجا آمدم کجا بودم [1]

But when he reaches the goal he saves his existence from perishing by absorbing himself in God.

چو عاشق محو شد در عشق ایمن از فنا گردد ÷ نشد چو قطرهٔ باران بدریا در حصار آید [2]

These are but a few exmples of his mystical verses. Some of his couplets and Quatrains are mentioned below without explanation.

پیش عارف که چشم سرش بیناست ÷ حق مشهودست و غیر حق ناپیداست

در هستی مطلقست گم هستی خلق ÷ چون سایهٔ دریا که طفیلش دریاست [3]

سر وحدت بباغ کثرت دریاب ÷ از فهم معیت سر ادراک متاب

با اصل حقیقتست پیوند مجاز ÷ چون عکس نهال سر برآورد ز آب [4]

نور مطلوب در تو پیداست ببین ÷ گر چشم تماشای تو بیناست ببین

از قبله نمای قابلیت قبلهٔ دل ÷ چون شعله جواله هویداست ببین [5]

سر تحقیق غوطه زد در تقلید ÷ شد کثرت اوهام حجاب توحید

حیران دلیل عقل است این جا ÷ در خود گم کرده قفل وسواس کلید [6]

سبحه گردانست سالم کار ذرات جهان ÷ جزو جزو دهر باشد محو ذکر کل خویش [7]

غریق عشق ندارد خبر ز هستی غیر ÷ سراغ ساحل این بحر از نهنگ مپرس [8]

برگرد خود چو قبله نما یک نفس بگرد ÷ اینجاست کعبه ای ز خدا بی خبر ترا [9]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim , Ms, fol. 261a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 157a.
3. Ibid, Ms, foll.345a-245b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 350a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 333b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 352b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 216a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 206a.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 23b.

SĀLIM'S PANEGYRIC POETRY:

Sālim's trend of mind was towards 'Ghazal' and 'Rubā'īs'. It is also said that he wrote 'Qaṣīdahs' in praise of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh in whose court he spent the whole of his life, but we are not definite about it. A few Qaṣīdahs written by Sālim have been found attached with his 'Dīvān' which is preserved in the Oriental Library at Bānkīpūr. But the cataloguer is doubtful. He is of the view that these Qaṣīdahs had been written by Luṭf Ullah Sālim and not by Ḥājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim. It is perhaps due to the fact that Ārzū who studied his 'Dīvān' in his youth does not throw any light on the subject. No reference what so ever has been made to his Qaṣīdahs by any of the 'Tazkirah' writers. It is at least very strange to presume that he never wrote a Qaṣīdah in praise of his patron or the Emperor becuase in his 'Dīvān' we come accross a number of Rubā'īs in praise of the king, his hawk etc. The Rubā'īs written by him on various occasions such as on birthday, 'Īd day etc., clearly indicate that he used to panegyrise the king and his favourite things. Moreover, verses regarding the accident of elephant lead us to the conclusion that he was no better than the other poets of the court. It is, however, just possible that he soon became bored with the frivolity, the artificial alliterations and internal assonances of the verses, the rigid and homogeneous conventionality of composition, so he paid but little heed to it. It is also noteworthy that he was given nothing except applause when he recited verses regarding the accident of elephant. From this, conclusion can be derived that nothing was paid to the poets on presenting a Qaṣīdah, or if anything was paid that used to be far below the expectations of the poet. Hence the poet having nothing but disappointments in store was obliged to leave this

idea, as under these circumstances it was certainly unwise on his part to devote much time and energy to the compositon of Qaṣīdahs. Mirzā Baidil who was also a court poet of A'ẕam Shāh did not write even a single Qaṣīdah in praise of A'ẕam Shāh, and it is said that he tendered his resignation because A'ẕam Shāh had once expressed that Baidil should write a Qaṣīdah in his praise. This state of affairs might have impelled him to leave the idea of writing Qaṣīdahs. But, it cannot be said that he was unable to write this kind of poetry, because his effusion is apparent from his Ghazals. We find Ghazals containing verses more than the number allowed. He was proud of his poetry and remarked that it was the only art of his. His arrogance is evident from this couplet:

سالم تمام شد هنر و عیب من لبشر ÷ این عیب من لبس است و همین لبس هنر مرا[1]

About his Rubā'īs(Quatreins) there are no two opinions, so we first take up those quatreins which have been written by him on various occasions. The Rubā'is which can be quoted under this caption can be placed under two categories.

1. The Rubā'īs written in praise of the Holy Prophet(May peace be upon him) and his companions and
2. Rubā'īs in praise of the king, his hawk, his quiver, his elephant, etc. Here we quote his panegyric Rubā'īs.

Following is the Rubā'ī in praise of the Holy Prophet (May peace be with him) :

ای نور تو بسم الله قرآن ظهور ÷ جست همه نور و عارضت سورهٔ نور
اینجا تو دلیل خلق و آنجا تو شفیع ÷ ای مظهر اسم هادی و اسم غفور[2]

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 23a.
2. Ibid. Ms. fol. 305a.

Here is another one:

چون شاه رسل کرده ترا لطف آله ∴ قران شده بر رفعت شان تو گواه
در روز ازل ز پای لسم الملبشن ∴ از ناز شکسته معجزت طرف کلاه[1]

A rubā'i in praise of Hazrat 'Ali is as follows:

در نور محمد علی ابناز خفی است ∴ اعجاز علی قسیم اعجاز خفی است
یک نور اگر دو شد همان نور یکیست ∴ شق القمر آئینہ این راز خفی است[2]

The Rubā'ī in praise of Hazrat Abū Bakr and 'Umar is as under:

شیخین در اصحاب چه عالی شانند ∴ آسوده بر قدر نبی الیشانند
در سایهٔ مصطفی است بوبکر و عمر ∴ یعنی بحقیقت دو تن و یک جانند[3]

In praise of Hazrat 'Usmān he writes:

دارند صحابه فضل و عز و شان هم ∴ حق راضی از ایشان و زحق ایشان هم
بالله همه جامع فضائل بودند ∴ ذوالنورین است جامع قرآن هم[4]

Here is a Rubā'ī in praise of the king:

شاه است شه پادشہان دنیا ∴ فرزند رسول و ظل حق نام خدا
در بهد اصابع ید قدرت شاه ∴ مانند لحیا و سایهٔ آل عبا[5]

In praise of the king's hunting capacity he says:

از هر هیبت شهنشاه دلیر ∴ لرزید چو شاخ بید سر پنجهٔ شیر
نیرنگ کماندار شه وقت شکار ∴ در ناخن شیر کردنی از پر تیر[6]

1. Axixx Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 305b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 305a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 325a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 335a.-315b
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 330a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol.332a328a.

In another Rubā'ī he praises his king's prowess:

آمد بشکار گاه چون شاه دلیر ÷ نخچیر طپید و شیر شد از جان سیر
از زور فشار ناوک شه گردید ÷ فواره خوناب جگر پنجه شیر[1]

Another Quatrain is also worthy of mention:

تا لبست کمر ز قبضه شاه کلان ÷ خون شد دل شیر و ریخت چون برگ خزان
از لبس در دید خویش را پنجه شیر ÷ گردید چو خار پشت در خود پنهان[2]

Following is the selection from the Rubā'īs written by Sālim in praise of the king's quiver.

این ترکش رنگین که گلستان صفاست ÷ مجموعه آیات ظفر نام خداست
در سایه سرو بوستان شاهی تو ÷ پر در پر هم بافته یک نخل هماست[3]

این ترکش خوش رنگ که از باغ خیال ÷ مانست طاؤس مرصع پر و بال
پیوسته ز فیض ید قدرت دارد ÷ صد دست ظفر در آستین اقبال[4]

این ترکش پر گل که بهار نظر است ÷ گلدسته فتح و کوچه باغ ظفر است
از لعبد مرصع بجواهر شده است ÷ آب گهر و لعل و درش تا کمر است[5]

Sālim praises the king's horse in the following manner.

این رخش لقب ابلق شبدیز نژاد ÷ سر تا قدمست چون پری حسن آباد
زانسان که دو رنگ چشم زیباست بهم ÷ روشن ز بیاض او بود چشم سواد[6]

1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hāji, Divān-i-Sālim, ms, foll [illegible]-328a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 328a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 328b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 328b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 328b + 329a
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 326b.

He has written many Rubā'īs in praise of the king's hawk. A mention of three quatrains will suffice.

شهباز شهنشه چو شود بال گشا ∴ دست برد از صید ببندد به قفا
خیل طائر ز چنگل خون ریزش ∴ چون قوس قزح رنگ برآرد بهوا[1]

آن باز که داشت طالع قرب حضور ∴ آمد چو باوج بهلهٔ خاص ز دور
مانند اثاثه البیت بر تاج کیان ∴ یا بسمله البیت بر سورهٔ نور[2]

در صیدگهی که باز شه گشت عیان ∴ مرغان هوا شوند در خون غلطان
بر خیل کلنگ است خیابان گل ∴ لبریز بهار لاله و نافرمان[3]

Here is the Rubā'ī written by Sālim in praise of the king's robe

این خلعت فرخنده که با زیب و فر است ∴ پوشیدهٔ شهزادهٔ والا گهر است
آن جامه که نور سایهٔ حق دارد ∴ از پردهٔ چشم قدسیان پاکتر است[4]

Now we quote a few Rubā'īs written by him at the time of the king's birthday. To quote all would be nothing but waste of space.

امروز که باد تا ابد فرخ فال ∴ شد سایهٔ تخت شاه تاج سر سال
زان رشته که دارد گره سال گره ∴ بندد ز صد انجم دولت اقبال[5]

این رشته بود سلسلهٔ عمر ابد ∴ از بس مددش ز غیب هر سال رسد
حق رشتهٔ عمر خضر از بهر گهر ∴ با رشتهٔ عمر شاه پیوند کند[6]

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1. Salim. Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divan-i-Salim, Ms, fol. 329b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 329b-330a. 3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 334a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 350b. 5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 330a. (6) Ibid, foll.

نوشند امروز سال شه نام خدا ÷ سال نو و فال نو مبارک بادا

در رشته بود این گره سالگره ÷ بسم الله تاج و تخت را افزا[1]

Rubā'īs written by Sālim at the time of Prince weighing ceremony ie جشن وزن require mention. Here two of them are quoted.

شد دهر ز جشن وزن شهزاده جوان ÷ پوشیده قبای سال نو دور زمان

تائید ازل دو کفهٔ میزان ساخت ÷ از تاج سر قیصر و چتر خاقان[2]

شد تازه ز جشن وزن شهزاده سرور ÷ میزان بالید بر خود از قرب حضور

هر مصرع که زد صبح اقبال بلند ÷ میزان ز شرف نام خدا مطلع نور[3]

In the end it would not be improper to quote a Rubāī written by Sālim in his own praise.

شد بلبل کشمیر چو با گل همدم ÷ در هند شکر پرست شد طوطی هم

حاشا که برابری تواند کردن ÷ با عاشق رنگ و بو گرفتار شکم[4]

The following two quatrains are in praise of the month of Ramzān, the month when the Muslims keep fasts:

در شهر صیام فیض حق بزم آراست ÷ این سیر بهشت طالبان جنت سماست

شاهش شفق صبح بهاران دارد ÷ ماه رمضان فصل گل باغ دعاست[5]

آورد رمضان چون خبر از عفو اله ÷ باشند ز هلال صوم و فطرش دو گواه

آن بسملهٔ مبارک سورهٔ نور ÷ وین نام خدا باید را بسم الله[6]

The following '<u>Gh</u>azals' of his 'Dīvān' are in praise of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him)

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1. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divān-i-Sālim , Ms, fol. 316a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 316a-316b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 330b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 318b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 335a.
6. Ibid. Ms, fol. 335 a.

وحی ناطق لب با معجزه دمساز تو بود ÷ راز قرآن همه در پردهٔ آواز تو بود

خویش را سایه‌ات از شادی دولت گم کرد ÷ کبر یاد داشت که پروردهٔ اعجاز تو بود

روز محشر چو شفاعت نوبت کوس زند ÷ وحی آید که کرم گوش بر آواز تو بود

موج رحمت عامت باید پیوستن ÷ وقت بخشش با ازل یلنط انداز تو بود

هر در فیض ازل داشت گشاد و لیکن ÷ آنکه تا حشر نشد بسته در باز تو بود

مد بسم الله خلقت همه تا میم رحیم ÷ اول و آخر انجام تو آغاز تو بود

سینهٔ آدم خاکی که شد آئینهٔ غیب ÷ این قدر صافیش از قدرت پرداز تو بود

شد شجر محرم معراج مناجات کلیم ÷ آنچه نشنیده ملک هم بخدا راز تو بود

روز محشر که لب سالم نگری خواهم گفت
خاک تا اوج فلک گرده سر افراز تو بود[1]

ای که سر دفتر ایجادی و امی لقبی ÷ نسخهٔ کن فیکون را سخن منتخبی

عالمی بار دگر زنده بایمان کردی ÷ تو که ایجاد همه خلق جهان را سببی

رابطه حادث بقدسیت همین بیرویت ÷ بخدا نام خدا را نهمای مجتبی

فیض خلقت همه اعجاز چو آیات کتاب ÷ رحمت عام چو قرآن و دیانت عربی

تا قیامت اثر معجز شق القمر است ÷ ماه را نور کمال که بود مکتسبی

خلق را دعوت تو باسلام دلیل ÷ حکم شرعت جرس قافلهٔ حق طلبی

پیش از آن روز که آدم همه اسما دانست ÷ از شرف بوده مسمای براهیم نبی

در همه خیل رسل مهر نبوت باشد ÷ مهر تملیک تو بر منصب دالانبی

یا رسولی و شفیعی و رجای اشفع
انت   بابی و امی[2]

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1. Salim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Diwan-i-Salim, Ms foll. 168b-169a
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 300a-300b.

SĀLIM AND NAẒĪRĪ

A comparison of their poetry

To compare the poetry of those Persian poets whose popularity and celebrity prevails in Pākistān with these poets of Kashmīr, who produced valuable Persian literature, is not what lies within the scope of this thesis, but as Naẓīrī is one of those emigrate poets who received highest esteem by the critics as Ghazal writer and Sālim has written Ghazals in reply to his, so we have made an attempt to compare their poetry. It is a fact that Naẓīrī was a man of talent and learning, one of the masters of style and sound taste. He is conspicious among the older poets for his grace and wit. His Ghazals are incompareable in fluency of diction and sweetness. Sālim on the other hand, was an ingenious, skilful, and to certain extent orignal poet. His verses are unrivalled in grace and subtility, but lack the fire, passion and conviction which make a poet great and famous beyond the limit of his own time and country.

Here we quote a few Ghazals of both the poets which will help the reader to frame some idea of their thought and style.

Naẓīrī	Sālim	
شرم می آید ز قاصد طفل محجوب مرا	قاصد ار بینی ز دور آن طفل محجوب مرا	1.
بر سر راهش بیندازید مکتوب مرا	سوی من بر باد ده واکرده مکتوب مرا	

۲- آه کنعان با نسیم مصری گوید هنوز	دست پرورد توام ای عشق پاس من بدار
یوسف من صبر ایوب است یعقوب مرا	گر نه بیند از نمی‌داند بد و خوب مرا
۳- برگذار از صبر من رحم آیدت گر بشنوی	فرصتت باد آگهی باید ستمگاری چنین
شور یارب یارب داود ایوب مرا	این قرار و طاقت و این صبر ایوب مرا
۴- چون سحر مهر تجلی غافل آمد بر سرم	ناز پرورد وصالم گوشش بر حرفم مکن
وا کشد ترسم ز یادش هوش مجذوب مرا	آرزو بسیار باشد طبع محجوب مرا
۵- در هوا هر ذره تصویر پری در شیشه است	بی سوال خون خود در حشر می بخشم باد
طرفه حسن حیرت افزا شیشت محبوب مرا	زانکه دانم از طلب عار است مطلوب مرا
۶- در رکابش سایه اش جمع قیامت میرود	شوخ طبعی ز اختلاط غیر صنعت چون کنم
اینچه رعنا شیشت شوخ محشر آشوب مرا	بیش ازین نتوان شنیدن حرف دلکوب مرا
۷- در نظر دارد صدف را وقت بخشایش سحاب	امشب از یوسف رخی چشم نظیری روشن است
با دل طالب شماری هست مطلوب مرا	باز نوری هست در کاشانه یعقوب مرا[1]

۸- این غزل سالم بمعراج نظیری کی رسد

بر سر راهش بیند از ید مکتوب مرا[2]

۱- تاب کباب داده‌ام سینه شعله زای را	گر لبخن در آورم عشق سخن سرای را
در تب دل برشته‌ام گریهٔ های های را	بر سر دوش سر دهی گریهٔ های های را
۲- بزم جهانیان بود کاغذ پر شراره	گل بخزان شگفته شد وین دل بسته وا نشد
یا بر کباب وحشتند گرم نکرده جای را	در بن ناخن سست ای بخت گره گشای را

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1. Naẕīrī, Muḥammad Ḥusein, Dīvān-i-Naẕīrī, p.26.
2. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Ḥājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, foll. 21a-21b

3. خارِ رهِ جنبش ناخن شیر آفت است
عشق بدوش می‌کشد عقل برهنه پای را

4. زنده دلان خرقه‌پوش سایه‌نشین دولتند
بر سر و دوش بسته‌اند بال پر همای را

5. کشتهٔ ناز مهوشان تشنهٔ شور محشر است
گو که تغافلی زنند بارِ دگر خدای را

6. پرده چشم آهوان تافتنش از نظر فتند
غمزه‌ات ار دهد بباد کاغذ توتیای را

7. آخر دور لبت گردش چشم حیرتست
مست لبت کشیده است جام جهان نمای را

8. عالم هیچ و تاب دل محشر بیخودی شود
شانه کشند چون بتان زلف گره‌کشای را

نی زرهی خبر دهم نی بدلی اثر کنم
صوت کجم ز کاروان زمزمه درای را

هر المی که صعب‌تر روزی عاشقان شود
طعمه ز استخوان سزد حوصلهٔ همای را

درس ادیب اگر بود زمزمهٔ محبتی
جمعه بمکتب آورد طفل گریزپای را

خاتم جم شکسته تن هیکل عشق ساخته
نظرِ درست کرده دل جام جهان‌نمای را

پیش نظیری از فلک درد دلی برم که هست
ناله آن گدای را [1]

9. سالم ازین غزل مپرس یاد نظیری آه آه
بر بر دوش سر دهی گریه که بها ترا [2]

1. نه هر صیدی شهید تیغ جورش زود می‌گردد
که ناز او خریدار دل خشنود می‌گردد

هوس پروانه است اما بگرد دود می‌گردد
نظر قلبست اما دل غبار آلود می‌گردد

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1. Nazīri, Muhammad Husain, Dīvān-i-Nazīri, pp. 17 & 18.

2. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 22a & 22b

2. دلم را پیر آتشخانه دیدار دور و گریان شد
که این پروانه گویا عاقبت محمود میگردد

ز کاوشهای مژگان تو پرخون دیده دارم
که گر شویم باب پر خون آلود میگردد

3. رود بر باد بعد از سوختن خاکستر عاشق
شفق تا آه گرمی میکشد نابود میگردد

دلم را کرده ذوقت خوش دگر نگذارم از دستش
دهد تا باز ذوقی دست غم فرسود میگردد

4. نفس کو زنگ لبت خامشی سازد کباب اینجا
ز آبی خاطر عاشق غبار آلود می گردد

تو گر بر هم زنی سودای دل بازی زیان داری
مرا سرمایهٔ دنیا و دین نابود می گردد

5. دهد از انقلاب شادی و غم هر نفس بوی
هوای باغ عمر از بس لطافت زود میگردد

درین مدت غم هجران عبث بر خود پسندیدم
ندانستم که از مرگم دلت خوشنود میگردد

6. تجلی خانه چون سایه در شهر فنا دارم
که باشش روز تا شب آفتاب اندود میگردد

کس این بی اعتدالیهای حسنت را کجا گوید
که عاشق پیشت از مهر و وفا مردود میگردد

7. چه شورای بوالهوس از خام سوزیهای دل داری
سرت چون شعلهٔ جواله خوش زین دود میگردد

بشفقت گاه گاهی سوی خود میخوان نظیری را
جدائی دیده از وصلت تسلی زود میگردد[1]

8. مبادا سجده ات چون ماه نو زرد و بر قفا باشد
بخود تا قبله گرد اندی هوا معبود میگردد

9. نظیری این سخن گفت و سخن بخشید سالم را[2]
مرا سرمایهٔ دنیا و دین نابود میگردد

1. زمن روز فراغت چون شفق نام و نشان گم شد
بلوحت نام خود را جستم و دل از میان گم شد

ز بیداد تو حرف مهر را نام و نشان گم شد
کتاب حسن را جز و محبت از میان گم شد

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1. Naẓīrī, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Dīvān-i-Naẓīrī, p. 80
2. Sālim, Muḥammad Aslam, Ḥājī, Dīvān-i-Sālim, Ms, fol. 138b.

2. گمر دلجوئی نازی دهد یک حشر تاوانش
متاع خانهٔ هوشم زمین تا آسمان گم شد

ز هر بوالهوس گرد دلت عاشق نمی گردد
طفیلی جمع شد چندان که جای میهمان گم شد

3. سرابی بوده در راهش دلیل عقل پنداری
نظر چندانکه پیش آمد پی این کاروان گم شد

سحر بیتی مغنی میسرود از تو بیاد آمد
چنان شوری برآوردم که وقت دوستان گم شد

4. نسیم از باغ وصلش بوی صدق وعده می آرد
ز خود دانسته همچون صبح کاذب میتوان گم شد

ببالش خواستم جا در دلت افتادم از چشمت
گدا آمد که صدر قرب جوید آستان گم شد

5. که از راز طلسم جسم سر آسمان بیرون آرد
درین وادی خضر را راه عمر جاودان گم شد

پس از عمری شدم عرضی تنم خندان به پیش آمد
که مضمون سخن صد بار از دل تا زبان گم شد

6. درین صحرا ز دیو کهنه دزد این که می خواهد
لباس آدم بیدار در شهر جهان گم شد

متاع دیر اگر داریم بر بار دگر مکن زاهد
بعزم کعبه می رفتیم راه کاروان گم شد

7. جواب نامه خوش طاق نسیانست پنداری
که مکتوبم ز مرغ نامه بر در آشیان گم شد

هوس تا یافت رو از من مزاج کارها برگشت
طرب تا نسبت در بر من طپید آسمان گم شد

8. پریشان گشت مغز حرف حق از صور مذهبها
نشان جاده تا منزل درین ریگ روان گم شد

هوس را در فراق مرحمت خواب گران بگرفت
طرب را در سراغ عافیت نام و نشان گم شد

9. قمار ناهمواری نقش کم در آستین دارد
نگین را مغز دولت در شکست استخوان گم شد

اگر پرسد کسی حال نظیری را بگو بیدرش
که در دام است آن مرغی که شب از آشیان گم شد[1]

10. بشور آورد مصرع نظیری هوش سالم را
که در دام است آن مرغی که شب از آشیان گم شد[2]

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1. Naẕīrī, Muhammad Husain, D̲īvān-i-Naẕīrī. p. 108.
2. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Hājī, D̲īvān-i-Sālim, Ms, foll. 173a-173b

۱- مپرس از مشرب فیض جهان و چشمهٔ جودش
کند ... ... تشنه تر آب گل آلودش

۲- بطوف کعبهٔ دل هستی سالک اگر بالد
هوای خود بود چون شعلهٔ جواله مسجودش

۳- نفس در سعی عمرت از پی طول امل سوزد
چه کوتاهست تار شمع و بالا میرود دودش

۴- ز علم غیب لبریز است چون نقش نگین عارف
که جز معنی نگنجد در دل از خویش خشنودش

۵- کباب برق استغنای فقرم چون هما گردد
کنم از استخوان سودهٔ عنقا نمکسودش

۶- بجنت یاد آمد لذت دردِ جگر سوزم
کبابم آرزوی تلخ شد حلوای بی دودش

۷- بیار طبع سالم شور مصراع نظیری شد
چو محتاجی که گنجی یابد و ظاهر کند زودش [2]

خیالی در گذر دارم چه پرسی بود و نابودش
متاعی روی در نقصان چه سامان آید از سودش

سرم شوریدگی دارد ندانم چیست سودایش
دلم آوارگی جوید ندانم چیست مقصودش

ز اظهار محبت در زبان خلق افتادم
چو محتاجی که گنجی یابد و ظاهر کند زودش

نگار تندخو دارد قمر هیکل فلک شیوه
هر کس بد کند خاطر نباشد روی بهبودش

مزاج نازکی دارد که بهر هیچ می رنجد
چو رنجید از کسی نتوان بصد جان کرد خوشنودش

عیار صدق من گردد بمی خوردن بد ظاهر
بیار آتش که می سازم مشامش تازه از عودش

نظیری را بمجلس بردم امروز و غلط کردم
مرا رسوائی عالم کرد چشم گریه آلودش [1]

(Note) This Ghazal of Sālim contains 12 verses but the first three are illegible owing to repairs. Two more verses have been omitted owing to space

Copious commentries are not required to render them intelligible. The simple and lucid style of Nazīrī appeals to our sentiments while we think over on some of Sālim's verses in order to understand them. In other words we may emphasize that Sālim's thought is often obscure or else so extremely subtle that language expresses it imperfectly. Some ideas have been expressed by him in such a manner that they are intelligible only to the elite.

1. Nazīrī, Muhammad Hussain, Divān-i-Nazīrī, p. 153.
2. Sālim, Muhammad Aslam, Haji, Divān-i-Sālim, Ms, foll. 210b-211a.

MIRZĀ DĀRĀB BAIG JOYĀ

Mirzā Dārāb Baig Joyā was the greatest lyric (Ghazal) writer and third or fourth greatest poet of Kashmīrī poets of Persian language, after Ṣarfī, Ghanī and Sālim. His forefathers belonged to Irān, but he was born in Kashmīr, the paradise on earth. Ārzū writes:

مرزا داراب جویا از مردم خوب کشمیر است بعضی گویند که

ابائیش از ایران بودند و در کشمیر توطن اختیار نمودند [1]

" Mirzā Dārāb Joyā is amongst the good men of Kashmir. Some say that his ancesters were from Irān who settled down in Kashmīr."

Similarly Vālah Dāghistānī, Zakhmī, ʿIbratī, are of this opinion,[2] but Seyyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān the second son of Nawāb Seyyid Muhammad Ṣādiq Hasan Khān writes in Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan that his ancestors originally belonged to Tabrīz, but Joyā and his brother Goyā were born in the valley of Kashmir:

جویا - میرزا داراب بیگ منشا اصولش شهر تبریز است

و مولد جویا و برادرش میرزا کامران گویا خطهٔ کشمیر مردم خیز [3]

" Joyā, Mirzā Dārāb-Baig whose ancestral place is the city of Tabrīz and the birth place of Joyā and his brother Mirzā Kāmrān Goyā is the intelligentsia producing valley of Kashmīr."

Like the greater number of his fellow poets, obscurity surrounds his life. We know nothing about his year of birth, his childhood or even his boy-hood. What our sources reveal to us is

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , Majmaʿ-un-Nafāʾis, Ms, p.142.
2. Vālah Dāghistānī, ʿAlī Qulī Baig, Riyāz-ush-Shuʿarā, p. 191.

مرزا داراب جویا اصلش از ایران و تولدش در کشمیر واقع شده

Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-Ashqīn, Ms, fol. 124a
ʿIbratī, Vazīr ʿAlī, Mīmī-ul-Khiyāl, Ms, fol. 30b.

3. ʿAlī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan. p. 110.

it was the time when Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed as governor of Kashmīr for the second time, even then we are not wrong to surmise that Joyā was born in the second half of the 11th century, or a little earlier.

It has been pointed out by 'Alī Qulī Khān, the author of Riyāẓ-ush-Shu'arā that in Kashmīr,[1] Joyā enjoyed the company of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm and Mirzā Ṣā'ib. It is just possible that our learned poet might have enjoyed the Company of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm of Hamdān who died in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) But it is doubtful that Joyā also remained in the company of Ṣā'ib when the later was in Kashmīr in 1041-42 A.H. (1631-33 A.D.) If, however, we take it for granted, it would mean that he was born in the first quarter of the 11th century, and hence enjoyed the worldly life for a century as he died in 1118 A.H.(1716AD)

This presumption of 'Alī Qulī Khān is perhaps due to the fact that at places Joyā claims Ṣā'ib as his teacher; eg., in the following verse:

ببلور آن غزل جویا که گفت استاد من صائب ؛ ادب لب تشنه در آغوش آب و شرم دارد[2]

In our view 'Alī Qulī Khān has misunderstood this and the like verses. The fact is, as has been stated by Ārzū,[3] that Joyā has tried to follow the style of Ṣā'ib, and being a cultured and good mannered man, he has called Ṣā'ib his teacher, otherwise the case is

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1. Vālah Dāghistānī, 'Alī Qulī Beig, Riyāẓ-ush-Shu'arā, Ms, p. 191.

بصحبت ابو طالب کلیم و میرزا صائب در آنجا رسیده

" There he enjoyed the company of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm and Mirzā Ṣā'ib

2. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 92b.

3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p. 142.

جویا اکثر تتبع طرز میرزا صائب است علیه الرحمة

" Joyā often follows the style of Mirzā Ṣā'ib (May peace be upon him)

that he was the son of Mullā Sāmrī.[1] He was brought up in Kashmīr among the simple people who were true types of homely virtues, untainted by contact with the corruptions of civilization.

According to Ārzū's statement, he was enjoying his life in Kashmīr with much honour and dignity when Ibrāhīm Khān son of 'Alī Mardān Khān was the governor of Kashmīr.[2] Here a study of history reveals to us that Ibrāhīm Khān held the appointment thrice. He was, for the first time made governor of Kashmīr in the year 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) ie in the second year of Aurangzaib's regime. He was made governor of Kashmīr for the second time in 1088 A.H.(1678 A.D) In the year 1111 A.H. (1709 A.D.) he was again appointed as governor of Kashmīr for the third time. Now if we presume that the reference made by Ārzū relates to Ibrāhīm's appointment as governor for the first time, then it would mean that our learned poet was born in the beginning of the second half or at the end of the first half of the 11th century. But if for the sake of argument we may say that

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1. Mullā Sāmrī was not the name of his father but it was his 'Takhallus.' Ārzū says:

بعضی گویند سامری پدرش تخلص کرد

Some say that Sāmrī was his father's nom de plume."
(ref: Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān , Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p.142.)

2. Ibid, Ms, p. 142. Ārzū writes:

الغرض هنگامیکه ابراهیم خان پسر علی مردان خان صوبه داری کشمیر داشت جویا در وطن بجمعیت و آبروی گذرانید

"In short, when Ibrāhīm Khān son of 'Alī Mardān Khān was the governor of Kashmīr, Joyā was living in his country with comfort and dignity."

it was the time when Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed as governor of Kashmīr for the second time, even then we are not wrong to surmise that Joyā was born in the second half of the 11th century, or a little earlier.

It has been pointed out by ʿAlī Qulī Khān, the author of Riyāz-ush-Shuʿarā that in Kashmīr, Joyā enjoyed the company of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm and Mirzā Ṣāʾib.[1] It is just possible that our learned poet might have enjoyed the Company of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm of Hamdān who died in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) But it is doubtful that Joyā also remained in the company of Ṣāʾib when the later was in Kashmīr in 1041-42 A.H. (1631-33 A.D.) If, however, we take it for granted, it would mean that he was born in the first quarter of the 11th century, and hence enjoyed the worldly life for a century as he died in 1118 A.H.(1716AD)

This presumption of ʿAlī Qulī Khān is perhaps due to the fact that at places Joyā claims Ṣāʾib as his teacher; eg., in the following verse:

بطور آن غزل جویا که گفت استاد من صائب ٭ ادب لب تشنه در آغوش آب و شرم دارد[2]

In our view ʿAlī Qulī Khān has misunderstood this and the like verses. The fact is, as has been stated by Ārzū, that Joyā has tried to follow the style of Ṣāʾib,[3] and being a cultured and good mannered man , he has called Ṣāʾib his teacher, otherwise the case is

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different. To support this version we would like to refer to ʿIbratī who, with reference to Yadai Baizā of Āzād, writes in his Tazkirah Miʿrāj-i Ahiyal.

ابو طالب کلیم همدانی از هم صحبتان و همزبانان آن رنگین اشعار بود [1]

" Abū Ṭālib Kalīm Hamdānī was a companion and contemporary of that eloquent one."

It is also noteworthy that none of the 'Tazkirah' writers has stated that Joyā ever remained in the company of Mirzā Ṣā'ib. Taking into view all these facts we can conclude that Joyā was born in the second quarter of the 11th century.

HIS FAMILY:

Joyā's father was a poet who had Sāmrī as his nom de plume. He, as well as his two brothers, were poet. Kāmrān Baig Goyā also held some reputation. The 'Takhalluṣ' of his father and his brother enabled one witty person to remark:

گوساله سامری ببین گویا شد [2]

" Just see the calf of Sāmrī who became speaker."

Muhammad Āʿẓam is the annecdotist of this anecdote which he wrote under the biography of Joyā's brother Goyā. He writes:

کامران بیگ گویا برادر میرزا داراب جویا ست. مشهور است که شاعری از ایران

1. ʿIbratī, Vazīr ʿAlī, Miʿrāj-ul-Ahiyāl, Ms, fo. 30b.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, P. 142
3.

آمده بود. کامران بیگ بی ادبانه باو برخورد. آن شاعر طاقت نیاورده گفت که

لعنت بر آن سامری که مثل تو گوساله را گویا کرده است.'

" Kāmrān Baig Goyā is the brother of Mirzā Dārāb Joyā. It is said that a poet came from Irān. Kāmrān Baig received him in an indignified manner. That poet could not tolerate it and said, "Curse be upon that Sāmrī who made a calf like you to talk."

In Tazkirahs we find the names of many of his relatives who were poets. eg., Taslīm,[2] Ahqar,[3] Tamkīn,[4] Tahsīn,[5] etc.

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms, p. 302

2. TASLĪM:

His name was Mirzā Fateh 'Alī Baig. He was the younger brother of Mirzā Dārāb Joyā. The following verse has been quoted by the author of Roz-i-Roshan:

شبی که عارض او را بخواب می بینم ÷ ستاره می شمرم و آفتاب می بینم (روز روشن ص ۱۳۰)

3. AHQAR:

He was the grandson of Mirzā Dārāb Joyā. Following is the Rubā'i (Quatrain) which has made him immortal.

یا شاه نجف نه سیم و زر می خواهم ÷ نی لعل و نه یاقوت و گهر می خواهم

خواهم که شود مدفن من کرب و بلا ÷ از هر دو جهان همین قدر می خواهم (روز روشن ص ۳۲)

4. TAMKĪN:

Malik Sultān Kashmirī who had Tamkīn as his pen name was Dārāb's brother-in-Law. Following verse has been quoted by Sabā.

چه لذتها که روز قتل بردم بر دم تیغت ÷ تو می بردی بیالا دست و من تکبیر می گفتم (روز روشن ص ۱۲۹).

5. TAHSĪN:

" Āqā 'Abdul 'Alī Tahsīn Kashmirī was the nearest relative of Mirzā Dārāb Joyā," writes Husain Qulī Khān in Nishtar-i-'Ishq. Sayyid 'Alī Hasan Says that Tahsīn was the son of his sister. (Subh-i-Gulshan p 81) The following verse of his are being quoted from Nishtar-i 'Ishq folio 229b.

این شیوه که نامش آشنایی است ÷ در مذهب ما سر جدایی است

but they could not get celebrity owing to two main reasons. Firstly Joyā who was a learned man eclipsed their reputation, and secondly at that time Kashmīr had already produced a number of great poets like Ṣarfī, Ghanī, Sālim etc., so only he could hold some position in the realm of poetry who was extraordinarily precocious and imaginative and prone to present his poetry with an alluring beauty.. ....whose poems were bathed in the amber light of his own imagination who invested his poetry with the Semblance of truth and whose poetry appealed to the readers' feelings. Whatever the reason, we have got but very little information about those poets who were his (Joyā's) relatives.

JOYĀ AND IBRĀHĪM:

Ibrāhīm Khān, the governor of Kashmīr, had great regard for Joyā, presumeably because both were Shī'ah. Ibrāhīm Khān who was appointed governor of Kashmīr by Aurangzeib in A.H. 1088 (A.D.1678) for the second time, was suspended by him (the Emperor) for backing the Shī'ās in sectarian feuds.[1] Being a zealous Shī'ah, Ibrāhīm Khān did favour to Joyā. A'zam writes in his history:

مرتبه اخیر که ابراهیم خان ناظم بود قرب بسیار داشت[2]

(F.N. Continued from p. 795.)

در پرده برنگ شمع فانوس ؛ کار تو همیشه خود نمای است
تحسین ز غمت هلاک گردید ؛ من بعد تخلص فدای است

'Alī Hasan Khān has quoted the following verse: at p. 82 of Subh-i-Gulshan:

باشد مکان ز گرم روی لامکان مرا ؛ در زیر پا چو آبله ست آسمان مرا

1. Shāh Nawāz Khān, Maāsir-al-'Umrā, Vol. I, p. 299.
2. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 302.

Mirzā Dārāb Baig Joyā was the greatest lyric (Ghazal) writer and third or fourth greatest poet of Kashmīrī poets of Persian language, after Sarfī, Ghanī and Sālim. His forefathers belonged to Irān, but he was born in Kashmīr, the paradise on earth. Ārzū writes:

مرزا داراب جویا از مردم خوب کشمیر است بعضی گویند که
ابائیش از ایران بودند و در کشمیر توطن اختیار نمودند [1]

" Mirzā Dārāb Joyā is amongst the good men of Kashmir. Some say that his ancesters were from Irān who settled down in Kashmīr."

Similarly Vālah Dāghistānī, Zakimī, 'Ibratī, are of this opinion,[2] but Sayyid 'Alī Hasan Khān the second son of Nawāb Sayyid Muhammad Sādiq Hasan Khān writes in Subh-i-Gulshan that his ancestors originally belonged to Tabrīz, but Joyā and his brother Goyā were born in the valley of Kashmīr:

جویا - میرزا داراب بیگ منشا اصولش شهر تبریز است
و مولد جویا و برادرش میرزا کامران گویا خطهٔ کشمیر مردم خیز [3]

" Joyā, Mirzā Dārāb-Baig whose ancestral place is the city of Tabrīz and the birth place of Joyā and his brother Mirzā Kāmrān Goyā is the intelligentisia producing valley of Kashmīr."

Like the greater number of his fellow poets, obscurity surrounds his life. We know nothing about his year of birth, his childhood or even his boy-hood. What our sources reveal to us is

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān , Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p.142.
2. Vālah Dāghistānī, 'Alī Qulī Baig, Riyāz-ush-Shurarā, p. 191.

مرزا داراب جویا اصلش از ایران و تولدش در کشمیر واقع شده

Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anis-ul-'Ashiqīn, Ms, fol. 124a
'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mirāt-ul-Khiyāl, Ms, fol. 30b.

3. 'Alī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 110.

" When Ibrāhīm Khān was the governor for the last time he was much honoured by him."

Hussin Qulī Khān's statement also corroborates him. He writes in Nishtar-i-ʿIshq :

ابراہیم خان بن علی مردان خان بادی بسلوک پیش می آمد و دستگیری و مراعات وافری فرمود[1]

" Ibrahīm Khān son of ʿAlī Mardān Khān had his treatment good with him and used to help and favour him much."

Sayyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān also confirms this statement.[2]

JOYĀ........A LEARNED POET:

Joyā was a poet of considerable merits. Taking into view Ārzū's statement one reaches the conclusion that in a short while his (Joyā's) reputation for learning shot out in all directions with a meteoric velocity, rendering him a centre of attraction for all kinds of seekers after knowledge. It was in pursuance of his literary fame that many seekers after learning gathered round him. Ārzū says:

اکثر صاحب سخنان کشمیر که در عهد فقیر بودند شاگرد میرزا جویا بودند مثل ملا ساطع و عبدالغنی بیگ قبول[3]

1. Hussin Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-ʿIshq , Ms, fol. 262b.
2. Sayyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 110.

ابراہیم خان حاکم کشمیر در مراعات او بدل کوشیدی و در حسن سلوک بادی گرم جوشیدی

3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafāʾis, Ms, p. 142.

" Many poets of Kashmīr, like Mullā Sāṭiʿ and ʿAbdul Ghanī Beig Qabūl who were living during my time, were pupils of Mirzā Joyā."

These are the two famous poets, but others who were not eminent those days are not a inconsiderable number. The biographies of these poets will be written in the next chapter.

It is, however evident that he was a learned man having a good literary taste. According to Aʿẓam's statement he had achieved distinction amongs the poets of his age. He writes:

مرزا داراب از شعرای عهد خود امتیاز داشت [1]

" Mirzā Dārāb had distinction amongs the poets of his time."

Surely it was his poetry which has imparted immortality to Joyā.

HIS TEACHERS:

About his education we know but very little. The information conveyed in this respect by Aʿẓam is, that he used to keep company with Mullā Muḥammad Saʿīd Ashraf (d. 1116 A.H.)[2] and Mullā ʿAlī Raẓā Tajallī. He writes:

با محمد سعید اشرف و ملا علی رضا تجلی صحبت داشته واین دو شاعر مذکور مشهور
همراه ابراهیم خان در کشمیر بنوبت آمده از استادان او بوده اند [3]

" He kept company with Muḥammad Saʿīd Ashraf and Mullā ʿAlī Raẓā Tajallī, and both these famous poets, who once went to Kashmir in the company of Ibrāhīm Khān, were amongst his teacher."

1. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 302
2. Hazīn, ʿAlī, Shaikh, Tazkirah-i-Shuʿarā, Ms., fol. 42b.

Both these poets were, no doubt, renowned in their age. Sarkhush, a contemporary, praises them. Undoubtedly Mullā Muḥammad Sa'īd Ashraf was a learned man, and his erudition is evident from the fact that he remined teacher of Aurenzaib's daughter Zeib-un-Nisā. But it is strange to note that both the internal and external sources are silent on this point. None has supported the version of A'zam. Ārzū from a few Maqṭa's of his 'Ghazals' presumes that he was the pupil of Mu'iz Fiṭrat,[1] who, according to Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, went to India in 1082 A.H.[2] This Fiṭrat, who is well known as Mūsvī Khān, was on good terms with Mullā Sa'īd Ashraf and Sarkhush had often seen him (Ashraf) in Mūsvī's house, busy in conversation with him. It is, therefore, possible that through Ashraf Joyā found his way to Fiṭrat (d. 1096 A.H.) However, we cannot definitely say how and when he went to Fiṭrat and became his pupil. Ārzū has not quoted any verse in support of his verdict. The 'Dīvān' before us is an incomplete one, so we are helpless in saying anything about the untruth of his statement.

In the preface of Dīvān-i-Ṣā'ib which appears at folio 107a of his 'Dīvān' he calls Mirzā Ṣā'ib, his teacher. He writes:

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms, p. 142.
و در بعضی از مقاطع خود را بشاگردی میر معز فطرت ذکر کرده
2. Ṭāhir Naṣr Ābādī, Tazkirah-i-Naṣr ābādī, P. 176.
یک سال قبل از حال تحریر روانهٔ هندوستان شد

"He went to Inida, one year earlier than this was written."

It is pointed out here that Ṭāhir completed his 'Tazkirah' in 1083 A.H.

پایه معانی بلندش بجای رسیده که تا از بحرین اندیشه ببار آمده گوهر گوش سخن شناسان عالم گردیده، یعنی صدر نشین مسند استعداد ماروائی، فیض جمیع خدا داد جان جهان معنی پیرائی سلطان ممالکت لفظ آرائی بدخشان رنگین سخن و معنی پروری، بحرین صاحب ملکهای وسخنوری روشنگر مرات حقائق، گنجینه دار رموز دقائق، طور تجلی دل آگاهی کامیاب دولت معنی دستگاهی، استادی ملک الشعرای میرزائی میرزا صائب است تواند بود لیکن بمقتضای حق نمک سخن و سواد دعوی شاگردی درین فن باین چند فقره شکسته بسته جسارت نموده[1]

He, in the following verse also, calls Ṣā'ib his teacher:

طور آن غزل جو یا که گفت استاد من صائب ÷ ادب لب تشنه در آغوش آب کوثرم دارد[2]

Ṣā'ib was one of the greatest poets of the age. He was a Shī'ah and belonged to Tabrīz, the ancestral place of Joyā; so he shows respect to him by calling himself a pupil of his, otherwise, as we have already stated, the case is different, because Ṣā'ib left Kashmīr for Irān in 1042-43 A.H. and never came back. Furthermore, no Tazkirah writer has stated that he (Joyā) ever went to Irān. The phrase بمقتضای حق نمک سخن و سواد دعوی شاگردی درین فن supports our views.

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 107a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 92a.

JOYĀ'S MARRIAGE AND OTHER ASPECTS OF HIS LIFE:

Joyā who was a gifted poet of no inconsiderable merit and whose poetry brought him on an equal footing with the great men of letters of his age and who attracted the notice of eminent persons of the time, is little known to posterity, so far as his biography is concerned. Pitch darkness prevails on main aspects of his life. About his marriage and his children the 'Tazkirah' writers are mute but the internal ie. his 'Dīvān' reveals to us that he got himself married and a son was born to him in the year 1108 A.H. (1693 A.D.) Whose name was Mirzā Abul Khair. Joyā writes a chronogram at the birth of his said son which is as follows:

دلم بہر تاریخ میلادِ او ؛ درِ معنی از منقبت کلک سفت
سراپا زبان غنچہ سان شد نخست ؛ پس آنگہ "گل باغ امید" گفت[1]

The numerical value of the phrase گل باغ امید is 1108.

About his means of livelihood, and such like other aspects, nothing can be said definitely. 'Tazkirah' writers throw no light on the subject. Internal source, however, reveals that he was in the good books of the governors of Kashmīr and apparently it seems probable that these governors used to support him.

Dārāb'S DEATH:

We should be thankful to the biographers that they are at least unanimous in regard to the year of Dārāb's death. Zakhmī,

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol.84a.

Aʿẓam, ʿIbratī all are of the view that Joyā died in 1118 A.H.(1707A.[1]
It would be of interest to point out here that this is the year of Aurangzaib's death too. Aʿẓam has given a verse indicating the chronogram of his death. This is somewhat indecent. The reason put forth by Aʿẓam for this indecent verse is that being a Shīʿah Joyā used to joke at Sunnīs while writing their elegy. Once he wrote the following couplet at the death of a certain Sunnī.

بر سرش گل باد گرز آتشین ÷ بر تنش نار جهنم نور باد [2]

Therefore at the time of his death some one wrote this indecent chronogram which reades:

رافضی تاریخ جویا لیست و هفتش بود کم ÷ چونکه گز گز کردند او را گشت تاریخش درست [3]

In this verse we have to add the numerical value of the word 'Gaz' گز (Yard) with that of 'Rāfẓī' رافضی (heretic) which comes to 1118 and this is the year of his death.

ʿIbratī in Mirāt-ul-Khiyāl reveals that he was buried in Kashmīr. و به همان خطهٔ کشمیر مدفون ساختند [4]

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1. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-Ashqīn, Ms, fol. 124a.
داراب بیگ ..... در زمان عالمگیر پادشاه در ۱۱۱۸ھ یکهزار و یکصد و هژده وفات یافته
ʿIbratī, Vazīr ʿAlī, Mirāj-ul-Khiyāl, Ms, fol. 31a.
آخر کار بعهد عالمگیر در سنه یک هزار و یکصد و هژده بجوار رحمت حق پیوست
Aʿẓam, Muhammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 342.
میرزا داراب در شهور سنه یک هزار و یکصد و هژده سوی گلزار عالم آخرت شد
2. Ibid, M,s page. 342.
3. Ibid, Ms, p. 342.
4. ʿIbratī, Vazīr ʿAlī, Mirāj-ul-Khiyāl, Ms, fol. 31b.

5. ʿ[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] .

HIS RELIGION:

Both the internal and external sources point out that he was the follower of Shīʿa creed. In many 'Ghazals' he has praised Hazrat ʿAlī, the fourth caliph, (May peace be upon him).

دل جویا نخورد زین غزل آرای آب ∴ منقبت سنج بود خامهٔ مدحت گرِ او
شاهِ مردان جهان آنکه زبانِ قلمم ∴ زین دو مطلع شده پیوسته ثناگرِ او
بود عالم نه‌هم ذرهٔ خاکِ درِ او ∴ عالم و هرچه در و هست بگردِ سرِ او
هرکه شد تاجِ سرش خاکِ درِ قنبرِ او ∴ بر فلک ناز کند بلکه ببالا تر او
بعد قنبر ز غلامانِ علی دار الست ∴ کس نیارد ذکر ... همسرِ او[1]

Moreover, in his 'Dīvān' there are at least nine Qaṣīdahs in praise of all the twelve Imāms and Qaṣīdahs in praise of Hazrat Sayyidat-un-Nisa are available. We shall quote the opening lines of all these Qaṣīdahs when we write a detailed account of his 'Dīvān.'

Furthermore, he was in the good books of Ibrāhīm Khān who was a staunch Shīʿa and was once suspended from the governorship of Kashmīr owing to backing Shīʿas against Sunnīs. A Rubāʿī of his grandson has already been quoted by us at page 795 (footnote) of this thesis, which clearly indicates the creed of which his grandson was a followers

HIS PUPILS:

Two prominent pupils of Dārāb Joyā were ʿAbdul Ghanī Beig Qabūl and Mullā ʿAbdul Hakīm Sāṭiʿ, about whome we shall write in the next chapter which deals with the poets who flourished after Aurangzeib

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1. Aʿẓam, Muhammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 342.

JOYĀ'S TRAVELS:

It is not evident from any 'Tazkirah' that Joyā ever left his native land, but from his 'Dīvān' it comes to light that he came to Lāhore at least once.

بستم میان همت جویا بسیر لاهور ؛ امید وصل یار نازک کمر مبارک[1]

In a Rubā'ī which appears at folio 88b of his 'Dīvān' he expresses his views about the inhabitants of Lāhore in the following words:

از مردم لاهور مجو صدق و صفا ؛ باشد دل شان مائل تلبیس و ریا[2]

It cannot be stated as to how long he remained in Lāhore, or in the vicinity of Lāhore, or in the Panjāb; but it is without exaggeration that a beautiful woman of a certain village fascinated his fancy, with the result that he wrote a 'Ghazal' in her praise in order to express his feelings and sentiments. Its opening line is:

دل سپردم غنچهٔ خندان تو جبتی ؛ جان میدهم خندهٔ پنهان تو جبتی[3]

The last line ie., the 'Maqta'' of his 'Ghazal' indicates that Joyā remained as guest in the house of that handsome lady. He says:

فرداست که خواهد سوی کشمیر روان شد ؛ جویا دو سه روزی شده مهمان تو جبتی[4]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 132 b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 88b.
   Tālib Āmulī's opinion about the people of Lahore is:

   یا لی زابل هندوستان گروهی ؛ بدل نزدیکی ارباب لاهور
   به حسن خلق و حسن چهره مانند ؛ به اصحاب بهشت اصحاب لاهور

3. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 160a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 160a.

JOYĀ IN THE EYES OF CRITICS:

Joyā as a poet ranks very high in the literary domain. The 'Tazkirah' writers as well as historians who have given him room in their respective works hail him very high. Here we take the oportunity of quoting the views of a few of men of letters about him and his poetry. Muhammad A'ẕam writes:

میرزا داراب جویا ..... صاحب سخن و معنی یاب بود و در فن سخن پردازی تتبع میرزا صائب می نمود

.... میرزا داراب از شعرای عهد خود امتیاز داشت و صاحب دیوان فصاحت بیان است[1]

Ārzū is of the view that:

جویا اکثر متتبع طرز میرزا صائب است علیه الرحمة و اندکی بروش میر معز نیز رفته ..... بهرحال میرزا داراب جویا بسیار خوش فکر و معنی تلاش است ...... مثنوی مختصر نیز دارد و آنهم خالی از تازگی نیست ...... بهرحال از متاخران کشمیر مثل او کم خاسته بلکه میتوان گفت که تمام شعرای کشمیر که هستند از دامن تربیت او یا تربیت کردهٔ او برخاسته اند[2]

Shafīq expresses his views about him in the following words:

میرزا داراب بیگ جویا کشمیری از فحول شعرا است و صنادید فصحا - زمین شعرش گلزمین کشمیر است و صهبای جامش فیض خم غدیر - خانوادهٔ او یکقلم معدن سخن است و مرجع ارباب این فن[3]

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1. A'ẕam, Muhammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms, p. 302.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 142.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 97b.

The author of Nighter-i-ʿIshq opines:

میرزا عبدالغنی کشمیری سرآمد شعرای کشمیر بوده اکثر شعرای آن مینو سواد از
تلامذهٔ او بوده .... در سخن سرائی پایهٔ عالی دارد و به نغمه سنجی طبع
متعالی، در شان اہل بیت علیهم السلام قصائد خوب و بسیار مرغوب انشا
فرموده دیوان وی مجتمع اقسام شاعری مرتب است ......
مذاق کلامش خالی از ادا بندی و نازک خیالی نیست [1]

Commenting on Joyā's Ghazals Dr. Muhammad Bāqir a scholar of the present age writes:

اگرچه جویا در تمام فنون سخن طبع آزمائی کرده است ولی اختصاص و
اہمیت او در غزل سرائی است از الفاظ متنوع و تازگی در سبک
هندی مقلد صائب است و او را استاد خود شمرده است [2]

Dr. ʿAbdul Hamīd ʿIrfānī who has spent a decade in Irān amongst the learned men of that country expresses the following views about his Ghazals:

بهترین معرف شعر جویا غزلیات او است. باریک خیالی، تشبیه و استعاره و صنائع
مختلف شعر که شعر سبک هندی را از سبک های دیگر جدا و متمایز ساخته است در
رنگ های بسیار زیبا جلوه گر است [3]

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1. Husain Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-ʿIshq, Ms. fol. 262a.
2. Bāqir, Muhammad, Dr. Life and works of Joyā of Tabrīz, (Oriental College Magzine, Vol. 30, Nos 3 &4.) p. 28
3. ʿIrfānī, ʿAbdul Hamīd, Khawājah, Irān-i-Saghīr, p.114.

CRITICAL APPRECIATION OF JOYĀ'S POETRY :

Persian poetry, since its very beginning, as we have already stated under the "Main characteristics of Sālim's poetry," has undergone but a very slight change up to the twentieth century of the Christian era. In other words, we may emphasize that so long as the sovereignty prevalied in the Eastern countries the poets followed the beaten paths. In the beginning of the twentieth century we find a few Iranian poets making attempts to deflect persian poetry from its traditional track and relieving it anaemia and stagnation with the frsh blood of a widely acquired experience; which they received from the prevalent situation in their country. Now in these days of ours, only those poets claim and deserve distinction who fall more or less in step with the new trend while contributing to Persian poetry something of their own singularity. But in the past (say three centuries ago) those poets were considered as having literary qualities and gifts of mind who could express their ideas (which according to Ibn Khaldūn are common to all) in beautiful words and pharases and adorn them with novel similies and metaphors.

It would be proper to point out here that leaving aside the Qasīdahs, the Ghazals were the only cause of a poet's popularity and immortality. The verses from Ghazals were quoted in the 'Tazkirahs' and these Ghazals were the main target of criticism. Ghazal had become a tradition and convention and the subject for this form of poetry had already been fixed. Now to deflect "Persian Ghazal" from

its formal or traditional track----in mode or in subject matter--was difficult if not impossible. Joyā, however, has made a few attempts to leave the trodden path. We find some Ghazals in his 'Dīvān which show that Joyā's creative disposition has introduced something new to Persian poetry. This leads to the conclusion that the poet had an aptitude for research for new forms and patterns which resultd in a diction somewhat divorced from the resources of a rich tradition in Persian poetry. No doubt a number of Joyā's Ghazals, like a greater number of lyric writers, reflect formality and conventionality but at times his singularity and personality reflect themselves eg. his creative disposition exposes itself in the following Ghazals:

کجا روم که بدردم رسید و هیچ نگفت ؛ فغان که نالهٔ زارم شنید و هیچ نگفت

چو دید شوخی شبنم برگ گل در باغ ؛ لب از حجاب بدندان گزید و هیچ نگفت

گرفتمش سر راهی بخاک و خون غلطان ؛ رسید برسرم آهی کشید و هیچ نگفت

بگفتمش که کباب نگاه کیست دلم ؛ بخنده جانب من گرم دید و هیچ نگفت

شنید شکوهٔ اغیار را زمن جویا

زغیرت خاطرش از جان رمید و هیچ نگفت[1]

مستور گشت رویش درزیر نقاب نیمی ؛ گوئی که منکشف شد از آفتاب نیمی

چون برگ لاله ما را هر لخت دل ز داغت ؛ خون گشته است نیمی گشته کباب نیمی

در حیرتم که چون رفت از خط تمام حسنش ؛ باقیست گرد آنروی آب و تاب نیمی

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 73b.

در دور رخ خط او نام خدا چه حیرت ؛ بیرون ابر مهی زیر سحاب بینی

از زلف و قیرش امشب پیمانهٔ دل من ؛ بینی پر از شراب است پر خون ناب بینی

جویا شب وصالش لطف دلت شده خوش

بنمود چهره اما از پس حجاب بینی[1]

تو و مستی و ناز و عشوه و مغرور خود بودن ؛ من و بی طاقتی و راه صحرا و پیما سودن

من و گریان چو ابر از غم من و نالان چو نی هر دم ؛ تو و خندان برنگ گل تو و پیمانه پیمودن

بضبط خویش تا کی غنچه می مانی که در آخر ؛ بخون دل چو برگ لاله باید دامن آلودن

اسیر شعلهٔ حسنم که در بزم تماشایش ؛ صدای دل شکستن آید از مژگان بهم سودن

زوال راه نباید در کمال باطنی جویا

بآب زر چه تا چند خواهی چهره اندودن[2]

هرگز نیاید دست و نیاید زما غلط ؛ ما و گله ز خوی تو؟ کذب - افترا - غلط

وصف لطافت تو همین لب کی کند ؛ با بوی گل غبار رهت را صبا غلط

بالیست جای دل بتو جان داد و آرمید ؛ کردند بیدلان تو در ابتدا غلط

اجزای کین و جور تو پا تا بسر صحیح ؛ اوراق مهر و لطف تو سر تا بپا غلط

فرسنگها بیک قدم از ره فتاده دور ؛ بنهاده در طریق وفا هر که پا غلط

جویا هر آنچه در حق تو گفته است غیر

وای دروغ، بیهوده، پا در هوا غلط[3]

آشفته زلف را ز صبا میکنی مکن ؛ ما را اسیر دام بلا میکنی مکن

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 161b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 147b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 131a.

بر شیشه پاره پای هوس می‌نهی مهنه ؛ قصد دل شکسته ما میکنی مکن
نسبت مرا باهل هوس میدهی مده ؛ تهمت بدردمندان وفا میکنی مکن
چون غنچه آرمیده دلم درکنار زخم ؛ آزرده اش بدرد دوا میکنی مکن
کی من ستم باهل هوس گرمی کنی ؛ این شیوه گر باهل وفا میکنی مکن

دل خوگرفته است بدرد تو جویا
منت کش دوا اش چرا میکنی مکن[1]

So far as the ideas in the Ghazals are concerned they are the passions and struggles of a typical lover for whom his beloved or 'fancy-man' is the most beautiful one, whose separation is one of the greatest catastrophies and whose re-union, the greatest blessing. The beloved has a face like the ~~xxxx~~ sun, a fore-head like the moon, eyes like the narcisus, eye-brows like the crescent, the hair and the tresses are musky etc., etc., The beloved is the most beautiful creature ever created by God, but he or she is faithless, cruel, rude, unkind, and hot-tempered.

تو جنگجو چقدر جور آشنا که نه ؛ تو بیوفا چقدر مائل جفا که نه
چو ماهی ای که طلبگار آب در دریاست ؛ کجا رود لب فراغت کسی کجا که نه
ترا ز حال دل خود چسان کنم آگاه ؛ تو آشنای نگه‌های آشنا که نه
کنایه فهم و سخن ساز و عاشق آزاری ؛ کجا رود کسی از دست تو کجا که نه
گرا شفیع خود آرم ز آشنایانت ؛ هیچ کس تو جای آشنا که نه

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms. fol. 147b.

منازاین قدر ای آسمان برفعت خویش ∴ غبار رهگذر شاه اولیاکه نئی [1]

امید مهر و وفا نیست از تو جویارا

توشوخ مردم رسم وره وفاکه نئی [1]

چو شوخ چشمی خود را ز روی آئینه دید ∴ ازان فرنگ حیا لاله رنگ چکید

میان چاه زنخدان او نشان یابد تا ∴ کسیکه پای دلش در ره هوس لغزید

اسیر زلف و رخ و خال و خط مدرس عشق ∴ بود چنانکه شناسی کسی سیاه و سپید

بکام مرده دلان ریختی زلال حیات ∴ لبت چو در جسدهای روح نغمه دمید

ز تیغ بازی برق نگاه او امروز ∴ ز روی باده کشان شعله رنگ پرید

لبان طائر ذی بال ی پرانیدند

اگرچه جویا میداشت پرخم دو برید [2]

Leaving the Ghazals aside we now copy a few isolated verses.

عبیر افشان که یارب کرد زلف عنبرینش را ∴ که عطر آگین برنگ نافه شد از بوی او شبها [3]

ابرو که بر چهرهٔ دلدار بلند است ∴ یا مطلع برجستهٔ بسیار بلند است [4]

به آب و تاب گل جمالت کبش رخسار و عقد دندان ∴ هو انگر بد چنین نخند سمن بر دید گهر نه بندد [5]

داغ داغ است لخت لخت دلم ∴ لاله زار مرا تماشا کن

بی تو روز و شبم بناله گذشت ∴ روزگار مرا تماشا کن

در بیابان ز لاغری بنظر

جسم زار مرا تماشا کن [6]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā , Ms. fol. 157a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 130a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 26a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 77b
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 122b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 150b.

In his poetry, especially in the 'Romantic verses,' we find the imaginative flights and subtle exposition of delicate theme at their climax and the new subjects in abundance. Here a few verses would suffice to serve as pattern.

۱. نامهٔ پیچیدهٔ عشاق زخم بسته است ÷ دست در خون میزنی گر وا کنی این نامه را

۲. اشکم ز دیده بیغرض طوطی فرو چکید ÷ زان حسن سبز لیک دلم آب خورده است

۳. سبزهٔ خط را دهد نشو و نما ÷ داد از حسنت که دشمن پرور است

۴. بی رخصت رقیب بوصلت نمی رسم ÷ چون دیدن بهشت که بعد از قیامت است

۵. چو میدیدم دلش را مایل بی تابی عاشق ÷ بانگ جور او دانسته صد فریادی کردم

۶. پیراهن جسم نازک او ÷ جویا از نکهت بهار است

۷. اگر در گریه خودداری کنم چشمم خطر دارد ÷ ز ضبط اشک ترسم این جراحت آب بر دارد

۸. ز شوق زخم شمشیرت دلم بر خاری غلطد ÷ سرت گردم دمی هم کار فرما شوق مردت را

From the following '<u>Gh</u>azal ' it appears that Joyā fell in love with a village girl in whose house he remained as a guest for two or three days. Unfortunately he could not get any response from her.

دل میبردم غنچهٔ خندان تو جیتی ÷ جان میدهدم خندهٔ پنهان تو جیتی

دردم چو اثر کرد درو منصب دل یافت ÷ دل پهلوی من غنچهٔ پیکان تو جیتی

بیهوشیم از نشئهٔ جوش طهور است ÷ باشد می و نقلم لب و دندان تو جیتی

صد مرتبه افسرده تر از شمع مزار است ÷ گر سینت دل سوخته سوزان تو جیتی

دلبر است چو شربت بر داز رنگ برنگی ÷ حق نمک نعمت الوان تو جیتی

گر مهر منیر است و گر مشتری و ماه ÷ قربان تو قربان تو قربان تو جیتی

ننواختی آخر بتبسم دلِ ما را ÷ بر زخم نمکون گشت نمکدان تو جیتی

فریاد که بر سفرهٔ اخلاص نباشد ÷ جز خون جگر قسمت مهمان تو جبتی

غافل مشو از حال دلم کاتش عشقش ÷ باشد سبب گرمی دکان تو جبتی

خون دل کان ریزد و آب رخ دریا ÷ یاقوت لب و گوهر دندان تو جبتی

فرداست که خواهد سوی کشمیر روان شد ÷ جویا دو سه روزی شده مهمان تو جبتی[1]

Joyā's '<u>Gh</u>azals' also contain those sort of verses which are categorically the out-come of a 'Progressive brain! The following verses on the subject would suffice. eg.

2. آبی زدانهٔ عنب ای دل چشیده نیست ÷ غافل مشو که این سر پستان کلید نیست

3. شب که عریان بجز آن شوخ قدح نوشم بود ÷ یک بغل نور چو فانوس در آغوشم بود

4. نقد جان بیعانهٔ یک بوسه زان لعل لب است ÷ شاد زی ای دل که سودا میشود نگین مبارک

5. فرهاد اگر بمیرم تو گویید ز دلبرش ÷ دشنام تلخ چند لب شیرین دهم عوض

6. آب و رنگی نمانده بالحلت تو ÷ تشنهٔ ظاهر مکنید ترا

7. شکر خدا که امروز کامم ز لبش گرفتم ÷ بر گلشن امیدم گل برگ تر مبارک

8. کردیم نو بنو بوس نام خدا ز لعلش ÷ بر نخل نارس ما بادا ثمر مبارک

9. سخن چو شیرهٔ جان سالها چکد ز لبم ÷ بانکه لعل لبت را مکیده ام امشب

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1. Joya, Darab Baig, Mirza, <u>Divan-i-Joya</u>, Ms, fol. 160a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 33b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 95a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 129a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 130b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 29b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 132a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 132b.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 32a.

In the preceeding pages we have reviewed Joyā's romantic poetry and have stated that the study of his 'Dīvān' indicates his conventionality in regard to the subject matter of his '<u>Gh</u>azals' though at places he has shown his consciousness for a search for new forms and patterns. We have tried to explain our verdict by quoting examples from his 'Dīvān'. It is, however, not improper to point out here that no poetry is devoid of imagination, similies, metaphors and the like. Exaggeration and heperbole are the essential ingredients of this type of poetry, so to quote examples in this regard would be of no use. The reader will find all these qualities in the verses copied in the preceeding ~~pages~~ as well as in the following pages.

Joyā has a lyrical temperament, tempered and controlled by his own way of thought. In his lyrics we find keenness of perception and a meticulously self exacting workman-ship. The continuity of mood which is not found in almost any '<u>Gh</u>azal' writer is present in his '<u>Gh</u>azals'. In this respect he out shines his contemporary poets. Here Joyā's executive style and diction is noteworthy. eg.

از پای فگنده است مرا محنت و غم های ؛ برگیر ز خاک رهم ای دست کرم های
سرگرمیم از آتش سوزان تمناست ؛ چون آبله پای طلب ساغر جم های
غیر از تو ندانم بکه گویم ز جفایت ؛ از دست تو پیش که روم های ستم های
از منت احسان تو داغست دل ما ؛ دلسوز تری از تو ندیدیم الم های
فریاد که از پرخم آن طرهٔ مشکین ؛ در بند فرنگست دلم های دلم های
سر از گره ابروی بیداد نه پیچیم ؛ جویا بجان قبضهٔ شمشیر قسم های[1]

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1. Joyā, Dārab Beig, Mirzā, <u>Dīvān-i-Joyā</u>, Ms, fol. 161a.

زسرو یار که در بر کشیده ام امشب ٭ لب لب گل آغوش چیده ام امشب

براه شوق تو مانند شمع در ره باد ٭ ز چشم منتظر خود چکیده ام امشب

ز رفتن تو چنان دلفسرده ام که بس است ٭ دهان قهقهه جیب دریده ام امشب

خیال گلشن کوی تو خوابم از سر برد ٭ شمیم گل شده رنگ پریده ام امشب

سخن چو شیرهٔ جان سالها چکید ز بسم ٭ با نیکه لعل لبت را مکیده ام امشب

لشبا براه طریقت رسیده ام جویا

بکوچه باغ دو زلفش دویده ام امشب[1]

Further more Joya addresses his beloved in his 'Ghazals' and this adds charm to his poetry. eg.

شب خیالم بخواب دید ترا ٭ چقدر ببر کشید ترا

مور ره یافته بخرمن گل ٭ یا خط عنبرین دمید ترا

پای تا سر بره است اندامت ٭ نگه میتوان چشید ترا

آب رنگی نمانده با لعلت ٭ تشنهٔ ظاهر مکید ترا

گل و شمشاد و سرو را دیدم ٭ بهمه ناز میرسید ترا[1]

گشت جویا ز خود تهی چون ماه

تا تواند ببر کشید ترا[2]

It is of no use to quote scores of examples so we divert our attention to his mystical and eithical poetry, as the-se subjects are part and parti-al of lyrical poetry.

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1. Joya, Darab Baig, Mirza, Divan-i-Joya., Ms, fol. 32a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 29b.

MYSTICAL AND ETHICAL POETRY:

This sort of poetry deals with the subjects like the Unity of God, recluse, contentment, courtesy, patience, generosity and the like. These are the main topics of Persian poetry and a number of verses on these subjects can be found in the 'Dīvāns' of poets, who were neither Ṣūfīs nor atheists. Similar is the case of Dārāb Joyā. All these subjects have been expressed by him in his own words. A number of his verses contain vocabularistic magnificance, tender phraseology, suggestive similes and metaphors and these qualities of his persuade the reader to give him a high place in the realm of poetry, but at times we find that mystical and ethical poetry is devoid of the elegance and ecstasy visible in the poetry of those who were mystics in the real sense of the word. Furthermore Joyā has not made so frequent a use of philosophical terms in his poetry as ʿUrfī and a few other poets have done. The following Ghazals, we presume, will suffice to show the pattern of his mystical and ethical poetry.

اگر چشمی بزیر افگنده باشی ؛ چو خورشید برین تابنده باشی
کم از مهر سلیمانی نباشد ؛ اگر دل را ز دنیا کنده باشی
بگیتی با به از صد ساله شاهیست ؛ اگر یکدم توانی بنده باشی
شکست قیمتت در خودفروشی ؛ مگر از خویش ناارزنده باشی
ز گلگشت بهشت افتاده دور ؛ ز سوی خلق اگر آگنده باشی
ترا بس سرخ روئی رنگ خجلت ؛ گر از کردار خود شرمنده باشی
اگر خود را نه بینی مردمک وار ؛ بچشم مردمان زیبنده باشی
بجوید تا کسی جویا نیابد ؛ اگر جوینده ای یابنده باشی[1]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 162a.

دلی که نیست حزین شادمان نمی باشد :: گر این چنین نبود آن جهان نمی باشد

ز حادثات اگر خواهی ایمنی بگریز :: بکشوری که درو آسمان نمی باشد

چه مایهٔ نفع کز اول عمر بر گیرد :: کسی را گر غم سود و زیان نمی باشد

باوج قرب جهان رهبری ز استدلال :: برای بام فلک نردبان نمی باشد

بقدر بودن دنیا بفکر دنیا باش :: کسی همیشه درین خاکدان نمی باشد

بهشت نقدی اگر هست در جهان جویا

بجز مصاحبت دوستان نمی باشد[1]

آنانکه رو بخلوت آن دلربا کنند :: باید که خویش را ز خود اول جدا کنند

آهی ضمیر مایهٔ صد صبح روشن است :: آنجا که رو بعالم صدق و صفا کنند

تا آبروی شان نرود همچو آب جو :: پاکان بقطرهٔ چو گهر اکتفا کنند

آنانکه شاه کشور شب زنده داری اند :: شب را قیاس سایهٔ بال هما کنند

همچو شکست شیشه صدای شود بلند :: اینجا اگر نگه بنگه آشنا کنند

جویا جماعتی که هوس میکنند عشق

دانسته خویش را ببلا مبتلا کنند[2]

خون خوردن این قدر پی تحصیل مال چیست :: دانسته ای که زندگی را مآل چیست ؟

بی بهره نیست هیچ کس از روشنی چو ماه :: جز فیض عام حاصل کسب کمال چیست ؟

بر روی خواب غفلت دلها زند گلاب :: اگر نگشته عرق انفعال چیست ؟

از آسمان حصول تمنا چه ممکن است :: خون خوردن تو در طلب این محال چیست؟

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā , Ms, fol. 103b
2. Ibid, Ms fol. 106a.

در پیش تیغ ابروی خورشید عارضش ؛ سیف الکواکب کیست بدیع الجمال چیست؟

پیچند اهل فقر بدورِ شکم دوال ؛ در صید نفس حاجت طبل و دوال چیست

مه را بچشم عبرت اگر کس نظر کند ؛ داند که داغ خجلت روی سوال چیست [1]

جویا بهوش کی نه کرمست کردگار

آنجا که فضل اوست بر آن از وبال چیست [2]

چند دل را بجهان گذران شاد کنی ؛ خانه بر رهگذر سیل چه بنیاد کنی

خانهٔ دل که درو غیر هوا ره نیست ؛ بهوس همچو حبابش ز چه آباد کنی

پیچ و تاب الم عشق بود جوهر او ؛ گر دلت را همه چو بیضهٔ فولاد کنی

حلقهٔ دام تنگ شود از قامت او ؛ قاف تا قاف جهان صید پریزاد کنی

حال دل کسب خود البت ز تعمیر گذشت ؛ با دو پیمانه اش از نو مگر آباد کنی

دل بی عشق گرفتار هوس شد جویا

کاش در بند غمش آری و آزاد کنی [3]

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1. Ghani has also expressed this idea in a beeautiful manner. He says

کاسهٔ خود پر مکن زنهار از خوان کسی ؛ داغ از احسان خورشید است بر دل ماه را

2. Joya, Darab Baig, Mirza, Divan-i-Joya , Ms, fol. 34b.

3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 159a.

SHORTER METRES:

According to critics a poet is really praiseworthy who uses shorter metres because in such metres he has to express his ideas briefly and with simplicity. He is unable to use compound phrases and farfetched similies and metaphors. This, however, shows that the poet has a command over the language and he can beautifully express his ideas in a few words. Taking this into view, we can say without the least shadow of doubt that Joyā ranks very high in this respect. In the following Ghazals of his 'Dīvān' the reader will find that in shorter metres he has used long Radīfs and has displayed his efficiency.

چشم او آشیانهٔ دل ما ؛ حلقهٔ زلف خانهٔ دل ما

اشک ما حقهٔ الیست سربسته ؛ راز دار فسانهٔ دل ما

عشق آتش مزاج گل رویان ؛ گشته معمار خانهٔ دل ما

نیست جویا عجیب این گلشن

گل بود آشیانهٔ دل ما [1]

آسوده دلی که بیقرار است ؛ آن دیده خنک که شعله بار است

چون آئینه عیب جو درین بزم ؛ تا عیب نما است عیب دار است

بر ساحت نه فلک کند سیر ؛ هر کس بر خویشتن سوار است

بر پشت لب تو سبزهٔ خط ؛ چون موج نسیم نو بهار است

فریاد که زور عشقم انداخت ؛ در دریا که بی کنار است

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1. Joyā, Dārab Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā , Ms, fol. 23b.

دلی که عاشق و صابر بود مگر سنگ است ؛ ز عشق تا به صبوری هزار فرسنگ است

2. [illegible], Ms, Foll. [illegible] 80b.

In the following 'Ghazals the 'Radīf' and 'Qāfiyah' is noteworthy.

دل ز جانانه میتواند شد ؛ کعبه بتخانه می‌تواند شد
چون نگار طولی اختیار کنند ؛ دل که دیوانه می‌تواند شد
چاک چاک است بسکه دل ز غمت ؛ زلف را شانه می‌تواند شد
گر تنم خشت خم کشد پس مرگ ؛ خاک میخانه می‌تواند شد
دیده گر چون صدف سفید شود ؛ اشک دردانه می‌تواند شد
بسکه بی او طپید مرد ملکم ؛ دل پروانه می‌تواند شد

سرمهٔ چشم وحشتم جویا
گرد ویرانه می‌تواند شد[1]

انکسار مرا تماشا کن ؛ اعتبار مرا تماشا کن
بار دل میکشم ز بیکاری ؛ کار و بار مرا تماشا کن
داغ داغ است لخت لخت دلم ؛ لاله زار مرا تماشا کن
گشته آلبتن ز سحر ؛ شب تار مرا تماشا کن
بی تو روز و شبم بناله گذشت ؛ روزگار مرا تماشا کن
در خیابان ز لاغری بنظر ؛ جسم زار مرا تماشا کن
بر نمی‌خیزد از زمین گردم ؛ انکسار مرا تماشا کن[2]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 88b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 150b.

خوی تو مناسبت نجوید

با شعله که طفل نی سوار است

در چشم من بر کنار موجیست

هر موج بچشم من کنار است

گر غنچه دل شگفته باشد

هر سوی که بنگری بهار است

هرگز روی خوشی نمی بیند

هر دل که نه از غمت دوچار است

صبر و دل بیقرار عاشق

پیمانه و دست رعشه دار است[2]

پیراهن جسم نازک او

جویا ز نکهت بهار است[1]

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1. Joye, Larab Beig, Mirza, Divan-i-Joya, Ms, fol. 65a and 65b.
2. Sa di says:
دلی که عاشق و صابر بود مگر سنگ است ... ز عشق تا بصبوری هزار فرسنگ است
3. [illegible], Ms, foll. [illegible] 65b.

In the following '<u>Gh</u>azals the 'Radīf' and 'Qāfiyah' is noteworthy.

دل ز جانانه میتواند شد ÷ کعبه بتخانه می تواند شد

چون فلاطونی اختیار کنند ÷ دل که دیوانه می تواند شد

چاک چاک است سینهٔ دل ز غمت ÷ زلف را شانه می تواند شد

گر تنم خشت خم گشته پس مرگ ÷ خاک میخانه می تواند شد

دیده گر چون صدف سفید شود ÷ اشک در دانه می تواند شد

لسکه بی او لمپید مرد ملکم ÷ دل پروانه می تواند شد

سرمهٔ چشم وحشتم جویا
گرد ویرانه می تواند شد[1]

گلعذار مرا تماشا کن ÷ اعتبار مرا تماشا کن

بار دل میکشم ز بیکاری ÷ کار و بار مرا تماشا کن

داغ داغ است لخت لخت دلم ÷ لاله زار مرا تماشا کن

گشته آبستن هزار سحر ÷ شب تار مرا تماشا کن

بی تو روز و شبم بناله گذشت ÷ روزگار مرا تماشا کن

در نیایم ز لاغری بنظر ÷ جسم زار مرا تماشا کن

بر نمی خیزد از زمین گردم ÷ انکسار مرا تماشا کن[2]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, <u>Divān-i-Joyā</u>, Ms, fol. 88b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 150b.

a nu̇ber of '<u>Gh</u>azals' can be quoted in this respect. Joyā himself appreciates the shorter metres. He says:

در بحر خفیف شعر گفتن :: چو با مزهٔ تمام دارد[1]

To quote another '<u>Gh</u>azal' of Joyā would not be inappropriate:

چشمت که ز خون یا شرابیست :: دائم بی خان و مان خرابیست

روی تو چو آفتاب پر نور :: لعلت گلقند آفتابیست

مو خط تست چشم مستت :: این کافر گر یا کتابیست

امروز لباس شاهد می :: از شیشهٔ بزم او گلابیست

در عین ظهور روی مستور :: پنهان به نقاب بی حجابیست

از یک دو چشم تر بردیم

گوئی که رباعی سما بیست[2]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, <u>Dīvān-i-Joyā</u>, Ms, fol. 93b

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 53a.

JOYĀ'S QUATRAIN:

Joyā's 'Dīvān' does not contain a large number of quatrains. They are a few in number and form a part of his mystical and ethical poetry. Following Rubā'īs will suffice to prove our verdict:

۱- هر کس که بتعلقات دل باخته است ؛ خود را بعجب بلائی انداخته است
بی ساخته از ساختگی بیزارم ؛ بی ساختگی بطبع من ساخته است

2 - آن دل که ز جام عشق مسرور بود ؛ در سینه اگر بماند مجبور بود
تا کی در قید جسم خاکی باشد ؛ آخر تا چند زنده در گور بود

3 - آنکس که بگریه روزگارش گذرد ؛ در روسیهی لیل و نهارش گذرد
عار از طلب آنرا که نباشد چو ماه ؛ از کاسهٔ همسایه مدارش گذرد

4 - در بتکده و کعبه نباشد جویا ؛ مطلوب بجز معرفتِ ذات خدا
مقصود یکیست مومن و کافر را ؛ منظور یکیست دیده گو باش دوتا

5 - خواهی دل روشن ار چو مهر انور ؛ صیقل کنش از موجهٔ خوناب جگر
بر صاف دل اسرار خفی بینت نهان ؛ خط از عینک جلی نماید به نظر

1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 88a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 91a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 96a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol.
5. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, fol. 302.

The above quoted Rubā'īs show his talent in writing this form of poetry. It is of no use to quote scores of examples. From these and the verses quoted under his mystical and ethical poetry, one can easily conclude that what he writes is but 'abundance of an idle brain and poetical forgery! Three more Rubā'īs are quoted here.

۱ - دنیا داری باعام مردن عجب است ÷ مکر خواب و خیال خوردن عجب است
چون هست یقینت که سفر باید کرد ÷ اندیشهٔ زاد راه نکردن عجب است

2 - در سینهٔ تو چون گذر کینه فتد ÷ آن کس به حبس دیرینه فتد
عیب دگرت اینکه زبس پیر دلی ÷ عکس تو محال است در آئینه فتد

3 - الغارکه بیش از همه شی ثروت تو ÷ افزون ز کریان جهان همت تو
با عالم ریش گاو اگر میبازی ÷ از هیچ خری کم نبود دولت تو

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 89a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 89a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 90a.

JOYĀ'S EULOGIES AND PANEGYRIC POETRY:

Joyā's eulogies and panegyric poetry mainly consists of encomiums and Qaṣīdahs in praise of Ḥaẓrat ʿAlī, the fourth calif, Ḥaẓrat Sayyida-tun-Nisā and the Imāms. He has also praised Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān, who remained governor of Kashmīr during his lifetime.

The number of encomiums is five, but as ill-luck would have it they are not complete in all respects, because a few folios are missing from the manuscript copy of Joyā's 'Dīvān'. The Qaṣīdahs in praise of Ḥaẓrat ʿAlī are as many as nine. Their opening verses are given below.

۱- بی خرد نبود بهره از ارباب هنر ÷ قیمت رشته ببالا نرود از گوهر

۲- نوبهار دردم و داغت گل سودای من ÷ صد چو مجنون بدل گم کرده صحرای من

۳- بحمدالله زبان نکته سنجم گوهر افشان شد ÷ امیرالمومنین شاه ولایت را ثناخوان شد

۴- شد زطبعم مدح سنج سرور دنیا و دین ÷ شافع محشر شه مردان امیرالمومنین

۵- فصل آن شد که پی سیر جهان پیر فلک ÷ پیش چشم از مه و خورشید گذارد عینک

۶- اشکم نه بیتو از مژه تر فرو چکید ÷ کز ابر تیره خون اخگر فرو چکید

۷- هزار شکر که سرمستم از شراب طهور ÷ پراست شیشه ام از می و سیم ز انگور

۸- راز پنهان غنچه را کرد از لب اظهار گل ÷ از در و دیوار گلشن می کند اسرار گل

۹- در بلندی پست دنیای اسیر انقلاب ÷ زورق عمرت تباهی گشته در موج سراب

1. Joyā, Iʿrāb Baig, Mirzā, Divān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 15a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 17b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 18b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 20b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 22a.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 23b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 25a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 27b.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 29b.

As a matter of fact, they are formal and conventional, containing the opening verse, the exordium, the transition verse, the panegyric proper and the closing line, but they are couched in an immaculate style. Joyā has shown skill and efficiency in this form of poetry as well. All the essential features of an eulogy are found in them. The emotional sincerity in encomiums and Qaṣīdahs in praise of the Imams causes our pulses to vibrate. For example in the following verses of an encomium.

گره شده است مرا عرض مطلبی بر لب ∴ تو با انامل فضل خود این گره بگشا

سگ درت تو کلب علی عالی قدر ∴ ز من جدا شده مانند عضو رفته از جا

بحق شاه شهیدان حسین ابن علی ∴ که اوست گشته ملقب به سید الشهدا

دل مرا تو رهائیش ز قید غم برهان ∴ که پشت طاقتم از بار فرقتت دوتا

دگر به پیش که نالم کرا وسیله کنم ∴ که جز تو عرض مهمات را کند اصغا

از این قصیده ام اظهار بندگی است مراد ∴ وگرنه نعت تو گفتن کرا بود یارا

بشرط مهر تو باد اجزای خلق بهشت ∴ بروزگار بود تا که رسم شرط و جزا[1]

Similarly in the praise of Ḥazrat ʿĀlī he writes:

ای فدای مرقد پاک تو سرتاپای من ∴ یا علی مولای من مولای من مولای من

مظهر کل فاتح خیبر امیر المومنین ∴ بندگی قنبرش فخر من و آبای من

آب و رنگ زینت گلزار هستی تا شدند ∴ چون گل رعنا بگیتی سید و مولای من

گرد درگه ذات پاک هر دو درگه آئینه ∴ در ای نعت آرای و طبع منقبت پیرای من

چون تو مولای من یا ساقی کوثر چه باک ∴ سنگ اگر باده بود چون پنبه بر مینای من

سبزه آرای امامت یا امیر المومنین ∴ یکسره پر مهر محبت گشته سرتاپای من

1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 7a.

میتوان دیدن از فیض بهرت ای گلشن بهار ؛ جلوهٔ رخسار برگ گل ز نقش پای من
گر نگویم آنچه باید گفت اعدای ترا ؛ میتراود خون دل چون پسته از لبهای من
یا امیرالمومنین خواهم که در روز جزا ؛ همچو نقش با ته پای تو باشد جای من[1]

His brilliant conception, executive style and diction are note worthy and laudable. He has also made attempts to use appropriate and suggestive words:

ز انتخاب دودهٔ آدم حبیب ذوالجلال ؛ سرور دنیا و عقبی شافع روز جزا
آمد جبریل امینش میکشیدی غاشیه ؛ آنکه بد فرمانبرش شاهنشهی چون مرتضی
رتبه قربش تماشا کن که مقدار دو قوس ؛ بلکه هم نزدیک تر بد با جناب کبریا
از عناصر در تن آدم برای خلق او ؛ گشته اند اضداد باهم چار یار با صفا
کبریا بنگر که شاه اولیا خود را بفخر ؛ گفته عبدی از عبید سرور هر دوسرا[2]

چه جوهر است ندانم همین قدر دانم ؛ که آفرینش ازو یافت فیض حسن کمال
چشیده اند ز خوان عطاش شیرهٔ جان ؛ ازان همه سر انگشت می مکند اطفال
چو سایه افگند ابر شفاعتش در حشر ؛ به نیم قطره بشوید ز خلق لوث وبال[3]

منکر باشم تا توانم مدح شیخ او شدن ؛ خامه ام را طوطی گردید جاری بر زبان
معجز شق القمر بنمود زانرو تافتند ؛ دشمنش را لشت رسوائی ز بام آسمان
پیش الفاسمش نیارد دم ز معجز دم مسیح ؛ بهرت شاگردش کلیم الله در علم بیان[4]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 18b.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 5a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. ~~5a~~.11b.
4. Ibid, Ms, foll. 14b & 15a.

There are Qaṣīdahs in which he has selected such difficult Radifs as ناخن، شمشیر، گوہر etc. This shows he had a masterly hand and possessed insight into this branch of poetry. eg.

زبهشتم نبود احتیاج با گوهر ÷ که آبدار است کلک چون صدف مرا گوهر
ز کاوش مژهٔ او فزود قدر دلم ÷ که گوهر سفته چو شد افتد از بها گوهر[1]

ز ابروی تو تفاوت لبی است با شمشیر ÷ کجا مشابهت موج بلد کجا شمشیر
چه کرده ام که مجنون رمیدم چو خار ز گل ÷ نشد ز پنجهٔ رنگین او جدا شمشیر[2]

گشودن میتوانستی گره از کار اگر ناخن ÷ نبودی لاله سان عقده ای در زیر هر ناخن
الم از خوردن محنت پریشان را که همچو گل ÷ مرا پهلوی هر جا کی بروید در جگر ناخن[3]

The above quoted verses are the opening lines of the Qaṣīdahs written by Joyā in praise of Hazrat Imām Hussain, Hazrat Imām Zain-ul-Abdīn and Hazrat Imām Musā Kāẓim respectively. The Qaṣīdahs written in praise of other Imāms also contain such 'Radifs' and 'Qāfiyas' that a man of ordinary talent cannot even complete a 'Ghazal' eg.

ای که رنگ جلوه در گلزار امکان ریختی ÷ در خور طاقت بهر دل جام عرفان ریختی
طاقت زاهد را از بوی من دادی تاب ÷ بادهٔ دریاکش در جام رندان ریختی[4]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Divān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 34a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 37a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 43b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 44b.

and similarly in praise of Imām Mūsā Kāẓim the Qaṣīdah begins thus.

1. ز دامن گردم صبح بر جهان افشاند ∴ جهان فیض برین تیره خاکدان افشاند
رعونت قدر او دید مشعله وز شرار ∴ نثار درگهش خود های جان افشاند

A Qaṣīdah in praise of Im-ām Muḥammad Taqī also requires mention.

2. در بزم حیرت روی تو زبس دارد ننگ ∴ مانده تار نگهم خشک لبان رنگ سنگ
در خیال تو چو آهم پر پرواز گشود ∴ ریخت بر روی هوا گرد تصویر فرنگ

A Qaṣīdah in praise of Ḥazrat Sayyida-tun-Nisā is in a short metre, which shows his talent in Qaṣīdah writing. The opening verses of the Qaṣīdah are:

3. خوبی تن ز فیض جان باشد ∴ رونق خانه میهمان باشد
قفل حیرت بنهد نگه بر چشم ∴ دزد این خانه پاسبان باشد

Moreover, melody and harmony can also be found in his panegyric poetry. Following verses which are the opening verses of Qaṣīdahs written in praise of Ḥazrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq and Ḥazrat Imām Muḥammad Mehdī Ākhir-uz-Zamān respectively.

4. ندیدم خویش را تا جلوهٔ حسن ترا دیدم ∴ گشودم تا بروییت دیده همچو شمع لاهیدم
هواگیرد چو آهم نالهٔ زنجیر برخیزد ∴ بیاد طرهٔ بر خویش شبها بسکه پیچیدم

5. تنگ میبینم دارد از بس دور چرخ چنبری ∴ چون نسیم غنچه ام در دام بی بال و پری
همچو بوی گل قوی پرواز از پهلو ضعیف ∴ بر نسیمی بال سیمرغ را نماید شهپری

Besides, Joyā has written two ترجیع بند (Return-tie) one in

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 42a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 47b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 31.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 39b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 54b.

praise of Hazrat 'Alī, the second in praise of Hazrat Imām Razā. To Quote their opening lines here, would, we deem, suffice. The first one begins:

گشتم ز لطف حضرت بیچون ذوالمنن ؛ مادح مہر سپہر امامت ابوالحسن[1]

and the second one contains the following as its opening line:

باشد زبان خامۂ من وحی ترجمان ؛ از فیض مدح حضرت سلطان انس و جان[2]

These Qasīdahs had been written by Joyā in praise of those persons who were spiritually very high, and for whom Joyā had great regard. This is why, his emotional sincerity is visible. Here, in his imaginative domain, we find a clear-cut and precise picture with a realistic substance. The beauty of style and charm of expression are visible. But in writing Qasīdahs of Nawāb Fāzil Khān or Ibrāhīm Khān, the colours applied are so gaudy and the style so laboriously polished that the reader finds it impossible to visulize the true lineaments of the man whose portrait Joyā likes to present. In their praise hyperbole and exaggeration are evident at their climax.

بدریا شد چو شد پرتو افگن ؛ بارباب بصیرت گشت روشن

که از فیض عمر النهای نواب ؛ بیکجا جمع گشته آتش و آب

فلک تا لا یبدل انجم چراغان ؛ درو نواب چون ماه درخشان

ببین استاد مکتب خانۂ فضل ؛ کزو آباد شد کاشانۂ فضل

ببین دستور قانون وزارت ؛ ازو روشن چراغ دین و دولت

ادب آموز تحریر خردمند ؛ کزو گرفته استاد خرد پند

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 58b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 61a.

جواد و معصیت پوش و خطا بخش ÷ جهان را نور عرفانش ضیا بخش

جمالش نور پرورد الهی تو ÷ غلام خلقش از مه تا بماهی

شده دلها ز عدلش فارغ از رنج ÷ ز جودش گشته ویران خانهٔ گنج

تهی کیسه بود کان از سخائیش ÷ تنک مایه است دریا از عطائیش

چو مهر و ماه با اقبال و دولت ÷ چراغش باد روشن تا قیامت

وجودش باد دائم سایه افگن ÷ عموماً بر خلائق خاصه بر من [1]

Similarly in another Qaṣīdah in praise of the Said Khān he writes:

مگر نواب کشورگیر آمد ÷ که جانی در تن کشمیر آمد

فروغ نخل اقبال و دولت ÷ چراغ دودمان جاه و حشمت

از و کشمیر خلد جاودانی ÷ از و روشن چراغ قدردانی

الهی خاطرش مسرور بادا ÷ اجاغ دشمنانش کور بادا [2]

But whenever he writes a Qaṣīdah in praise of Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān, his co-religionist, he expresses his (Ibrāhīm Khān's) religious tenets.

خان والا نژاد ابراهیم ÷ که علی را بجان و دل بنده است

آنکه نور غلامی مولا ÷ از جبینش چو مهر تابنده است

بر دل اوست مهر مهر علی ÷ گوهر ذاتش الحق ارزنده است

بر وجودش فنا نیابد دست ÷ بدم مرتضی علی زنده است [3]

Similarly at another place he writes:

همکلم در بحر عز و شرف ÷ غلام باخلاص شاه نجف

زجان دوستدار سر سروران ÷ خلیل شه دین براهیم خان [4]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 72b.
2. Ibid, Ms, foll. 78b-79b.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 85a.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 65b.

JOYĀ'S MAṢNAVĪS:

Joyā has attempted almost all the forms of poetry and has displayed his brilliant talent in each case. The four small 'Maṣnavīs' written by him are as follows:-

1. Maṣnavī in praise of light (چراغان) on Dal, written in compliance with the wishes of Nawāb Fāẓil Khān.

2. Ḥusn-i-Maʻānī:

This is a 'Maṣnavī' written in praise of Pīr Panjāl mountain, the difficulties of the way and the praise of Kashmīr.

3. A Maṣnavī in praise of Bahādur Shāh.

4. A Maṣnavī in praise of a horse.

It seems that the first two Maṣnavīs were written by Joyā in compliance with the wishes of Nawāb Fāẓil Khān, or these were presented by the learned poet to the said Khān because in the end of the Maṣnavīs verses are found in praise of him (Fāẓil Khān). These Maṣnavīs are famous on account of Joyā's imaginative talent, which reveals it-self most powerfully in them. Here the poet invests his flight of fancy with orignality. The following verses quoted from the first Maṣnavī, convey to us a clear cut and precise picture, with a realistic substance.

چو بر تالاب دل از فیض ذوالمنن ∴ بشد عکس چراغان پرتو افگن

عیان شد هر طرف بر سطح آتش ∴ هلال و انجم از موج و حبابش

صفای دل ز عکس شمع کافور ∴ شده آئینه نور علی نور

درین تالاب عکس شمع شب تاب ∴ نموده امتزاج آتش و آب

بود هر موجش از عکس چراغان ∴ جبین های منقش کار خوبان

حباب او ز عکس شمع کافور ❖ شده فانوس سان گرداور نور

چو آتش پرتو افگن شد در آبش ❖ نگین لعل را ماند حبابش

نماید زین چراغان در ته آب ❖ بعینه چشم‌های در شب تاب

ز عکس شمع کافتادست در آب ❖ مرصع شد بلورین جام گرداب

بروی آب کشتیها منور

بود چون ماه نو بر چرخ اخضر[1]

In the Masnavis Joyā's over-self-critical cynicism is obvious. This conscious or unconscious repressive agent has acted as a constant curb on his effusiveness and prolixity. In his Masnavis we do not find any inconsequency, and this shows Joyā's keeness of perception and a meticulously self-exacting work-man-ship, which never fails to place the complex of emotion, mood and external situation in the perspective of their mutual and synthetic elevance. It is a sort of straining after a more and more accurate form of vision, or one may call it an intensification of perception. We take an opportunity of quoting some verses from Joyā's Masnavi known as '<u>Husn-i-Ma'ani</u>:

بیا ساقی بهار آمد بصد رنگ ❖ سوی کشمیر باید کرد آهنگ

تعالی الله زهی کوهسار کشمیر ❖ که شد در سایهٔ او آسمان پیر

خصوصا پیر پنجال فلک شان ❖ بود ماهش چراغ زیر دامان

ز لیس رفعت که دادش صنع ذوالمن ❖ زند بر آتش خورشید دامن

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, <u>Dīvān-i-Joyā</u>, Ms, foll. 71a to 72b.

ز رفعت بر سحر خورشید تابان ؛ بر بندد در تنور لاله اش نان

کسی از رفعت او با خبر نیست ؛ ز اوج او تصور را خبر نیست

نمایان راه بر دامان این کوه ؛ چو مد آه مظلومان پر اندوه

ره پست و بلندش در نظرها ؛ چو تار بخیه پنهانست و پیدا

میان لاله زار این راه پنهان ؛ بود چون رشتهٔ تسبیح مرجان

تنور لاله اش نه سرد و نه گرم ؛ که سودا می پزد با آتش نرم

میان لاله تیغ کوه جا گاه ؛ نماید همچنان کاندر شفق ماه

ز سنگش لاله سر بر کرده خوش رنگ ؛ بلی آتش برون می آید از سنگ

میان لاله زار این راه دلکش ؛ بود پر پیچ و خم چون موی آتش

طراوت چون در این گلشن وطن کرد ؛ رطوبت گرد از خاکش بر آورد

بیفشارند خاکش را چو در مشت ؛ چکد همچو رگ ابر آب ز انگشت[1]

ز شرم این گلستان بی شک و ریب ؛ شده جنت نهان در پردهٔ غیب

همیشه بلبل هنگامه پرداز ؛ بخواند مصحف گل را به آواز

زده زانو بنفشه پیش سوسن ؛ چو هندو بچگان پیش برهمن

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1. Here is a few verses from Munīr's Masnavī which he wrote in praise of Bengāl. Similarity of ideas is note-worthy.

ز بس دارد رطوبت خاک پاکش ؛ توانی آب افشردن ز خاکش

درین گلزار تالابیست پرنور ؛ که باد چشم بد از دیدنش دور

بود آبش بزیر سبزه پنهان ؛ چو در خط آب و تاب حسن خوبان

چنان در سبزه موجش گشت پنهان ؛ که زیر وسمه ابروی نکویان

ز آب و تاب و رنگ صد بهار است ؛ که گلزارش بگو خورشید زار است

عروس غنچه اش افکنده سر پیش ؛ بود در آب محو صورت خویش

درین تالاب از بس رسته گل ؛ بود مرغابی این آب بلبل

در آبش عکس مه کرده تجلی ؛ چو در آئینه عکس روی لیلی

بود برگرد این تالاب بستان ؛ چو گرد چشم خوبان خیل مژگان

بیا ساقی که فصل لاله زار است ؛ هوای سیر باغ شالیمار است

تعالی الله زهی فردوس مانند ؛ بهر شاخش دلی چون غنچه در بند

کند چون صبح عاشق را نظاره ؛ گریبان گل کند از رشک پاره

سخن از آبشارش چون طرازم ؛ صفا چشمهای عالم را گدازم

کند فواره اش از تر زبانی ؛ به هر دو بوستان مصرع رسانی

دمادمش از لطافت روح راقوت ؛ نماید در نظرها درج یاقوت

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1. Rashid Yāsmī, a modern poet of Irān beautifully depicts this scene in the following verses, which are being quoted from his poem Ā'īnah-i-Sayyāl.

نسیم آید ازو پر چین شود آب ؛ بلرزد قرص مه چون لوح سیماب

دژم گردد چو روی مه جبینی ؛ که ناگاهش برانگیزند از خواب

بهشت جاودان باغ الهی ست ؛ که دروی باغبان پادشاهی است

ملک از هیبت شاخش رمیده ؛ زمین در سایهٔ او آرمیده

توان بردوشت نور اینجا بدامن ؛ درختانش ز نسل نخل ایمن

خوشا کشمیر که ماوای عیش است ؛ بده ای بی تکلف جای عیش است

اگرچه آب و خاکش دلپذیر است ؛ همیشه این مکان جنت نظیر است

ولیکن زینت این باغ خندان

شد از نواب فاضل خان دوچندان[1]

It would be of no use to refer to the novel simlies and delic-cate metaphors which have been coined by the learned poet of Kashmīr. No doubt, we find a number of examples of hyperbole, and such exaggerations have been made which go beyond the limits of both reason and experience; but these impossible assertions have been made in such a way that the reader leaves the possibility or impossibility aside and begins to appreciate the imaginative flights of the poet, and enjoys the picture presented by him.

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 77b-78a.

OTHER CHARATERISTICS OF JOYĀ'S POETRY:

Joyā is one of the greatest poets of Kashmīr. In depth of vision felicity of language, beauty of imagery, novelty of similes and metaphors, subtle exposition of delicate ideas and imaginative flights, which are the main charecteeristics of Persian poetry in India, Joyā stands side by side with the great, if not the greatest poets of the sub-continent. The diction of Indian poets is somewhat different from those of Iranian, but as Ṣā'ib is one of the admirers of this and has adopted it in his poetry too, Joyā calls him his teacher. The charecteristics of this 'Indian diction' are visible in Joyā's poetry so we deem it necessary not to neglect them. But it must be pointed out here that an explanation of the verses quoted will not be given, because doing so make the verse lose its charm.

1. NOVEL SUBJECTS AND BEAUTY OF DICTION:

Indian poets of Persian language pay much heed to it, and this is the main cause of their fame and popularity. Women and wine have ever been the pivot of spontaneous expression of the poet's emotions. His genius lies in the production of orignal ideas........though the sings of the old themes of love and eulogies of beloved etc., but he ideas moulded afresh and his verses display a new form and colouring. Following are a few verses selected from his 'Dīvān' at random:

تا قیامت شکوهٔ زلف تو دارم بر زبان ÷ در خور شب طول باید داد این افسانه را [1]

هست هر حرف تو شکر را جواب ÷ وان دو لب قند مکرر را جواب [2]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 15b.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 31a.

1. او ز شور گریهٔ من شد بخواب ؛ خواب می آرد بلی آواز آب
2. تب گرم محبت دارم واز جستن نبضم ؛ رگ برقست بر انگشت درد ست طبیب امشب
3. یکی گل آشنا کسی از باغ تمکینم نچیند ؛ در ریاض راز دار است گلشن رسم نیست
4. مپرس حال دل تیره ام که از دم صبح ؛ کدام روز که این آئینه غبار نداشت
5. سر و کار دل دیوانه ام افتاد با طفلی ؛ که هرجا ناله برمیدارد این او سنگ بردارد
6. اعجاز حسن بین که ز گلزار عارضش ؛ جو یا چیدن تو گل کم نمی شود
7. آب و رنگی که فزون زان لب و دندان آمد ؛ به یمن قدری و قدری لبدن بخشید ملا
8. زآه ما که شد امروز تیرهٔ آئینه ات ؛ کشیده ایم ز روی تو انفعال دگر
9. تا خنجر تر آب زخم دلم نمکید ؛ آمد مرا ز فیض تو آبی بجوی دل

2. NOVELTY OF SIMILES AND METAPHORS:

The following '<u>Gh</u>azal' of Joyā will display his talent in coining similes:

هست هر حرف تو شکر را جواب ؛ وان دو لب قند مکرر را جواب

قطرهٔ اشک نهان در دیده ام ؛ در صدف گردید گوهر را جواب

حسن و رخسار و دهان تنگ او ؛ میدهد صد خلد و کوثر را جواب

میکند رنگین تر از طاوس خلد ؛ از لب لعلش کبوتر را جواب

قد موزونش دهد در صحن باغ ؛ موج شوخ صنوبر را جواب

داده روی و موی و چشم مست او ؛ سنبل و نسرین و عبهر را جواب

گر کنی آئینه دل را جلا ؛ در فقیری صد سکندر را جواب

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms. fol. 32a.

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 32a.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 40b.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 54b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 98b.
6. Ibid, Ms. fol. 114a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 120a.
8. Ibid, Ms. fol. 125b.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 134b.

مرغ دل در آتش سوزان عشق ❊ میدهد چو یا سمندر را جواب[1]

The following verses will serve as examples of his innovation of phrases and metaphors.

آب و رنگی نما رزه با لطافت ❊ تشنهٔ ظاهر آمیزید ترا[2]

زدل عزم طوافِ دیده دارد اشک می‌ترسم ❊ که تازه در ره از هیرانیم چو یا غریب امشب[3]

زسرو یار که در بر کشیده ام امشب ❊ لبل لبل گل آغوش چیده ام امشب

زرفتن تو چنان دلفسرده ام که بس است ❊ دهان قهقهه جیب دریده ام امشب[4]

هندوی چشم شوخ تو از سرخی خمار ❊ امروز رنگ ریخته در سومنات رفت[5]

In the above quoted verses هندوی چشم شوخ ، جیب دریده ، سرو یار ، غریب ، لعل and سومنات have been used metaphorically.

3. FIGURES OF THOUGHT AND FIGURES OF WORDS:

Examples without explanation will be given under each figure.

(i) Allusion تلمیح :

فرهاد اگر بزم تو گوید فدیهیش ❊ دشنام تلخ چند لب شیرین دهم عوض[6]

This verse is also a good example of ' Apparent antithesis' ie. ایهام تضاد . The cursory sight of the words تلخ and شیرین shows that antithesis exists, but the actual meaning assert that it does not.

(ii) Feigning ignorance تجاهل عارف :

نتوان گذشت از کمر تا بدار یار ❊ زلفش بپیچدم که چسان زان میان گذشت[7]

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Divān-i-Joyā, Ms. fol. 31a.

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 29b.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 30a.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 32a.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 57a.
6. Ibid, Ms. fol. 130b. 7. Ibid, Ms. fol. 50a.

(iii) Congruity مراعاة النظیر:

۱. قطرهٔ اشک نهان در دیده ام ؛ در صدف گردید گوهر را حباب

(iv) Antithesis تضاد:

۲. لب خندان بنوای غنچه دهن بخشیدند ؛ چشم گریان و دل خسته بمن بخشیدند

In the above quoted verse the words خندان and گریان are the opposite meaning. Moreover, this verse is a good example of 'Congruity' as لب ,دهن ,چشم and دل are the parts of body and are naturally associated.

(v) لف ونشر:

۳. با آب و تاب گل جالت بحسن رخسار و عقد دندان ؛ هوا نگرید چمن نخندد سمن نروید گهر نبندد

(vi) تبلیغ:

This is a kind of hyperbole. In this case exaggeration is possible both to reason and practice. For example in the following verse the poet says that due to light, men's eyes found the dark night lost like the smoke of lamp.

۴. شب ظلمت سرشت از چشم مردم ؛ چو دود شمع شد در روشنی گم

(vii) غلو:

The exaggeration in this case goes beyond the limits of both reason and experience.

۵. بیفشارند خاکش را چو در مشت ؛ چکد همچو رگ ابر آب از انگشت

(viii) The adjectival problem تنسیق الصفات:

When the poet goes on heaping praises (or abuses) in

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1. Joyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Divān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 31a.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 120a.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 122b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 71a.
5. Ibid, Ms. fol. 74b.

succession or uses various adjectives to denote such thing, we call it تنسیق الصفات .

۱. دل بقربان تلافیهای غارت میرود ؛ شوخ من - بیرحم من - بیباکی من خودرای من

<u>(ix) Proverbial commission ارسال مثل :</u>

It indicates the use of proverb, example or maxim in a couplet. This figure was very common amongst the poets of those days. Joya has also paid heed to it and a study of his 'Dīvān' displays a number of good verses. We shall quote a few verses to show his talent in this respect but we shall refrain from explaining or translating them owing to a variety of reasons. An accurate reproduction of the atmosphere, the sense, the spirit and the tone of the orignal is most difficult, if not impossible.

2. کس ندیده ذلت ز تارک دنیا ؛ گر تهی شود پشت دست استغنا

3. مدار چشم گشایش ز یاری دونان ؛ که عقده نتواند گشود ناخن پا

4. تندخو سرکش شود ز آمیزش اهل نفاق ؛ هیچ مهمیزی سمند شعله را چون خار نیست

5. نباشد طبع عالی قدر را اظهار احتیاج کی ؛ که تیغ کوه را حاجت بروشنگری نمی باشد

6. پیش اهل دل دهان خنده زخم تن لب است ؛ غنچه را چاک گریبان رخنه دامن است

7. اهل جوهر در لباس لاغری آسوده اند ؛ چون صدف پیراهن تن استخوان تن است

1- Joyā, Dātāb Baig, Mirza, <u>Divan-i-Joya</u> , Ms, fol. 18a.

2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 6a.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 6a
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 49b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 79b.
6. Ibid, Ms, fol. 114a.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 114a.

۱. غیر را راه مده در حرم کعبهٔ دل ÷ بیت شالله مسجد که معمور باشد[1]

(x) Redundant homogenuity تجنیس زاید :

۲. قوس تنگ مجوز سیاهان که کرده است ÷ ابروی تو بردی تو تیغ جفا بلند[2]

(xi) The real proof مذهب کلامی :

A verse is said to illustrate this figure, when the poet brings in the actual proof (not poetical one) for the fact he asserts in his poem. Joyā's 'Dīvān' also contains good examples of this figure. A few are as follows:

۳. با اشک ریزد از مژه صاف گردانت ÷ آری همیشه درد بود ته نشین در آب

۴. بوی تحقیق از مقلد مشنوی ÷ کس نگیرد از گل کاغذ گلاب

۵. جز نکوئی طمع از سلسلهٔ نیک مدار ÷ گوهر افشان بود ابری که ز دریا برخاست

- هرگز نمیرد آنکه پی جستجوی اوست ÷ آب حیات شد چو دوید ره نفس ادا خت

۶. سنگ تنگ بود محک اهل روزگار ÷ نامرد مرد را همین میتوان شناخت

۷. سررشتهٔ اهل همه اهل دل شکسته است ÷ تعمیر قصر عافیت اندر شکست است

۸. امروز محتسب نه همی متهم شده است ÷ این کاسه پاره‌ها که بسر او شکسته است

(xii) Allusion to subject براعت استهلال :

When the opening line of a poem or the beginning of a book refers to the subject matter contained therein, the alluding to the subject is said to illustrate the figure براعت استهلال .

۹. تعالی الله ازین بزم دل افروز ÷ که از وشب طعنه زن گردید بر روز

This is the opening line of Joyā's Maṣnavī known as مثنوی در تعریف چراغان روی دل

1. Joyā, Dārāb Beig, Mirzā, Dīvān-i-Joyā, Ms, fol. 104b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 105a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 31b.
4. Ibid, Ms, fol. 32b.
5. Ibid, Ms, fol. 34a.
6. Ibid, Ms fol. 36b.
7. Ibid, Ms, fol. 37a.
8. Ibid, Ms, fol. 55b.
9. Ibid, Ms, fol. 71a.

JOYĀ AND ASCETIC:

Poets have always been enemies to ascetics. They, perhaps, think it their duty to make fun of them. Scores of examples can be quoted from the 'Dīvāns' of the poets, both classical and modern. This ascetic is not in the good books of Joyā too. His 'Dīvān' also contains sarcastic remarks about this member of the society though their number is meagre. Before concluding our review on his poetry, we think it proper to quote a few verses in this respect.

۱- اسیر ساده دلیهای زاهدم چه بلا ؛ غم زمانه بخورد و شراب ناب نخورد

2 - زاهد بجنس خلق گرفتم فرشته شد ؛ اما هزار حیف که آدم نمی‌شود

3 - زاهد تو در صلاح و عبور از پل صراط ؛ من رندی پرستم و بر آب میزنم

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1. Jōyā, Dārāb Baig, Mirzā, Divān-i-Joyā , Ms, fol. 101b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 114a.
3. Ibid, Ms, fol. 135b.

CONCLUSION:

Lyrical poetry is a highly emotional product of mind. It is a compound of music and suggestion, while panegyric poetry is always filled with hyperbole and exaggeration and is composed by versifiers in return for the practical good-will of their patrons. There is a lot of difference between these two forms of poetry. A 'Ghazal' writer cannot be a good 'Qasīdah' writer. But Joyā's 'Dīvān' proves that he could write lyrics, as good of their kind as Qasīdahs and encomium.

In the preceeding pages we have made an attempt to place Joyā's poetry in its rightful perspective. This review can proceed to recommend Joyā's 'Dīvān' as a very readable book. No doubt, a study of Joyā's 'Dīvān' brings to light that the rigid and homogeneous conventionality of composition of 'Ghazals' have their effects on his imagination and thought, but at a good number of places, the evocative magic of poetic genius presents itself, resulting in the birth of an intriguing freak in the family of lyrics; so the work is distinguished for its impression of a distinct personality. His poetry does not fail in depicting moods, sensations and emotions. This shows that Joyā is fully acquainted with the principles of Persian language and poesy and carefully uses his poetical power while writing verses.

Joyā's 'Dīvān' is little known to the literay world, because it has not so far seen the light of the day, and is preserved in one

or two big libraries, yet he (joyā) has bequeathed to his country and the men of letters a rich poetical heritage.

It is important to point out here that a part of Joyā's 'Dīvān' had been edited and published by my learned teacher Professor Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir Head of the Persian Department University of the Panjāb Lāhore, in the Oriental College Magazine of May and August, 1955.

MIRZĀ KĀMRĀN BAIG GOYĀ

Mirzā Kāmrān Baig Goyā was the brother of Mirzā Dārāb Baig Joyā. Little is known about his career. We have already discussed in detail about his family etc., and , therefore, do not think it proper to repeat the same here.

Muḥammad A'ẓam has mentioned an interesting anecdote about him and his brother Joyā, in his Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr. He writes:

کسی در صحبت این دو برادر وارد شده از تخلص هر دو پرسید یکی گفت
جویا و دیگر گفت گویا فرمود که تخلص طالب کلیم را هر دو برادر خوب
تقسیم کرده برده اید[1]

" A certain person paid a visit to these two brothers and asked for their 'Takhallus'. One said Joyā and the other said Goyā. That man said that you two brothers have equally distributed the 'Takhallus' of Ṭālib Kalīm."

Shafīq describes this anecdote in the following manner.

جویای گفت که من و برادرم گویا نام طالب کلیم را دو لخت کرده گرفتیم[2]

" Joyā used to say, that my brother and myself, you would say, have taken Ṭālib Kalīm, after dividing him into two."

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1. A'ẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 303
2. Shafīq, Lachhmi Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 252a.

The following verses of his have been quoted by the biographers

بود نقش دگر در عالمی از خود رمیدن ها ؛ برآ از خویش و جانان در بهشت آرمیدن ها
من و چون اشک جوشیدن تو و از چشم افگندن ؛ من و خاک رهت گشتن تو و دامن کشیدن ها
من و تا پا بسر الفت تو و سر تا بپا وحشت ؛ من و در آرزوی تو، تو و آزار دیدن ها
تو و چون آب در گهوارهٔ گل مست آسایش ؛ من و چون موج سرگردان به بحر دل طپیدن ها
من و چون شام در چاه سیه روزی فرو رفتن ؛ تو و مانند صبح از مشرق طالع دمیدن ها

من و چون بوی گل برگرد رخسار تو گردیدن
تو و مانند رنگ از چهره ام گرم پریدن ها[1]

ز بهر مردم گویند یاری آید ؛ بکار من که نیاید چه کار می آید

.

خویش را باوسنبی می خواستم ؛ از برای مطلبی می خواستم

از عروس دهر تا دل بر کنیم ؛ همت مردانه می خواهیم ما[2]

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, Ms, page. 303.
2. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nara'in, Gul-i-Ra'na, Ms. fol. 252a.
Baikhbar, Mir 'Azmat Ullah, Safina-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 110b.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH KHĀN VAHSHAT

Muhammad Shāh Khān Vahshat who had his nom de plume Vahshat was born in Kashmir. He was brought up there too. In Kashmir he enjoyed the company of Islām Khān (d. 1074 A.H.- 1664 A.D.) the governor of Kashmīr in the reign of Aurangzaib Ālamgīr 1067-1118 A.H (1657-1706 A.D.)He also passed his days in the company of Ikhlās Khān Vāmiq (d. 1143 A.H.- 1730 A.D.) who was a Hindū and was converted to Islām by Maulvī Abdullah[1], a son of Maulvī Abdul Hakīm

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1. Maulānā Abdullah was son of Mullā Abdul Hakīm of Siālkot (d. 1067 A.H.- 1657 A.D.) He had learnt the holy Qurān by heart and was a recluse. Aurangzeib had great regard for him. He was offered the post of Sadārat by the Emperor but he did not accept it. Bakhtāvar Khān writes in Mirāt-ul-Ālam:

مولف مجموعه مطابق حکم کرامت شیمم بنا بر ربطی که بآن جامع کمالات داشت پیام صدارت رسانده

بر زبان صدق بیانش گذشت که الحال که عمر به ستین رسیده وقت ترک نوکری ست نه اختیار نوکری

(ورق ۴۹۴ ب)

" The compiler of this collection, on the basis of the connections which he had with that collector of perfectness, brought for him a message of Sadārat in accordance with the orders having adour of kindness. It went on the truth speaking tongue that at this time when the age has reached seventy it is the time of resigning not seeking the job."

About his death Bakhtāvar Khān writes that he died on Friday night in 1094 A.H.

of Siālkot.

Vaḥshat was a self-sufficent and proud. Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥasan Khān writes in his Tazkirah:

از پنداری که داشت شعر خود پیش مردم خواندن عار و ننگ
می انگاشت و بر سخنوران دیگر زبان با یراد میگشاد [1]

" By virtue of the arrogance which he had, he used to think it below his dignity to recite his verses before the people and used to raise objections at other poets."

Shafīq tells an anecdote which not only shed light on his arrogancy but also helps us to peep into his character.

برین مصرع ناصر علی که چیزی که نادیدنی ست آنهم مائیم
روبروی مرحوم گفت که چیزی ندیدنی عضو مخصوص
زنان می باشد. آنهم شما خواهید بود [2]

" At this hemistich of Nāṣir ʿAlī, "The thing which is not worth seeing, that too are we;" said in the presence of that deceased one that the thing not worth seeing is the private part of the woman, virtually you would be that."

This statement of Shafīq is self evident and self explanatory.

Vaḥshat lived long and according to the statement of Shafīq that he died a few years after 1140 A.H. He writes in his Tazkirah

عمر درازی یافته در هزار و صد و چهل و چند در گذشت [3]

" He lived long and in one thousand one hundred and forty and a few years after that he passed away."

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1. ʿAlī Ḥasan Khān Sayyid, Subḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 528.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārāʾin, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 195a.
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 195a.

But Sayyid 'Alī Ḥasan Khān mentions a definite year of his death and says that he died in 1149 A.H. (A.D. 1736)[1] . .

در سنه تسع واربعین ومایة والف ازین وحشت کده بدار القرار شتافت [1]

The following two couplets of his are in these days available which are helping him to be mentioned in the list of the poets.

مگر آیینه‌دارِ مهر رویت شد بر دوشم ÷ که همچو ماهِ نو بر خویشتن بالید آغوشم

بسکه در دل هوس سرمه نگاهان دارم ÷ هر کجا خاک شوم رو بصفاهان دارم [2]

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1. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 528.

2. Ibid, p. 528

Hāji Haidar ʿAlī Fanā

Haidar ʿAlī Having the pen name of Fanā was the son of ʿAlī Kashmīrī who was deaf. He was contemporary to Shāhjahān 1036-1067 A.H. (1627-1657 A.D.) and Aurangzeib 1067-1118 A.H.(1657-1706 A.D) It is said that once ʿAlī went to the pilgrimage of Mashhad Muqaddas. On Friday night he saw the Holy Imām in the dream, who told him that a son was rewarded to him in compensation of the ears. After that when he returned to Kashmīr Haidar ʿAlī took birth.

From his title it seems that he had had an opportunity to go to Hajj. His father had also gone to Mashhad to see the Holy shrine of Imām Razā. From this it can be presumed that he belonged to a well to do family of Kashmīr.

Muhammad Ṭāhir Nasrābādī writes in his Tazkirah:

الحال از دانشمندان و مدرس کشمیر است ...... و نفع بسیاری از و بمردم کشمیر میرسد طبع نظمی دارد[1]

" At present he is one of the wise men and teachers of Kashmīr and great benefit reaches the people of Kashmīr from him.He has poetical disposition."

From the above statement of Nasrābādī it is obvious that he was alive at the time when he wrote his 'Tazkirah' and our poet at that time was working as a teacher. It is pointed out here that the

1. Ṭāhir Nasr Ābādī, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādī, p. 446.

Tazkirah was finished by Ṭāhir in 1083 A.H. (1673 A.D.)

We cannot say definitely about the sect to which he was a follower. His name Ḥaidar ʿAlī and his father's name ʿAlī make the reader form an idea of his being a Shīʿah and this idea is further supported by the fact that his father is said to have visited Mashhad where exists the shrine of Imām Razā---the shrine most sacred to the Shīʿahs. But this is a mere presumption.

It would not be out of place to mention here that only Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī has mentioned the name of this poet in his Tazkirah while the others have kept silence in this respect. They have not even mentioned his name.

The verses copied by Naṣrābādī as the specimen of his poetry are copied here.

تا رنگ یافتم چمن زعفران شدم ÷ آئینه بهار نمای خزان شدم
در گلشن زمانه ز نیرنگ حسن و عشق ÷ بوی بهار گشتم و رنگ خزان شدم
از جوش گریه در ره صحرای بیخودی ÷ مانند سیل از همه اعضا روان شدم

تا او اشاره نکند وا نمی‌شوم ÷ ابروی او کلید در گفتگوی ماست[1]

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1. Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p. 446.

MUHAMMAD ʿĀSHIQ HIMMAT

It is very strange that there is difference of opinion about the name and Takhallus of this poet. Aḥmad ʿAlī writes, the name of the poet as Muḥammad Himmat having ʿĀshiq as his ʿTakhallus' and says that he belonged to Kashmīr.[1] Baikhabar writes that his name was Muḥammad ʿĀshiq and his 'Takhallus' Himmat.[2] Sarkhush is also of this opinion.[3] According to Baikhabar's version this Himmat 'apparently seems to be of Sarhind.'

It is really a matter of great regret that Baikhabar who was his contemporary does not speak definitely about his native land. Furthermore, Baikhabar in the company of his patron went to Huglī where this poet (Himmat) was residing,[4] but it seems to us that he never met him, probably because he was in the service of a prince and this poor man (Himmat) was unemployed.

Baikhabar says that he used to vie Nāṣir ʿAlī in poetry, but

بعضی او را بسرقه تهمت بسته اند[5]

" Some have accused him of plagiarism.""

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1. Hāshmī, Aḥmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. fol. 241a.
2. Baikhabar, ʿAẓmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīna-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 151a.
3. Sarkhush, Muḥammad Afẓal, Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā, p. 125.

Perhapse he had two 'Takhallus' Himmat as well as ʿĀshiq, hence this difference.

4. Baikhabar, ʿAẓmat Ullah Mīr, Safīna-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 151.

هنگامیکه فقیر به هوگلی بندر رفته با بادشاهزاده عظیم الشان در جلوه داکر استقامت داشت محمد عاشق همدان بشهر بود

5. Ibid, Ms. fol. 151a.

Baikhbar has also given an episode about him. We have not been able to make out anything out of it. He writes:

روزی کسی از اشعار این جانب چند بیت برخواند و گفت که میر عزیز بیوتات برای او حکم نشان متضمن طلب از شاه گرفته عنقریب درین جا میرسد ناگاه از زبان همت این مصرعه ناصرعلی برآمده مصرع بی خبر دیر رسید در منزل ببستند صاحب طبعان که در آنجا بودند هر یک جواب آن مصرع فکر کردند - حاصل کلام آنکه اتفاق نوکری بادشاه نیفتاد

" One day, some recited a few verses of mine and said that the Superintendent of the House Expences has got an order from the king to summon him and the same will reach here soon. Unconsciously, he recited this hemistich of Nāsir ʿAlī.

بی خبر دیر رسید در منزل ببستند

All those who were present there and had a disposition of versification thought over the hemistich inorder to vie. Inshort, he could not get the chance of serving the king.

We are at a loss to understand what does Baikhbar mean by relating this story. Perhaps he wanted to say that Himmat used to recite Nāsir ʿAlī's verses. We don't think that this episode proves it. To recite a verse of a certain poet at certain occasion does not mean that the reciter is a plagiarist. Many times one recites the verses of others as those verses seem to be appropriate at that moment. This anecdote has, however, made clear that the poets used to come to him and he was prominent among the poets of that area.

This also adds to our information that this poet of ours left

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1. Baikhabar, ʿAzmat Ullah , Mīr, Safīnā-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 151a.

his native land to seek some job and try his luck outside the mother land.

Baikhabar is responsible for this that he (Himmat) fell in love with a woman Mannūn by name, so he requested Himmat Khān the governor of Allah Ābād for money inorder to get her hand. Baikhabar writes:

گویند در آن ایام که همت خان پسر خان جهان بهادر عالمگیری صوبه دار الہ آباد بود
همت بر زنی که منون نام رام جنی عاشق شد چون این قوم طالب زر می باشند
و او تهی دست بود غزلی گفته بنظر خان مذکور گذرانید[1]

It is said that in those days when Himmat Khān son of Khān Jahān Bahādur ʿĀlamgīrī was the governor of Allah Ābād, Himmat fell in love with a woman Mannūn by name who belonged to Rām Janī clan. As these people are seeker of money, and he was an empty handed, so he wrote a 'Ghazal' and submitted it before the said Khān.

To support this he has quoted the following verses from his 'Ghazal' reffered to above.

نمی گردد حمائل دست من در گردن منون ❁ رگ جانم شود در رشتهٔ پیراهن منون
کجا تاب نگاه گرم دارد آن رخ نازک ❁ نفس در دیده می خندد سحر در گلشن منون
دو بالا شد ز انداز خراشش گرمی شوقم ❁ قیامت می کند بر آتش دل دامن منون
ز همت خان بهادر آنقدر چشم وفا دارم ❁ رساند دست کوتاه مرا در گردن منون[2]

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1. Baikhbar, ʿAzmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīna-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 151a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 151b.

Baikhaber does not throw any light on the subject. He does not tell us as to whether or not he (Himmat) received any thing from Himmat Khān and whether or not he got his heartdesire ie Mennūn.

About other aspects of his life we are totally in dark.

Both Sarkhush and Baikhaber praise his poetry. Sarkhush writes:

طبع خوش خیال است فکرهای تازه دارد[1]

" His disposition creates beautiful ideas, and new thoughts."

Baikhaber writes:

خوش خیالی او از اشعارش پیدا است[2]

" Beauty of his ideas is apparent from his poetry."

Following are the extant verses:

شکست شیشهٔ ما خنده در جم دگر دارد ؛ که خورشید قیامت گل کند جای شراب اینجا

شب وصلت ندارد فرصت بار دگر دیدن ؛ سحر خندد ..... افشاند رنگ شرر اینجا

براهش چون سپندم همرکاب دل طپیدنها ؛ بدوش ناله بستم محمل از خود رمیدنها

تهی شد ناله ام را کیسه هنگام جدائیها ؛ ندارم در جگر آهی فغان از بینوائی ها

در انتظار او نگهم خون شد و چکید ؛ چشمم جدا ز دست گلوی بریده است

گرفتی پرده از روح نشه حیرت دوبالا شد ؛ نگاهم ته نشین چون دُرد در جام تماشا شد

ز عاشق شیوه های ناز تعلیم است خوبان را ؛ رمیدن از خودم آن شوخ را مشق رم باشد

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1. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shu'arā, p. 125.

2. Baikhaber, 'Azmat Ullah, Mir, Safīna-i-Baikhaber, Ms. fol. 151a.

کسی کز ربط حسن و عشق آگاه است می داند ؛ که چاک جیب یوسف دست گیر شد زلیخا را [1]

ز زخم غنچه غیر از گل نجوشد قطرهٔ خونی ؛ ترا گر هست میل جلوه دل را چاک می سازم [1]

بوی از زلف سیاهت بمن آورد نسیم ؛ نکهت نافهٔ مشک ختن از یادم رفت

نمکی زان لب نو خط بچشیدم عاشق ؛ مستی و شور شراب کهن از یادم رفت

بگفت روشن من جا کجاست گفتم چشم ؛ بگفت جای دگر گوی در بغل گفتم

ز تیغ ابروی جانان شهادتم هوس است ؛ بزخم کاری شمشیر آبدار رقم

بوعده های بتان هرگز اعتبار مکن ؛ اگر کنند بیک وعده صد هزار رقم

نه دلم از محبتت خالی ؛ نه میسر وصال او چکنم [2]

کی جدا حسن از خیال عاشق دلتنگ بود ؛ آتشی بود آن پری تا شیشه تا سنگ بود

بیا هنوز تخم از خمار حسرت سینت ؛ بجام آئینهٔ تو جرعهٔ نفس باقیست [3]

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1. Baikhabar, Mīr 'Azmat Ullah, Safīna-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 151b.
2. Hāshmī, Ahmad 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. fol. 241a.
3. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-shu'rā, p. 125.

Hāfiz ʿAbdur Rahīm Kamgo

ʿAbdur Rahīm Kamgo was the pupil of Sarkhush, the author of Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā. Our strenuous efforts to know even the main aspects of his life have proved futile. Even his teacher Sarkhush has not given a detailed account of his. He conveys to us this much information only.

عبدالرحیم کنگو کشمیری چندگاه پیش فقیر شعر میگذرانید فکری درست داشت
درصدد تربیتش بودم که قسمت او بطرف دکن برد همانجا درگذشت [2]

"ʿAbdur Rahīm Kamgo Kashmīrī used to submit his verses before me off and on. He possessed healthy thought. I was trying to improve it when his destiny made him go to Deccan. He died there."

Other sources reveal that he was a Hāfiz ie., he had committed

1. The author of Āftāb-i-ʿĀlamtāb writes his name as ʿAbdul Karīm, which is not correct as all the 'Tazkirah' writers who have given him some room in their respective 'Tazkirahs' indicate that his name was ʿAbdur Rahīm. For reference kindly see Gul-i-Raʿnā fol 252a Safīna-i-Baikhabar fol. 109b., Muntakhab-ul-Ashʿār, fol. 122b, Roz--i-Roshan, p. 581., Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā, p. 97.

However no weight can be given to the statement of any body in the presence of Sarkhush who was his teacher.

2. Sarkhush, Muhammad Afzal, Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā, p. 97.

the whole of the Holy Qurān to memory.[1]

Shafīq says that he went to Deccan along with the army of ʿĀlamgīr and died there.[2] According the statement of Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān he died in 1100 A.H. He writes:

در دکن باردوی عالمگیر رفته بجا ها در اواخر ۱۱۰۰ھ رحلت کرد[2]

" He went to Deccan along with the army of ʿĀlamgīr and there he died in the end of 1100 A.H.

Following verses are now-a-days available.

بهار آمد ز جوش لاله دارد کوه دیدها ∴ شرر خارا شگافی می کند از دل طپیدنها

ما خواب رنجش می جای او گر دیده ایم ∴ گر بر افشاند غبار از دل شود تعمیر ما

گرفته زخم دلم در دهن خدنگ ترا ∴ ملازقی که کند طفل شیرخوار انگشت[3]

ز زنجیری که عشق انداخت در پای من ای قمری ∴ فتاد آخر ترا هم حلقه در گردن ای قمری

مگر سرو مرا دیدی که از دیوانگی بر تن ∴ ز بال و پر ترا صد پاره شد پیراهن ای قمری

نه نرگس است عیان بر سر مزار مرا ∴ سپید شد بر پشت چشم انتظار مرا

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Narā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms. fol. 252a.
حافظ کلام الهی بود.
2. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, Shamʿ-i-Anjuman, p. 401
3. Sarkhush, Muḥammad Afẓal, Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā, p. 97.
The first hemistich of this verse has been given somewhat different in Ātish Kadah-i-Āẕar (p. 461) There it is like this:
گرفته زخم دلم از دهان خدنگ ترا

چو تار عنکبوت ز هجر تو شد تنم ؛ در گوشهٔ خرابه از آن ست مسکنم

بناز گشت جهانی بت ستمگر من ؛ هنوز بر سر ناز است ناز پرور من

ریخت باران بلا بر تن غم پرور ما ؛ چه بلاها که نیاورد فلک بر سر ما

اشک من طالب آن نرگس جادو باشد ؛ همچو طفلی که دوان در پی آهو باشد

ز حفظ عمر فزون ست عشق بازان را ؛ اگر ز عمر شمارند روز هجران را

گاهی بگوش زنده دلان نغمهٔ رسان ؛ "زان پیشتر که بانگ برآید فلان نماند"

نه عینک است که بر دیده دارم از پیری ؛ برای خط جوانان دو چشم من چار است

چون سایه همرهیم بهر سو روان شوی ؛ باشد که رفته رفته بما مهربان شوی[1]

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1. Muhammad Siddīq Khān, Shama'-i-Anjuman pp. 401-402.

The last two verses quoted above do not belong to this poet, because Badāyūnī and Sanbhalī attribute these verses to Qāsim Qāhī. As 'Abdul Qādir is a contemporary to Qāsim Qāhī and is an earlier historian than Muhammad Siddīq Khān so his opinion cannot be overlooked.

(cf. Badāyūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh , Vol. III, p. 173 and Sanbhalī, Husain Dost, Tazkirah-i-Husainī, pp. 282-283.

MULLĀ LUTF ULLAH SĀLIM

Mullā Lutf Ullah Sālim was the son of one Sayyid Mīr Ālī. He belonged to the Sayyids of Kashmīr. Nothing is known about his childhood or even boy-hood. Muhammad Tāhir Nasrābādī has introduced him with us by giving him some room in his Tazkirah. He was young in 1081 A.H., so we can presume that he was born in the second half of the 11th century. He made up his mind to leave the native land for Irān to see the Holy shrines but as the way was not safe he left for Delhī and at last reached Shīrāz. There, as we are told by Tāhir Nasrābādī, he kept the company of the poets and from there he went to Isfahān. He discussed a few religious matters with Allāmah Mullā Muhammad Bāqir, and after that he left to pay a visit to the Holy shrines.

From there he went to Hamdān and after that he proceeded to Qum where he remained in the company of the versifiers for some time and then returned to Isfahān. About his further travels we quote Tāhir Nasrābādī who writes in his Tazkirah:

بعد از مدتِ دیگر برفاقت میر نجات روانهٔ مشهد مقدس شده از آنجا

به هرات رفته با خدام میرزا سعدالدین محمد صحبتها داشته از آنجا باز به مشهد
آمده شوق دیدن مازندران بر سرش افتاد. در آن اثنا میرزا حسن تاثیر تخلص به مشهد
وارد شده اراده مازندران را داشت. از راه استرآباد روانه مازندران

شده چندگاه بخدمت عالی حضرت میرزا رحیم وزیر آنجا بسر برد باز

باصفهان آمد[1]

" After a short time he in the company of Mīr Nijāt went to the Holy Mashhad and from there he went to Hirāt and joined the servants of Mirzā Sa'd-ud-Dīn Muhammad and from there he again left for Mashhad where he desired to see Mazindrān. Mean while Mirzā Muhsin who had Tāsir as his nom de plume paid a visit to Mashhad. He had a mind to go to Mazindran; so he by way of Aster Ābād went to Mazindrān and remained in the service of Hazrat Mirzā Rahīm the governor of that place and again returned to Isfahān."

Nasrābādī further says that he at this time ie., in 1081 A.H. is there (viz. In Isfahān) and the people are enjoying his company.

This is the biography of this poet of Kashmīr told by a contemporary 'Tazkirah' writer. Other Tazkirah writers have mere copied him Nāzim the author of Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr, however adds to our information that 'Ālamgīr's elder son ascended the throne in 1119 A.H. ....Khwājah Lutf Ullah Salim said the chronogram at the time of coronation.[2] He then quotes the following three verses.

قدسیان تهنیت سال جلوس ؛ لب به رشد کمال گفتند
عرصهٔ جشن شهنشاهی را ؛ محفل خلد شامل گفتند
سال تاریخ همایون سعید ؛ "جشن شاهنشاه عادل گفتند"[3]

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1. Muhammad Ṭāhir Nasrābādi, Tazkirah-i-Nasrābādi, p. 450.
2. Nāzim, Zahūr-ul-Hasan, Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr, p. 208.
3. Ibid, p. 308.

From the study of Tāhir Nasrābādi's statement it appears to us that Sālim spent most of his time in Isfahān. Perhapse he settled there, and returned to India (or his mother land in the later part of his life.

No other Tazkirah writer has shed any light on his life.

Sālim's Dīvān:

About his literary out come we are quite ignorant. The 'Tazkirah' writers are silent on this point. It is not incoherent to point out here that Hāji Muhammad Aslam ~~Salim~~ whose biography we have already written in the preceeding pages had his 'Takhallus' Sālim Also. A manuscript copy of his 'Dīvān' is available in the Allah Bakhsh Library at Bānkī pūr Patna (India) which contains Qasīdah's too. The cataloguer is of the opinion that those Qasīdahs are of Lutf Ullah Sālim and not that of Hāji Muhammad Aslam Sālim. He has, however, not informed us as to why he is of this view.

We with great regret point out here that we have not been able to study those Qasīdahs owing to the prejudice mindedness of the Librarian to whom request for the supply of microfilm of the said Qasīdahs was made but the gentle man did not even replied to my registered letters. Had he not been a narrow minded person we would have certainly derived benefit from it and would have been able to shed sufficient light on his life.

Following verses have been quoted by Tāhir Nasrābādi.

زین تغافلها که با دیار باهم کرده ایم ٭ خویشتن را بی سبب رسوای عالم کرده ایم

بی تو در فصل بباران خون رنگ لاله ریخت ⁂ ما بهرسوی نظر با چشم پرنم کرده ایم

هردو یکسانیم اکنون پیش آن بیدادگر ⁂ ما دعیر از لسکه سالم غیبتی کم کرده ایم

زاحسان میشود صاحب کرم را دولت افزون تر ⁂ بلی هر چاه را آب از کشیدن بیش میگردد[1]

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1. Muhammad Tahir, Nasrabadi, Tzkirah-i-Nasrabadi, P. 450

NĀṢIR ʿALĪ ḤANBALA

Only Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī mentions his name. He says that "Nāṣir ʿAlī is famous as Ḥanbala which means a slave. He is a Kashmiri and is in the service of the king who loves him very much and has bestowed upon him the title of Ṣā'ib the second."[1]

This statement of Ṭāhir manifests that he (Nāṣir ʿAlī) was in the service of Aurangzaib ʿĀlamgīr, who had great regard for him. There is however, no historical back ground to support this version of Ṭāhir Naṣr ābādī. It is very difficult to accept that the Emperor like Aurangzaib would have bestowed such a title to a poet.

All the aspects of his life are in darkness.

The following, couplets which are being copied from Tazkirah of Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī indicate that he was a follower of Ṭāhir Ghanī in poetry.

مرا این ترک سر سرمایهٔ صاحب کلاهی شد ؛ چو کشکول گدائی واژگون شد تاج شاهی شد

بسکه از برق حوادث رخنه شد در خانه ام ؛ آب در غربال باشد سیل در ویرانه ام

گرچراغان می کنم حاصل سیاهی میشود ؛ بی تو دکان مرکب ساز شد کاشانه ام

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1. Muhammad Ṭāhir, Naṣrābādī, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p. 447.

"ناصرعلی به حنبله مشهور است. چون حنبله غلام را گویند. کشمیریست ...
درخدمت بادشاهی باشد و شفقت بسیار باو دارد چنانچه صائب ثانی
لقب باو داده"

نیست غیر از یک صنم در پردهٔ دیر و حرم ÷ کی شود آتش دو رنگ از اختلاف سنگها

زهی پیچیده در موج شکرخند تو شورها ÷ برنگ گل گریبان چاک سودائی تو شورها

ز جوش باده درد ته‌نشین بالانشین گردد ÷ بموج خنده ترسم خط برون آید از آن لبها[1]

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1. Muhammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, Tazkirah-i-Naṣrābādī, p. 447

SHAIKH RASHĪD

Aḥmad ʿAlī Hāshmī imparts the following information about this poet of Kashmīr.

شیخ رشید کشمیری دیوان نواب فاضل خان ناظم صوبه کشمیر بوده - وقتی که حاجی سالم
که یکی از منصبداران اعظم شاه بوده از حج و از سیر ایران و شیراز و خراسان
مراجعت کرده و بدهلی رسید - دران باب میگوید[1]

Shaikh Rashīd Kashmīrī was reader to Nawāb Fāẓil Khān the governor of Kashmīr. At the time when Hājī Sālim, who was one of the officials of rank of Aʿẓam Shāh reached Delhī after his return from Ḥajj and after traveling in Irān, Shīrāz and Khurāsān, he says this in that respect."

He then quotes the following quatrain.

در شهر سخن سالم خوشگوی رسیده ٭ دیدیم رشید از شعرا تازه تری چند
آن حاجی نیکو روش کعبهٔ معنی ٭ آورد ز بهر برای حج خوش خبری چند[2]

The following verses have also been quoted by Hāshmī as the specimen of his poetry.

درین بستان ز یاران بوی یک رنگی نمی بینم ٭ چو داغ لاله جام باده از خون جگر نوشم
ای بیوفا بیا و ز عشاق جان طلب ٭ چیزی که آرزوی تو باشد همان طلب[2]

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1. Hāshmī, Aḥmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā ʾib, Ms. fol. 127b.
2. Ibid, Ms, fol. 127b.

MUHAMMAD RAFĪQ MUNSHĪ

Muhammad A'zam has given the following information about Muhammad Rafīq Munshī.

از مردم کشمیر است - در نظم و نثر طبعی بلند داشت اما به جهت گذران معیشت همت بفن انشای گذاشت و تقرب تن به ملازمت حکام می داد[1]

"He is amongst the people of Kashmīr. He has a good talent in writing prose and poetry. But inorder to make his livelihood he has choosen prose writing and for this purpose he used to seek service

The following Rubā'i of his has been quoted by Muhammad A'zam as the specimen of his poetry.

در سایهٔ خویش جای آواره دهید ؞ در چارهٔ کار دل به بیچاره دهید
هر چند که کفاره ندارد نیکی ؞ نیکی به بدان کنید و کفاره دهید[1]

A'zam further tells us that once Nalī a poet , satarized the people of Kashmīr and read the same in the court of Seif Khān the governor. This enraged 'Ināyat Khān Jān who was also a high ranking official. He hinted to Muhammad Rafīq Munshī for its reply; who wrote the same in an hour and read it on the next day before Seif Khān.

A'zam then quotes a part of the same but we omit it as it is not in a decent language.

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 268.

CHAPTER VII

POETS OF LATER MOGHALS

1. Mirzā ʿAbdul Ghanī Baig Qabūl.
2. Muḥammad Razā Mushtāq.
3. Mullā ʿAbdul Ḥakīm Sāṭiʿ.
4. Muḥammad Panāh Qābil.
5. Shaikh Āyat Ullah Sanā.
6. Mullā Fakhr-ud-Dīn Dānā.
7. Jai Kishan ʿIshrat.
8. Muḥammad Ashraf Yaktā.
9. Muḥammad ʿAqil Ghairtī or ʿIzzat.

INTRODUCTORY:

Aurangzaib ʿAlamgir, we know, was a religious minded Emperor. He, Like the Safvid kings of Irān, did not like that Qasidahs should be written and recited in his praise. The governors and the Nawwābs were leading a luxurious life and spending lavishly for their own ease, comfort and pleasure, and could not spare enough money for the encouragement of the poets and men of letters. This general tone of those elements of society who had means to support and help literary activities, athwarted the path of its development. The intellectual apathy of the intelligentisis of the time was due to this fact, and this indifference reflected a marked deterioration in the literary taste and attributed lack of climate suitable for academic and intellecual striving in the country. The result was stagnation. In other words we may emphasize that Persian flourished in Irān and India under the patronage of the rulers. A slight change in the literary taste of the Emperor produced a corresponding change in the literary world and poets were bound to say like Zirak the author of Arzang-i-ʿIshq that:

سخن گفتن بعهد ما هنر نیست

These unfavourable circumstances were sufficient to cripple the capabilities of any body howsoever talented he may be. It is an open secret that art flourishes with applause and rewards. How a poet can produce good poetry when he aspires to praise but hardly escapes reproach from his hearers ?

Moreover, it is an historical fact that after Aurangzaib's

death the bright sun of Moghal power in India began to set and within half a century Ahmad Shāh Durrānī obtained the cession of Kashmīr. This happened in 1164 A.H.(1752 A.D.) During the short span of about 44years we see seven persons ascending the throne of Delhī. Situation in the country was critical and sovereignty of Moghals was always at stake. Every prince was desirious of becoming Emperor and spending most of his time in intriguing and conspiring against his rival. Any one of them who succeeded in his efforts began to lead a carefree life devoting all of his sources and energies in evil pursuits. The result was that the governors of Kashmīr had begun to send representatives in their place and they did what they could. The centre was not strong enough to control the situation so how can one expect solidarity in provinces. Inshort the prevailing condition in the country was not such which could stimulate an interest in writing poetry etc. There were, however, men of genius whose creative urges did not let them rest and they remained busy in literary pursuits. But they could not change the taste of their countrymen which had undergone a great change. Even the men of letters began to take little interest in the poetical out come of any poet and the poets were oblige to leave 'Sweethome' And further more mere applause were not sufficient; some thing materially was also required to make the body and soul go togather. Hence for their livelihood they said adieu to their motherland.

It is for this reason that we find pitch darkness prevailing on the lives of the poets of Kashmīr especially of this period. These poor poets went from one ~~mm~~ end of the country to the other in search of jobs so it is difficult to know even 'something' about them. That is why the contemporary Tazkirah writers have not

provided sufficient material which may prove helpful in writing the biographies of these poets. We shall, however, in each case try to narrate all the facts gathered from our various sources and reproduce all the verses quoted by the 'Tazkirah' writers so that the reader may find all the extant verses here.

In this chapter we are going to write the biographies of only nine poets. This number excludes the pupils of Qabūl. They are also a dozen. While writing the biographies we are going to give first place to Mirzā 'Abdul Ghanī Beig Qabūl, a pupil of Mirzā Dārāb Baig Joyā about whome we have written in the previous chapter. The reason for giving proirty to Qabūl is this that his celeberity and authority in the domain of poetry is evident from the fact that the number of his pupils goes up to a dozen, and amongst them we meet those poets who compiled their 'Dīvāns' and had gained prestige and popularity among their fellow poets and men of letters.

MIRZĀ ʿABDUL GHANĪ BAIG QABŪL

HIS BIRTH AND CLAN:

Mirzā ʿAbdul Ghanī Baig whose nom de plume was Qabul was born and brought up in Kashmīr. He, as we are told by Aʿzam, belonged to Behloḥ clan.[1] His ancestors were orignally the residents of Badakhshān.[2]

We are not definite about his year of birth. Even the contemporary biographers namely Khān Ārzū and Mīr ʿAẓmat Ullah are silent on this point. On the basis of Ārzū's version that he remained in the service of Hidāyat Ullah Khān on whom Bahādur Shāh (1118-1123 A.H.-1707-1712 A.D.) had bestowed the title of Saʿdullah Khān; we can presume that he was born in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

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1. Aʿzam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms, p. 389

قبول از قوم بہلوح است

2. ʿAbdur Raḥmān, Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, Ms, fol. 121.

قبول موسوم بہ عبدالغنی بیگ اصلش بدخشان

3. Arzu, Siraj-ud-Dīn ʿAli Khan, Majmaʿ-un-Nafaʾis, Ms. p. 716

مدتی بہدایت اللہ خان کہ در عہد بہادر شاہ بخطاب سعداللہ خانی امتیاز یافتہ

نیابت وزارت داشت بود۔

EDUCATION:

About his education we have been told by Ārzū that he first became the pupil of one Qāsim Khān having Mukhliṣ[1] as his 'Takhalluṣ.' Later on he joined the circle of Joyā's pupils. Ārzū writes:

در اوائل شاگرد قاسم خان مخلص تخلص کشمیری بود و بعد ازان
در خدمت داراب بیگ جویا اکتساب فیض نمود[2]

" In the beginning he was the pupil of Qāsim Khān who had Mukhliṣ as his nom de plume. After that he received education from Dārāb Beig Joyā."

HIS SERVICE:

Nothing is known about his childhood and boyhood. He was amongst the dignitaries of Kashmīr and as we are told by Beikhabar he left Kashmīr and began to reside in Shāhjahānābād.[3] There he, as we are told by Ārzū, "spent a long time in the service of Hidāyat Ullah Khān who got distinction by getting the title of Sa'dullah Khān in the reign of Bahādur Shāh and held the post of a minister. When the said Khān was put to sword, he in the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyyar, associated himself with Sayyid Ṣalābat Khān who

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1. Qāsim Khān according to the statement of Sayyid 'Ali Ḥasan Khān the compiler of 'Tazkirah-i-Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan' was born in Kashmīr. His ancesters belonged to Irān. He was a man of delicate ideas. The following verses have been quoted as the specimen of his poetry.

بهوسم و لب رو چشم خویش بگذارم ٭ شبی که پای ترا دست من حنا بندد (صبح گلشن ص ۳۹۶)
نشهٔ صهبای گفتار توام بی هوش کرد ٭ آنچه با مستان کند پیمانه با من گوش کرد (سفینهٔ بیخبر ورق ۱۰۴)

2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Ma'jma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms A. 716

3. Beikhabar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Beikhabar, Ms, fol. 104b.

had some aptitude for poetry."[1]

From the above quoted statement of Ārzū which has been confirm[ed] by Muhammad A'zam and Shafīq, we have not been able to know the post held by him, or in what capacity he remained in the service of Hidāyat Khān as well as Salābat Khān.

HIS DEATH:

Both the contemporary biographers (Tazkirah writers) namely Ārzū and Beikhabar are silent on this point. Amongst the other Tazkirah writers, Shafīq, Āzād Bilgirāmī, and Iftikhār are of the opinion that Qabūl died in 1139 A.H.[2] (1727 A.D.) Shafīq and Āzād Bilgirāmī have mentioned the following hemistich indicating the chronogram of his death.

گنج معنی بود کرد افلاک در زیر زمین

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 716
متوسل به هدایت الله خان که در عهد بهادر شاه بخطاب سعد الله خان امتیاز یافته
بنیابت و وزارت داشته میبود و بعد از کشته شدن خان مسطور در عهد بادشاه
شهید مرحوم محمد فرخ سیر با سید صلابت خان که خیلی بشعر و شاعری ربط داشت میبود

A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 389
در عهد بهادر شاه بحضور رفته باریاب مجلس هدایت الله خان نائب وزیر اعلی شد و بعد واقعه خان مذکور در شاهجهان آباد مکین شد

Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 249b.
در دهلی متوسل با هدایت الله خان کشمیری که در عهد شاه عالم بهادر شاه بخطاب سعد الله خان
مخاطب شد و به نیابت وزارت سر برافراخت رفیق بود

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 249b.
Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād, p. 198.
در ۱۱۳۹ پیمانه هستی او لبریز گردید

Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Beinazir, p. 103.

HIS CHILDREN:

No information is available about his marriage. We do not know even the number of his children. We have, however, been acquainted by the biographers with his three sons namely Muḥammad Muḥteram having his 'Takhalluṣ' Muḥteram; Mirzā Arj-mand who had both Āzād and Janūn as his 'Takhalluṣ,' who died in 1134 A.H., and Mirzā Girāmī who breathed his last in 1156 A.H. All the three were poets of considerable merits but Girāmī out-shines in the art of poetry. We shall write their biographies later on when we will start writing the biographies of his pupils, because these were not only his sons but pupils too.

HIS CHARACTER:

Qabūl was one of the dignitaries of Kashmīr but he was not a proud man. Baikhabar, a friend of him, to whom he handed over a few verses in his own hand, tells us that he had his manners like Dervaish.[1] To this Husain Dost adds that he had relations with Mullā Shāh Badakhshī.[2] He was a broad minded and a conciliator.[3] He had no grudge against any creed. He himself says:

شیعی و سنی و ملحد نیستم ؛ کم کسی داند که این هم مسلکی ست[4]

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1. Baikhabar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol 104 b.

اوضاعش درویشانه است

2. Sanbhalī, Husain Dost, Tazkirah-i-Husainī, p. 272,

با ملا شاه بدخشی قدس سره قرابت قریب داشت

3. Shafiq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 249b.

وسعت مشرب بمرتبهٔ داشت که به هفتاد و دو ملت میجوشید

4. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 716.

QABŪL AS A POET:

The 'Tazkirah' writers have praised him as a poet. Ārzū opines that he was the follower of Salīm and very often he left him behind and went on equal footing with Kamāl Khajandī and Salmān Sāvjī. Ārzū writes in his 'Tazkirah.'

اکثر تتبع ادا بندان مثل سلیم وغیره مینمود بلکه بالاتر ازان رفته بطریق
کمال خجندی وسلمان ساوجی راه می رفت[1]

Views of other 'Tazkirah' writers are quoted below. Shafīq begins Qabūl's biography thus:

میرزا عبدالغنی کشمیری ..... از سخن طرازان بلند تلاش خوش تقریر است[2]

Āzād Bilgirāmī writes:

فاضل ممتاز بود وسخن سنج معنی نواز[3]

'Abdul Vahāb says:

از فاضلان با امتیاز و خوش فکران معنی پرداز بود[4]

A'zam expresses his views in the following words:

طبع موزونی داشت بطرز ایهام نکته سنجی حرف پهلو دار میزد[5]

Inspite of all this praises which they have showered upon this poet of Kashmīr they have not selected sufficient number of the verses from his 'Dīvān' and the total number of the verses which we have been able to gather from the various sources is a little more

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khan, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 716.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 249 b.
3. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām Ali, Sarv-i-Āzād, p. 197.
4. Iftikhār. 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Bainazīr, p. 103.
5. A'zam, Muhammad, Vaqi'at-i-Kashmīr' Ms. p. 389

than a dozen. The same are reprodued here to serve as the specimen of his poetry.

نیست در سر فکر روزی صاحب شمشیر را ؛ باشد از ناخن کلید رزق در کف شیر را
مجو از پست فطرت همت دعوی که چون کرگس ؛ بوی جیفهٔ دنیا ز بالا افگند خود را
زاهد چو سبحه یافت ولی گشت بی نصیب ؛ یکجا نداد چرخ بکس آب و دانه را[1]

بود چون صدف هر که پاکیزه گوهر ؛ به تاج شهان ریزد آب دهن را
سبقت
دور پیری می لبا غم کردن از مینا قبول ؛ در چراغ زندگی از آب روغن کردن را
ز چشم تو حرفی که گویند مردم ؛ حدیثی ضعیف است صحت ندارد
نگذرد از یک دو کامی هیچ کس در عهد ما ؛ یاد ایام که رستم می گذشت از هفت خوان
کم نشد ~~حسنش~~ از دمیدن خط ؛ کرم الله وجهه ابدا[2]

The following are the verses which according to the statement of Beikhaber Qabūl himself wrote and handed over to him.

هر حالت که می بینم ز عیب سرکشی پاکم ؛ چو لای باده گر در عالم آبم همان خاکم
نهان کرد است صیاد من از روی فسون سازی ؛ چو تخم عشق دایم دامها در دانهٔ خالی
قبول بسکه نفی خویش را ز وصلش گم ؛ ترا نشسته به پهلوی یار نتوان دید
گفتمش یکی بمن نگهی ؛ از سر ناز گفت باید دید

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 716.
2. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 250a.

داعیان قدر ترا از ازل ؛ بر زبان مدظله ابداست
ناله ام چو دید در طفلی پدر ؛ گفت این بابا فغان میشود
نه لازم است شجاعت نه شرط احسان است ؛ بکام هر که فلک گشت خاندوران است[1]

In the light of these verses which are in a very small number, it is very difficult to form an idea about his style and diction, or about the elvation of his poetry. We, therefore, reserve our view in this respect. It is also pointed out here that none of the Tazkireh writers has mentioned the approximate number of verses of his 'Dīvān Ārzū mentions that he is selecting these verses from his (Qabūl's) 'Dīvān.' One wonders when one knows that Ārzū has selected only three verses from his 'Dīvān,' while in case of a number of poets he has selected a good number of verses. For example he has quoted about eighty verses from the 'Dīvān' of Muḥammad Razā Mushtāq, a poet of Kashmīr, about whom we shall speak in this chapter at a later stage. Similar is the case with Hājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim who too was a poet of Kashmīr. He has spent fourteen pages in writing a selection of his 'Dīvān.'

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1. Beikhabar, ʿAzmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Beikhabar, Ms, fol. 104 b

HIS PUPILS:

Qabūl's popularity as a poet and teacher is evident from the fact that we know a dozen of his pupils. We are ignorant the exact number of his pupils because Some novice, who according to Ārzū's statement, were amongst his pupils but after his death could not keep their efficiency in poetry owing to lack of proper coaching. Ārzū writes:

از روزیکه ازین جهان رحلت نمود بسردی بازار ریخ بسته ...... بسا کس از دامن او برخاسته بودند. خیلی شاگردان درین فن داشت تا حدیکه بعضی پس از وفات او ناموزون شدند[1]

Since the day he left this world (ie. he died) the market (of poetry) became dull. Many persons rose from his skirts. He had a large number of pupils in this art, but after his death some lost this art."

Shafīq says that he had many pupils and they were known as 'Qabūliss.'[2]

The number of his pupils, as we have already stated, reaches a dozen. This number includes his three sons. All the noteable pupils of his are as follows:

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 716.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 249 b.

تلامذه فراوان درین فن بهم رسانده که بفرقه قبولیه نامزد شدند

1. Mirzā Girāmī.
2. Muhammad Muhtaram, Muhtaram.
3. Mirzā Arjumand Āzād (Janūn).
4. Ichchal Dās.
5. Kishan Chand Ikhlās.
6. Muhammad Maqsūd Jāmi'.
7. 'Ali Baig Kashmīrī.
8. Fasāhat Khān Rāzī.
9. Ahsan Ullah Khān Riyāzī.
10. Maulvī Rahmat Ullah Tamkīn.
11. Salābat Khān Sa'īd.
12. Muhammad 'Alī Hashmat

We shall be very brief in writing their biographies as we have failed to collect sufficient material which may help us to visulize them in their true colours. Moreover, with the exception of one or two they were not Kashmīrīs; hence to write their biographies in detail is not within the scope of our subject. We shall write the biographics of Qabūl's pupils according to the above order.

1. Mirzā Girāmī:

He was the son and pupil of Mirzā 'Abdul Ghanī Baig Qabūl. Nothing is known about his life except this that he was living in Delhi like a Qalandar[1] (a wandering Faqīr). He was not the follower of any religion. He was Sunnī in the company of Sunnīs,

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ghulām Ali, Sabr-i-Āzād, p. 198.

Shi'a in Shi'a's, Christian in Christian and so on.[1] This broad-mindedness made him very popular amongst the people of Delhī and many young men became his disciples. At times, like Jogīs, he was seen 'clean shaved' and tying a red 'Lungī' on the waist.[2]

He was the real successor of his father in the realm of poetry. The 'Tazkirah' writers praises him much as a poet. Ārzū says:

"خیلی دور تلاش است بسیار در بند الفاظ نو بسته و معانی تازه
بود که از زبان غیر باشد مثل ہندی فرنگی"[3]

Shafīq writes his opinion in Gul-i-Ra'nā:

"گرامی گوہری است در سلک شعرا و پیش آہنگی است در
تاملہ فصحا - ادا بند ممتاز بود و معنی تلاش بی انباز"[4]

Āzād Bilgirāmī's opinion is:

"رعنا طرز خوش مقالان است وکلاه گوشه شکن نازک خیالان"[5]

Iftikhār expresses his view in the following words:

شاعر شوخ طبع، نازک مقال و تازه گوی و خوش خیال بود[6]

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 737.
ہیچ مذہب و مشرب نداشت با سنی سنی و با شیعی شیعی و با جوگی جوگی و با نصرانی نصرانی و با یہودی یہودی
و با ہندو ہندو۔ اکثر نوجوانان دہلی خود را مرید او می گرفتند
2. Ibid, Ms. p. 737
گاہ اوقات لنگی سرخ مثل جوگیان بر کمر می بست و ریش و بروت را خیرباد می گفت
3. Ibid, Ms. p. 737.

4. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. Fol. 253a.
5. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād, p. 198.
6. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Benazīr, p. 104.

Girāmī died in 1156 A.H.(1743 A.D.) Shafīq and Āzād Bilgirāmī have quoted the following hemistich as chronogram.

رند عجمی ازین جهان رفت [1]

A fragment of his 'Dīvān' which is still a manuscript , is preserved in Asiatic Society of Bengāl. Following verses have been quoted by the Tazkirah writers as the specimen of his poetry.

خون عشاق بر آن گردن سیمین باشد ؛ چون بیاضی که پر از معنی رنگین باشد

همچو آن شمعی که روشن میکند صد شمع را ؛ سوختم تا در غم او عالمی را سوختم [2]

هیچ کس بی داغ از دست بتان هند نیست ؛ آتشی در هر طرف زین دودمان افتاده است

ازین ظلمت سرای بی داغ جانی بر نمی آید ؛ چو شب مهمان رود باید چراغی برد همراهش

ندیدم یک نظر آسائیشی از نیش مژگانش ؛ مگر در خواب چون مخمل به بینم روی بالینی

چو خزان شیب آید می لاله گون طلب کن ؛ که شراب در زمستان عرق بهار باشد

اگر نار گلزار شد بر خلیل ؛ همه گل فشی باغ اوست

اگر در خواب هم بینم گل رخسار یار خود ؛ درودش می فرستم از دو چشم اشکبار خود

لعل جان بخش بتان آن دم که می آید بحرف ؛ میدمد روح بقالب تقریر را

نباشد تیره روز آن را بجز فرزند سر کوبی ؛ که هندو را پس از مردن پسر بر سر زند چوبی [3]

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1. Shafīq, Laghhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā , Ms. fol. 253a.
Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, Sarv-i-Āzād , p. 198.
2. Ibid, p. 198.
3. Shafīq, Laghhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 253a

2. MUHAMMAD MUHTARAM:

Muḥammad Muḥtaram was the son and pupil of 'Abdul Ghanī Baig Qabūl.[1] According to the compiler of the 'Tazkirah'-i-Mi'rāj-ul-Khayāl he after reaching the age of adolescence he studied the prescribed course of study from the erudites of the age.[2] Vazīr 'Alī 'Ibratī according to his habit praises him much. He writes:

"شیرینی و روانی کلامش همسر حلاوت قند و آب حیوان دریافت بزنگ رنگین لعبان
سلف آموز مضمون باریک و نازک می‌لبت "[3]

'Ibratī has studied only a few Ghazals of Muḥtaram as he could not find a copy of his 'Dīvān' inspite of his ('Ibratī's) endeavours in getting the same.

It is also not known as when and where he died and was burried.[4]

Mi'rāj-ul-Khayāl of 'Ibratī which is the only source of our information in this respect quotes the following Ghazal of five verses:

تا که شد قاعده رسم وفا پیشهٔ ما ÷ کرده جا مهر بتان در رگ و در ریشهٔ ما
ماهی از خود و پر از غم جانان شده‌ایم ÷ قطره را جا نبود در خم اندیشهٔ ما

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1. 'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mi'rāj-ul-Khiyāl, Ms. fol. 98a.
   Sayyid 'Alī Hasan Khān, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 370.
2. 'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mi'rāj-ul-Khiyāl, Ms. fol. 98a.
   بعد رسیدن بمراتب امتیاز تحصیل کتب متداوله از خدمت فضلای عصر نموده
3. Ibid, Ms. fol. 98a.
4. Ibid, Ms. fol. 98a.

ما سمندر صفتانیم و شرر دانهٔ ماست ٭ باده را خاصیت شعله دهد شیشهٔ ما
شهسواریم بمیدان بلائیم بلا ٭ شیر روبه شود ار بگذرد از بیشهٔ ما
محترم شمع سر مرقد فرهاد شود
هر شراری که برون می جهد از تیشهٔ ما [1]

Sayyid 'Alī Ḥasan Khān has, in his Subh-i-Gulshan, given the following verse belonging to Mukhtaram. We take the liberty of quoting the same here.

بزم غیر دوش او را چو مست و بی خبر دیدیم ٭ برای آنکه هشیارش کنم بسیار نالیدم [2]

3. MIRZĀ ARJ-MAND:

Mirzā Arj-mand was the second son of Mirzā 'Abdul Ghanī Beig Qabūl. Shafīq' writes that according to the version of ~~Ishar-i Das~~ Kishan Chand the compiler of Tazkirah Hamishah Bahār Arj-mand had his 'Takhallus' Āzād. He further writes that Muhammad 'Alī Khān Matīn writes that his (Arj-mand's) 'Takhallus' was Janūn.[3]

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1. 'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mi'rāj-ul-Khiyāl, Ms. fol. 98a.
2. ~~Shafiq~~Sayyid 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 370.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 99a

میرزا ارجمند سابق آزاد تخلص میکرد آخر جنون قرار داد چنانچه اخلاص او را در
حرف الالف ذکر کرده و محمد علی متین که متأخر است در تذکرهٔ خود در حرف جیم دو جا ذکر می کند

It is pointed out here that Ichchal Dās was a pupil of Qabūl, hence there is no reason to disblieve him. It is, however, also possible that Arjamand might have changed his nom de plume for one reason or antoher. From the statements of Matīn and Ikhlāṣ it can be presumed that the first 'Takhalluṣ' of Arj-mand was 'Āzād' and the second Janūn. Shafīq mentions him under Janūn.

Shafīq says that Janūn had improved much in four or five years practice but he met a premature death in 1134 A.H. (1721 A.D.)

This is the only verse of Arjamand which is now-a-days availabl

آتش طلبی بر اولاد پیمبر عام شد :: دل کباب شاهی از بیداد این شام شد [2]

4. ICHCHAL DĀS

He was a Hindū. His caste was Khatrī. He was the father of Kishan Chand Ikhlāṣ, the writer of a 'Tazkirah' which is known as Hamīshah Bahār. Both fathet and son were pupil of Qabūl. Ṣabā has mentioned the following verse as the specimen of his poetry.

ندیدم هیچ جا از جلوهٔ آن بی نشان خالی :: ز حسنش شش جهت لبریز و جایش همچنان خالی [3]

1. Shafīq , Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā , Ms. fol. 99a.
2. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Bainazīr , p. 55.
   Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 99a.
3. Ṣabā, Muḥammad Muzaffar Ḥusain, Roz-i-Roshan, p. 30.

5. KISHAN CHAND IKHLĀṢ

He was the son of Ichhal Dās, about whom we have said in the preceeding page. This Ikhlāṣ was residing in Delhī. He compiled a Tazkirah of poets and named it 'Hamīshah Bahār! He did so in 1136 A.H. (1723 A.D.) Shafīq praises his talents in the following words:

اخلاص مند خوبان معانی است و تماشائی خوش طلعتان سخندانی [1]

The following verses of Ikhlāṣ has been quoted by Shafīq from his Tazkirah Hamīshah Bahār.

همچو مور اخلاص بر یک دانه قانع گشته ام ؛ از دل من کی رود بیرون خیال خال او

تا بود وصف الهی زینت عنوانِ ما ؛ میشود ابروی خوبان مطلع دیوانِ ما

همچو زنبور عسل در بند صورت نیستم ؛ ظاهر است از دستگاه معنیِ ما شانِ ما [2]

چرا دست از سر زلفِ سیاه یار بردارم ؛ که می دانم دعا را در دل شب با اثر باشد [3]

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 309a.
2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 309 a.
3. Baikhabar, Azmat-ullah, Mir, Safina-i-Baikhabar, Ms, fol. 30 a.

6. MUHAMMAD MAQSŪD JĀMI'

Shafīq introduces him with us saying that he was a Kashmīrī and was a pupil of Mirzā 'Abdul Ghanī Beig Qabūl.

The following verses are being quoted from Gul-i-Ra'nā of Shafīq.

سخن سازی نه آسان است عمری باید و جهدی ؛ چون مویم شد سفید اشعار رنگینم بیاض شد

از فیض عشق جا مع پیرانه سر جوانم ؛ وصل پری رخان کرد امروز من پری روز[1]

7. 'Alī Beig:

" His ancesters belonged to Irān but as he was born in Kashmīr he is known as Kashmīrī,"[2] writes Shafīq in Gul-i-Ra'nā. He was a pupil of Qabūl.

The following three verses have been considered suffice by Shafīq as the specimen of his poetry.

خواجه آیین خود از لب زن پرستی کرده است ؛ نیست جز حج لسا منظورش از طوف حرم

با غبار غم لبان رنگ ماهی ساختم ؛ من از این دریا نیم شرمنده دام و درم

به چشمی که همچون سبوی پر آب است ؛ چو گرداب تا کی کنم پاسبانی[2]

1Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 99b.

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 216b.

8. Fasahat Khān Rāzī :

He was also amongst the Qabūlias. The known facts about this pupil of Qabūl are that he followed the style and diction of his teacher in poetry. According to Ārzū's statement "he surpassed him in that art."[1] He was a friend of Ārzū and died before the invasion of Nādir Shāh.

Following verses have been quoted by Ārzū as the specimen of his poetry:

صبح نوروز است باید بر غدیر خم رسید ÷ جام گرفتن ز ساقی کار ابن ملجم است

آن رخ و لب ز خال مستغنی است ÷ گل و مل را نقط نمی باید

با عندلیب صلح کنم یا با باغبان ÷ ای گل ترا بخاطر عاطر چی می رسد[2]

9. AHSAN ULLAH KHĀN RIYĀZĪ:

Riyāzī whose name was Ahsan Ullah Khān was according to the statement of Sayyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān ~~was~~ one of the officials of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh (28th September 1719-29th April 1748 = 1131A. 1162 A.H) He had a title of Fasāhat Khān. He was the pupil of our learned poet Qabūl and according to Sayyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān "his poetry was the bestower of satisfaction to the impatient hearts and the coloured folios of his 'Dīvān' were the beautiful gardens."[3]

It is pointed out here that Sayyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān who has

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān , Majmaʿ-un-Nafāʾis, Ms. p. 279.
بنای شعر خود را بر طریقهٔ استاد خود عبدالغنی بیگ قبول گذاشته بلکه بیشتر ترقی نموده
2. Ibid, Ms. p. 279.
3. Sayyid ʿAlī Hasan Khān, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 187.

compiled his Subḥ-i-Gulshan in 1295 A.H. has imparted the above information. Other sources of ours are silent.

Following is the specimen of his poetry.

جهد بیاد خطش آتشم زچشم پر آب ؛ چو تذرو خفر چراغی برد کسی ابر جو[1]

10. MAULVĪ REḤMAT ULLAH TAMKĪN:

Tamkīn, whose name was Reḥmat Ullah, was a resident of Kashmīr. He studied the prescribed courses of study of his time and " surpassed the erudites." He had a taste in the art of soothsaying. He used to get his verses corrected from ʿAbdul Ghanī Beig Qabūl.

The compiler of the Tazkirah known as Nishtar-i-ʿIshq expresses his views about Tamkīn's poetry in the following words:

از ناصیدن خوش طبع شیرین مقال گوی سبقت ربوده ...... میدان لمعیت اشعر و شاعری بهم رسانیده[2]

Following verses of Tamkīn are now-a-days available.

هیچ کس زابنای جنس خویشتن آسوده نیست ؛ خانهٔ قفل است ویران از کلید آهنی

غیر زلفش که برد سجده بپائیش تمکین ؛ هیچ کافر نشنیدیم معلف به نماز

به پیش قد او گر سروی لاف زند عجب نبود ؛ که طول قامتش دارد دلالت بر حماقتها

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1. Sayyid ʿAli Hasan Khān, Subḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 183.

2. Ali Quli Khān, Nishtar-i-ʿIshq; Ms. fl. 230 b.

چسان پای فراغت میگذارد خواب نوشین نمکین ؛ درون خانهٔ چشمم که پر آب است بنیادش

بهست بی مهر ماه پارهٔ من ؛ شاید این بود در ستارهٔ من

از عارض تو سبزهٔ خط تا دمیده است ؛ روز سیاه بختی زلفت رسیده است

عاشق چونین جگر باداغ دل خیزد ز خاک ؛ لاله سان با سبزپوشان گرچه خشنودش کنند

دل در سواد زلفش کرده است داغ روشن ؛ هنگام شام سازد هر کس چراغ روشن

چون مویت شد سفید از صحبت رنگین دلان باز آ ؛ که راه کوه رفتن وقت پیری با خطر باشد

تمکین عروس فکر ز مشاطه فارغ است ؛ کی دیده است زلف سخن روی شانه را

برهنه سر شدن ای شیخ خفت است ترا ؛ که نیست در تو بزرگی سوای دستارت

تب شوقت مرا در استخوان است ؛ چو شمع از جنبش نبضم عیان است

ز بس از فرقتم تا لب بتی شد ؛ گر آئی در کنارم جای آن است

حلاوت بیشتر با مردم مرطوب میسازد ؛ لب شیرین بود منظور چشم اشکبارم را

ز فیض خاکساری کرده ام جا بر سر کویت
رقیبان زین سبب دارند در خاطر غبارم را[1]

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1. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārāʼin, Gul-i-Raʻnā, Ms. fol. 81b.

11. SALĀBAT KHĀN SA'ĪD:

He was the incharge of fires during the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyyar 1124 AH.- 1130 A.H.(1713-1719 A.D.)He had a taste for poetry and used to hold literary meetings in his home. He died in 1137 A.H.(1726 A.D.)

Following verses of Sa'īd have been quoted by Shafīq in his Gul-i-Ra'nā:

از نزاع کفر و دین الحمدلله فارغم ٭ سورهٔ اخلاص شد سرلوح بر قرآن ما
ای آنکه روم و شام گرفتی بروی و مو ٭ برخیز بهر رقص و بکف زنگ هم بگیر
ز دست هجر او بر سینه داغی ٭ برنگ لاله دارم آل تمغا
مرا ز حلقهٔ بگوشان آن کمان ابرو ٭ کسی که کرد جدا خانه‌اش خراب شود[1]

12. Muhammad 'Alī Hashmat:

Sabā introduces us with an other pupil of Qabūl whose name was Muhammad 'Alī, and used to write poetry with the pen name of Hashmat. Only one couplet of his has been quoted as the specimen of his poetry by the Tazkirah writer and that is as follows:

خطی تو دید مسیحا و گفت با دل ریش ٭ که این سیاه قلم کار خوب استاد است

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1. Shafiq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 150a.
2. Sabā, Muhammad Muzaffar Husain, Roz-i-Roshan , p. 180

MUHAMMAD RAZĀ MUSHTAQ[1]

Muhammad Razā[1] is one of those fortunate poets of Kashmīr whose name have not so far been sliped away from the forgetful memory of the world. He was a calligraphist and therefore, not a man of comfortable means."Thoguh a poor man, yet," says Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān

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1. There is also another poet of Kashmīr named Muhammad Razā (or Muhammad Razī, the name mentioned by Sarkhush in Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā p. 43) who had Razā as his nom de plume. This Muhammad Razā according to Zakhmī's statement used to live in Delhī(Anīs -ul-ʿAshqīn, Ms. fol. 201 b.) Praising this poet Husain Dost writes in his Tazkirah.

موسس اساس خوش تقریری محمد رضا کشمیری شاعر خوشگو است

(حسین دوست تذکرهٔ حسینی ص ۱۳۵)

" Muhammad Razā Kashmīrī, the founder of the foundation of eloquency is an eloquent poet."

It is strange to note that only the following couplet of his has been mentioned by Sarkhush , Zakhmī, Baikhabar, Husain Dost, Hāshmī, and Shāh Nawāz Khān, ʿAbdur Rehmān in their respective works.

محبت را پس از قطع محبت لذتی باشد ٭ که شاخ نخل پیوندی پس از اول ثمر گیرد

(cf. Kalmāt-ush-Shuʿarā, p. 43, Anīs-ul-ʿAshqīn, Ms. fol. 201 b., Safīnah-i-Bekhabar, Ms, fol. 53a., Tazkirah-i-Hussainī, p. 135, Mirāt Āftāb Numā, p. 114.

Zakhmī has also mentioned another Razā whose name was ʿAta Ulla

رضای - اسمش عطاالله مولدش کشمیر بوده ازوست (انیس العاشقین نسخهٔ خطی ورق ۲۰۱)

" Razā, His name was ʿAta Ullah and his birth place was Kashmīr.

(Continued)

Ārzū in his Tazkirah.

با این همه خانه بسیار رفته وشسته داشته واوضاع خیلی شائسته[1]

" Inspite of this he had his house very neat and clean. He possessed good manners."

He was quite aware of the fact that his talents were not being appreciated fully and so he depicts his condition as follows.

درکف دهر چو تیغم بدست نارد :: حیف صد حیف که نشناخت کسی جوهر ما[2]

It seems to us that he was a Shī'ah, for he devoted his talents to praise the Imāms(May good bless them) Ārzū tells us.

قصاید بسیار در مدح حضرت ائمه هدی گفته[3]

" He wrote many Qaṣīdahs in praise of the Imāms."

He left Kashmīr for Delhī in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh A.H. 1131-1162 (A.D. 1719-1748) the king of India and stayed there to make both ends meet. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān says:

درعهد محمد شاه پادشاه بدهلی رسید وهمانجا توطن گزید[4]

He, in the reign of King Muḥammad Shāh reached Delhī and stayed there."

(Continued from p. 892.)

This is from him."

After this he has written the following verse:

زعفران خورده است گوئی صبحدم تا آفتاب :: ورنه بیدردلیست یک دم خنده اش داشتن

(درنسخه انجمن نسخه خطی ورق ۱۰۴ ب)

(F.N. Concluded)

1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 872.
2. Ibid, Ms. p. 872. 3. Ibid, Ms. p. 872.
4. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Sayyid, Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 411.

About his death Ārzū has given no specific year. He only says:

ظاہراً اوسط سلطنت فردوس آرامگاہ محمد شاہ بادشاہ بفردوس اعلیٰ خرامید[1]

" Apparently, he, in the middle of the reign of king Muḥammad Shāh having abode in paradise, walked towards the lofty paradise."

Shafīq explains the above version in the following words.

در عشرہ خامس بعد مأة والف رخت زندگانی بربست[2]

" He packed the luggage of his life in the fifth decade after the eleventh century."

Ārzū has seen his Dīvān and has given its selection in his Tazkirah. The number of those verses is 79. These can be perused on pages 872 to 875 of Majma'-un-Nafā'is, a manuscript copy of which is preserved in the Library of The University of Panjab. Others, especially Shafīq has copied 33 verses from Majma'-un-Nafā'is. These verses appear in Gul-i-Ra'nā on folios 265b and 266a of the manuscript copy of the Panjāb University Library. Praising his poetry Ārzū writes:

طرز شعرش اکثر بطور میرزا اسیر است و پارہ تتبع میرزا صائب و میرمعز فطرت

و شاہ ناصر علی نمودہ بعد از حاجی اسلم باین خوش بیانی دیگری از کشمیر برنخاستہ[3]

The mode of his poetry or verses is often like that of Mirzā Asīr, and he also followed Mirzā Ṣā'ib, Mirzā Mu'iz Fiṭrat, and Shāh Nāṣir 'Alī; and after Ḥājī Aslam none has risen from Kashmir having such eloquency."

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān , Majma'-un-Nafā'is , Ms. p. 872.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 265b.
3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān , Majma'-un-Nafā'is , Ms. p. 872.

MUSHTĀQ'A POETRY:

We have been able to lay hands on seventy nine(79) couplets of Mushtāq only; which appear on pages 872 to 875 of Majma'-un-Nafāis of Ārzū. These couplets have been selected by him from Mushtāq's 'Dīvān'. But it is a matter of regret that Ārzū who got an opportunity to see the 'Dīvān' did not throw much light on it. He has not even told the approximate number of Odes (Ghazals) or Qasīdahs etc. No mention of his patron has also been made by him. However, by the help of these couplets we will try to estimate the elevation of his poetry.

A persual of these verses persuades the readers to comprehend that he had good poetical talent. He has tried his best to make the out-come of his endeavours in this respect worth appreciation, and no doubt he has succeeded to some extent.

Mushtāq's Ghazals are, as a matter of fact, formal and conventional. Out of these couplets which are the cream of his 'Dīvān', there are only a few which have sensational effects. eg.,

بر لب جام لب لعل بصد ناز بناد ؛ سوی من دید و بخندید و زکف باز بناد

The lover has requested his beloved to drink wine. The sweetheart is declined to drink, but only to accede to the request of his lover, he picks up the cup of wine with coquetry, touches it with his lips, seeing him(the lover, who is perhaps watching whether or not he is drinking) he smiles and then puts the cup on the table. The poet has depicted the actions of the beloved in simple and beautiful manner.

Similarly in the following couplet he has with the help of orignal similies depicted a picture which can be felt by the help

of imagination. He says:

لطف عارض او زلفش از دل پرداغ ؛ چه خوشنما ست چو طاؤس بر کنار چمن

Here he has similized the checks of the beloved with a garden and the hair which has lover's hearts in its grip(and those hearts of lovers possess spots of sorrows)resemble with the feather of peacock. The poet after this says that on the side of his cheeks his hair with the hearts full of spots look as beautiful as the peacock standing on the side of the garden. The imaginative flights and subtle exposition of a couplet can never be retained in translation so reading the orignal verse once again will compell the reader to appreciate it.

خاک ما نقش پای یار گرفت ؛ چه بلند افتاد پستی ما

A true lover always longs for his sweet-heart's Union. He thinks himself fortunate enough if this desire of his is fulfilled even after his death. In the above couplet we find that a lover died and his remains turned into dust, but to his good luck his sweet-heart passed on that way where his dust was lying. His dust caught hold of the beloved's foot and thus his lowness turned into highness. The union with the sweetheart is certainly the highest rank which a lover can get in the realm of love.

ترا با غیر دیدم هم نشین خونبار شد چشمم ؛ چها دیدم بچشم خود چها دیدم (چها دیدم)

Surely a lover cannot tolerate that his sweet-heart may go any where having hand in hand with his rival. If he sees this, he is bound to take it to heart. As he has got no control over his beloved so inorder to give way to his sorrows and griefs he weeps bitterly. The tears fall automaticlly and he says in heart of hearts what I have seen ?----O God what I have seen ? I would have died before I

could behold this scene. A true picture of a lover's sentiments has been depicted beautifully.

راهم زده بود از سخنِ آبِ بقا خضر ∴ حرفِ دمِ شمشیر کسی گر نشنودی سر

Naturally a man wishes to enjoy a long life or desires to become immortal. It has been supposed that nector is a life giving water. One who drinks it never dies. It has also been said that Khizar knows where it is. The poet in the above couplet compares the nector with the edge(blade) of the sword of beloved, and tells us that he was about to be misled by Khizar when some one told him that the beloved's sword is more effective than the nector, so if he is put to sword of his beloved, he will become the martyr of love and will never die. This appealed to him and so he is glad that he did not drink the nector.

Mushtaq is conversant in the art of similies and his similies are orignal and it is because of this that he is apt towards anology. For example he says:

بر تواضع میفزاید قلتِ وجهِ معاش ∴ شیشهٔ کم باده گردن میکند خم بیشتر

We see in our every day life that the poor people bow before the rich with the hope that they would be able to get help from the wealthy people if and when the need arises. Here he has similized the poorman with a long necked flask (goblet) which has a small quantity of wine, so when one tries to get wine from it, it bows, but when it is full it does not bow so much while pouring the wine into a cup. It bows but very little and its bowing at that time may be considered as an etiquette.

از رفیقان موافق پیش رفتن ابلهی است ∴ منتظر در راه پای پس چو پای پیش باش .

In the first hemistich the poet calls it foolishness to go ahead from the friends while walking, without caring for their company, because a friend indeed must wait till the friends join him. To prove this that the friends going in the company of one another wait for the friends who have remained behind, he reminds us the action of feet. A foot going forward stands till the other joins it, and when the second surpasses the first, it stands enabling the first to join it.

Similarly the following couplet is also an example of his analogical poetry.

چو آن مفلس که صد جا در گرو باشد متاع او ؛ نگه جای و دل جای و جان جای دگر دارم

A poor man, when in need of money, mortgages one thing with one person inorder to get money, but if that money does not suffice his demands he gives another thing to some other person as pledge and so on. The poet says that similar is the case with him. His heart is entangled in the sweetheart's hair, the soul is in his hand, the sight is on his face etc., or in other words , he is just like the needy person who has given every thing of his to some one as pledge.

All the poets make fun of the ascetics and hit upon their character, but Mushtāq's remarks are praise worthy. Just see:

گرد خجالت از رخ زاهد بروز حشر ؛ دارم امید آنکه بدامان تر کشم

On the resurrection day, I hope, I will make the dust of shame vanish from the ascetics face by my wet shirt. Here, there is pun upon دامان تر and it has made the couplet go very high.

We now quote a few couplets without explaining them so that

the reader may himself enjoy and appreciate.

بدور چشم تو کس نرخ می نمی پرسد ∴ که تخته کرد نگاهت دکان میکده را

نیست در بزم تو راه باد ای شمع جمال ∴ بافشند از بسکه پر در پر بهم پروانها

آرام که پیوسته زما بود گریزان ∴ در سایهٔ آن سرو گل اندام گرفتیم

یارب بی پروا فلک بی مهر عشق آتش مزاج ∴ بر سر طاقت نمی دانم چها خواهد گذشت

گر بمحشر این چنین آن سرو قامت بگذرد

از خرام او قیامت بر قیامت بگذرد

In short, as has already been stated, Mushtāq's poetry is formal and conventional, though he some times causes our pulses to vibrate yet it lacks the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings. However, there are some couplets which lead us to the conclusion that the imaginative flights have invested his impressions of feelings with freshness and splendour.

Following is the selection from Mushtāq's 'Dīvān' made by Sirāj-ud-Dīn Ālī Khān Ārzū.

1. بدور چشم تو کس نرخ می نمی پرسد ∴ که تخته کرد نگاهت دکان میکده را
2. شکر الله دل که سنگ کعبه بوسیدی ز دور ∴ یا صنم گریان در آمد مست در بتخانها
3. نیست در بزم تو راه باد ای شمع جمال ∴ بافشند از بسکه پر در پر بهم پروانها
4. در کف دهر چو تیغیم بدست نامرد ∴ حیف صد حیف که نشناخت کسی جوهر ما
5. کردم از بس باده در ساغر ز مینا ریختم ∴ همچو داغ لاله غرق می شب آدینه را

۶ - تشنهٔ موج خرام توام ای آب حیات ∴ پیش از آن دم که شوم بیتو زحال سیر بیا

۷ - میکند مغز امید بوسه را رشک چمن ∴ از لب جان پرورش بوی گل دشنامها

۸ - گردید همچو حلقهٔ زنجیر ناله خیز ∴ از شورش بهار جنون آشیان ما

۹ - روز با خورشید و شب با ماه میگوید سخن ∴ نیست دیگر بیتو زین خوشتر لب بام مرا

۱۰ - خورشید حشر جام صبوحیش میدهد ∴ مشتاق هرکه باده خورد از ایاغ ما

۱۱ - سر رفت نخش لبسر نیامد ∴ بسیار تپید بسمل ما

۱۲ - صد قافلهٔ غم گذشت مشتاق ∴ گردی نه نشست بر دل ما

۱۳ - مزاست ای زفرصت بیخبر وقتی نمی خواهد ∴ که باشد زیر دندان اشتهای لب گزیدنها

۱۴ - رتبهٔ حسن و خلعت از جبین پیشانی نمود ∴ شان دیگر داد این دیباچه دیوان ترا

۱۵ - لشد از ناز با دلبستگان خویش واامشب ∴ گره‌ها در دلم افتاد زان بند قبا امشب

۱۶ - زهر نگاه فسون پرورش برنگ دگر ∴ پری بشیشه آن چشم آسمان گونست

۱۷ - در پی ما شعلهٔ دیدار را حل کرده اند ∴ هر خم میخانه ما کم زکوه طور نیست

۱۸ - من نمی گویم لبش یا آب حیوان خوشتر است ∴ هر چه باشد عمر جاویدان از آن خوشتر است

۱۹ - از ادب دور است بستن آشیان بر شاخ گل ∴ رخنهٔ دیوار گلشن آشیان ما بس است

۲۰ - نقد داغ بی بداران ورع لشمرده است ∴ شیخ ما در دفتر رحمت حساش پاک نیست

۲۱ - بر لب جام لب لعل لصد ناز نهاد ∴ سوی من دید و خندید و زلف باز نهاد

۲۲ - هوش را هم می زند ساقی کجا است ∴ ساغری را چه آمد پیش مینا را چه شد

۲۳ - همه دانند جگر خستهٔ مژگان توام ∴ پر شد از خون دل و طشت من از بام افتاد

۲۴ - بناز طرف کله را شکسته می آید ∴ چو خنده بند قبا را نه بسته می آید

25- ز طوق قمری شوریده سرو پا برجا ÷ کمر بخدمت قد تو بسته می آید

26- رحم می آید مرا بر غفلت پیری که دل ÷ با قد خم گشته همچون دال بر دنیا نهاد

27- دانهٔ جز اشک حسرت نیست در دام قفس ÷ خانهٔ بی رحمی صیاد ما آباد باد

28- مایهٔ خجلت غنی زر نشود نمی شود ÷ گل ز غنچه در نقد خود تر نشود نمی شود

29- حباب گردش چشم از پیاله می طلبد ÷ دمی که ناز تو بر می حساب می آید

30- گلشن اگرچه صیقل آئینهٔ دلست ÷ اما بگرد دامن صحرا نمی رسد

31- بر تواضع میفزاید قلت وجه معاش ÷ شیشهٔ کم باده گردن می کند خم بیشتر

32- چه التفاتست از خالق گذشتن بهر نفس خویش ÷ ز حق بگذر بده انصاف زاهد از ریا بگذر

33- حسن و عشق از یک گریبان سر برون آورده اند ÷ (چون) دو برگ تر که بیرون آورد از دانه سر

34- راهم زده بود از سخن آب بقا خضر ÷ حرف دم شمشیر کسی سر نشدی گر

35- گه سرم بر پای عشق و گاه پا بیرون عقل ÷ پیش می آید مرا بالا و پستی هر نفس

36- گاه آرایش که کاکل میدهد گاهی بزلف ÷ خانهٔ صیاد را سامان همین دامست و بس

37- بر نتابد رنگ بیکاری دم شمشیر او ÷ خون او باید چکد کو خون بی تقصیر باش

38- از حیرت بد مستی چشمت شده در باغ ÷ ساغر بکف نرگس مخمور فراموش تو

39- نه خط عنبرین شد آشنای لعل دلجویش ÷ که از موج صفای پشت لب پیداست ابرویش

40- ای صبا در هر قدم نازک بساطی چیده است ÷ کوی یار است این نه صحن بوستان آهسته باش

41- از رفیقان موافق پیش رفتن ابلهی ست ÷ منتظر در راه پای پس چه پای پیش باش

42- ساغر آب حیات از تیغ نازش میزدم ÷ گر چنین از مرگ خود کیف میدانستمش

43- چون آن ملکی که صد جا در گرو باشد متاع او ÷ نظر جای و دل جای و جان جای دیگر دارم

44- بیم امن از کشور دلها بر آورد است گرد ÷ بازکن از خواب ناز ای فتنهٔ ایام چشم

45- لطف پنهان دست بر دوش امیدم میکشد ÷ با کمال حسنم ناز آشنا گردیده‌ام

46- آرام دلپیوسته ز ما بود گریزان ÷ در سایهٔ آن سرو گل اندام گرفتیم

47- شاخ گل بردم بپای سایه ام سر می‌نهد ÷ جای تا در سایهٔ آن سرو بالا کرده‌ام

48- گر خجالت از رخ زاهد بروز حشر ÷ دارم امید آنکه دامان تر کشم

49- دزدی سرمه خاک در او ÷ کوری چشم نگهبان کردم

50- یک بیت کامل و زلف تو در سیاه دل که ÷ جان بردی گفتم جان.....

51- خط نیست که گم شود از شوخی چشمت ÷ آهوی تو پنهان شده در گرد میدان

52- بطرف عارض او زلفش از دل پر داغ ÷ چه خوشنما ست چو طاوس بر کنار چمن

53- برگ گل فتاده ز منقار بلبلی است ÷ لخت جگر ز هر مژه خون چکان من

54- هر لحظه لذتیست نصیب گدای تو ÷ شیرین تر از عطای تو شکر عطای تو

55- ای رحم منع کردنش از قتل من چه سود ÷ یارب به پیش او بغضب مبتلا شوی

56- هر چند که برتر شود شیخ دغل ÷ گر دلقشش دانتر از ترب اجل (کذا)

57- قد میکشدش چو سایه بعد زوال ÷ تا آخر روز زندگی طول امل

58- ساز(؟) درم ناله دلسوز آهنگ منست ÷ بلبل شوقم گلستان اشک گلرنگ منست

59- کوه عشقم عضو عضوم جوش سودای زدند ÷ خون مجنون کوه گرد هر رگ سنگ منست

60- زهر غم در قالب من لشکر قند دود ریخت ÷ شیرهٔ جان جای اشک از چشم تر پرورد ریخت

61- شور زنجیر سر شکم در بیابان جنون ÷ آبروی ناله مجنون مرا گرد در ریخت

62- راه نوردان وادی دردیم ÷ دل مجنون درای محمل است

63- نمک شور حشر مستی ما ÷ از لب کیست می پرستی ما

64- خاک ما نقش پای یار گرفت ÷ چه بلند او فتاد پستی ما

65 - شورش چشم غزال از نالهٔ مجنون گذشت ∴ تا سخن از چشم جادوی که در [illegible] گذشت

66 - یارب بی‌پروا فلک بی‌مهر عشق آتش مزاج ∴ بر سر طاقت نمی‌دانم چها خواهد گذشت

67 - دی که جمع خاطرش صباح عید بود ∴ بجام عشرت رندان خون دل نوش است

68 - طفل ما آمیزش جوش جنون تا شیر داشت ∴ جنبش گهوارهٔ او شورش زنجیر داشت

69 - خال مشکین و لب گلگون و خط سبز او ∴ میزند با هم چو افیون و شراب [illegible]

70 - قدح بدستی و شمشیر ناز در دستی ∴ ستمگری ز تو بیباک تر نمی‌باشد

71 - یاد لعلش چو خمار می‌پرستان بشکند ∴ شور محشر بر سر داغم نگاران بشکند

72 - جوش زد در سینهٔ مجروح ما سودای عشق ∴ جای اشک از دیدهٔ پرخون ما مجنون چکید

73 - گر بمحشر این چنین آن سرو قامت بگذرد ∴ از خرام او قیامت بر قیامت بگذرد

74 - ترا با غیر دیدم همنشین خونبار شد چشمم ∴ چها دیدم بچشم خود چها دیدم (چها دیدم)

75 - چنان افروخت برق تیغ قاتل قطرهٔ خونم ∴ که شد قربانیان را شمع محفل قطرهٔ خونم

76 - در انتظارش اشک خرمن کرد و گل شبنمم ∴ صبا بر نثارش گل بدامن کرد گل شبنمم

77 - لباس لاله بر شستن پای نگارینش ∴ زلال اشک شادی مرغ گلشن کرد گل شبنمم

78 ز موج اشک بی در پی گریبان تا بدامانم ∴ ؟

79 - چون کمانداری کند ابروی عالمگیر او
می دود همچون سگان آن پیش پیش تیر او

MULLĀ ʿABDUL ḤAKĪM SĀṬIʿ

HIS NAME AND EDUCATION ETC.

ʿAbdul Ḥakīm who is commonly known as Mullā Sāṭiʿ was the son of Mullā Ghālib.[1] About his year of birth we cannot say definitely but it seems probable that he was born in the last quarter of the eleventh century of Hijra. Nothing is known about his family. So far

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1. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 387.

Shafīq and Iftikhār have stated that his name was Abul Ḥaq and he was the son of Mullā ʿAlī or ʿĀlī. Shafīq writes:

ساطع - ملا ابوالحق - فرزند ملا عالی کشمیری از فیض جریان ملا داراب جویا ست
(گل رعنا ورق ۱۵۰ ب)

Similarly Iftikhār says:

ساطع - ابوالحق خلف ملا علی کاشمیری در فن سخنوری کوکبی ست ساطع و اختری ست لامع
(تذکره بی نظیر ص ۸۵)

Zakhmī on the other hand introduces us with another Sāṭiʿ whose name was Abul Ḥasan. He writes in Anīs-ul-ʿĀshqīn:

ساطع - نامش ابوالحسن - ملای مکتبی بود، کشمیری الاصل

Shāhnawāz Khān ʿAbdur Raḥmān, Hāshmī, Ārzū, Mardān ʿAlī Khān and Ethe do not mention the actual name of Sāṭiʿ. It is pointed out here that what Ārzū has stated about this poet Shafīq has copied it in Gul-i-Raʿnā.

Khwājah ʿAbdul Ḥamīd ʿIrfānī in his "Irān-i-Saghīr" has mentioned his 'Takhallus' as 'Sātī' (ساتی). It is quite
(Continued)

as his education is concerned, we have been informed by A'ẓam that when his muse burst, he took guidance from Lālā Malik Shahīd. Later at Shahīd's instance, he gained the company of Dārāb Baig Joyā. He also profited by assosiation with Muḥammad Sa'īd Ashraf (d. 1116 A.H.) A'ẓam writes:

چون طبع موزون داشت میل طبع شعر بر طبعش غالب شد و با لاله ملک شهید

دیگر گذشت صحبت داشته اصلاح شعر خود را ازو می گرفت و لبدحصول

(Continued from page 904)

incorrect. None of the above mentioned Tazkirah writers has mentioned his nom de plume Sātī (ساتی). Every one of them writes Sāṭi' (ساطع). It seems to us that the learned scholar who, while writing the Tazkirah of poets of Kashmīr had before him only Kashīr (a book written by Dr. Ṣūfī in English), could not understand the pronunciation and made this mistake. The learned reader would have seen the minute difference between the spellings of the said words in English.

It is not improper to mention here that A'ẓam the author of Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr claims himself to be his friend and says that he remained in his company for twenty years. He writes:

راقم حروف قریب بیست سال بشرط محبت و اخلاص مجلس آرای صحبت و باده پیمای صحبت و الفت بود
(۲۱۹)

Hence in the presence of A'ẓam's version who is contemporary to this poet, it is of course no use to pay heed to the statement of Shafīq and others.

(F.N. concluded)

قوت طبع و ظهور ترقی نمایان لاله ملک شہید استعداد و جودت طبع اش را معلوم
کرده خود را مرد تربیتش او نیافته اشاره بخدمت مرزا داراب جویا نمود
باهر او در نزد مرزا آمد و شدی نمود - چون در اندک زمانی ترقی نمایان
کرد و بر اقران فائق شد و به پیشاور در اردوی شاه عالم بهادر که در آن وقت
ناظم آن مالک بودند برفت و در اثنای راه با ملا سعید اشرف که عمده شعرای آن روزگار
بود صحبت داشت و اصلاح شعر ازو می گرفت"

" As he had poetical disposition, so when his muse burst he took guidance from Lālā Malik Shahīd and got his verses corrected from him. Lālā Malik Shahīd noticeing his apparent improvement, proficiency, talent and good qualities of his disposition found himself not the proper man to guide him, hinted him to go to Dārāb Jayā. He (Sāṭiʿ) in compliance with his wishes went to Mirzā. He, in a very short time gained much in the company of Jayā and got superiorty over his contemporary poets. He joined the army of Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur who was, at that time, the governor of Peshāwar. He went there. In the way he got an opportunity of meeting Mullā Saʿīd Ashraf the noted poet of the time, and got his verses corrected from him."

Sāṭiʿ , however, confesses that he was a pupil of Jayā:

مرا جویند استادان برای نکته سنجیدن ۞ همین بس حجت ساطع که جویا بود استادم

SERVICE:

It is not known as to when and in what capacity he served the

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1. Aʿẓam, Muḥammad, Wāqiʿāt-i-Kashmīr , Ms. p. 387.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms. fol. 150 b.

kings and governors. A'zam imparts the following information about him:

به پیشاور در اردوی شاه عالم بهادر که در آن وقت ناظم آن ممالک بود برفت۔
بعد جلوس پادشاه در اردوی معلّی کلاه شعر خصوصاً قصاید غریبه بهم رسانید و
در دور پادشاه شهید محمد فرخ سیر بیش از بیش رتبه حاصل کرد و باریاب
ملازمت پادشاه شد۔ در حضور پادشاه اشعار خود بعرض می رسانید و آنرا وسیله تقرب
و امتیاز و التفات خود می کرد و بعد شهادت پادشاه مراجعت بکشمیر فرمود[1]

" He joined the army of Shāh Ālam Bahādur who was, at that time the governor of Peshāwar and went there. He kept his poetic progress particularly in Qaṣīdahs during the reign of Bahādur Shāh. He reached the climax during the regime of Farrukh Siyyar. He at the time of audience used to present his verses and made it a source of nearness, distinction and rewards. After the murder of the king he went to Kashmīr."

From this it comes to light that he was holding some post in army of Bahādur Shāh (1118-1123 A.H.- 1707-1712 A.D.) and was one of the courts' poet during the reign of Farrukh Siyar 1124-1130A.H (A.D. 1713-1719). In other words we may say that from 1118-1130 A.H (1707-1719 A.D) he remained in the service of the king of India.

Ethe in his catalogue of Persian Manuscript in the Library of India (London) writes:

" He is no doubt the same Mullā Sāṭi' whose petition to Shāh Bahādur for a' Jāgīr' has got by a mysterious accident into the

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1. A'ẓam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 382.

British Museum.[1]"

The contents of the petition are not known to us. It is, however, evident from Ārzū's statement that his application was granted. Ārzū writes:

"چون پارۂ جاگیری ہم در کشمیر داشت برفاه وجمعیت خاطر بسری برد"[2]

" As he had an estate in Kashmīr he was passing his life with peace and satisfaction."

Ārzū also sheds a side light on him and says:

" مرتی رفیق اسلام خان میر آتش بہادر شاہ بادشاہ بود. "گلشن اسلام"

نام نثری بنام او نوشتہ ...... واواخر بمداحی مرحومی نواب صمصام الدولہ

بہادر بمدستی از خدمات کشمیر مامور شدہ بآنجا رفت "[3]

" He was on good terms with Islām Khān the Superintendent of fire-arms during the reign of Bahādur Shāh. He wrote Gulshan-i-Islām in prose and dedicated it to him. In the later part of his life he became an eulogist of Ṣamṣām-ud-Daullah and got some service in Kashmīr and went there."

DEATH:

Sāṭi' died in Kashmīr on the 21st of Ramzān 1143 A.H.[4] (A.D. 1731)

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1. Ethe, Hermann, Catalogue of ms. in the Library of inida office London, p. 1596.

2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 382.
3. Ibid, Ms, p. 382.

4. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 388.

بیست ویکم رمضان سال چہل وسہ ہجری رحلت نمود

It is pointed out here that Shafiq gives 1150 A.H. as the year of his death. He writes in Gul-i-Ra'nā.

در سنه خمسین وماة الف همان جا وفات یافت[1]

"In 1150 he died there (Kashmir)".

Zakhmi says that he died in 1156 A.H. in Delhi.

در ۱۱۵۶ هجری در دهلی درگذشت[2]

We have given preference to A'zam's statement because he was his friend and he wrote an elegy at his death. The elgy reads thus:

براوج سخنوری ساطع ÷ وز صفا ذهن انورش لامع
رایت عالی فصاحت را ÷ بود رای متین او رافع
حیثیتش ذقت نکته پیرای ÷ لنفیر وغنی لسعی نافع
از علو فطانتش استاد ÷ بود جویای اوز هی طالع
بزم آرای شعر شد یک چند ÷ آن باصاف معرفت جامع
شده مقراض موت آخرکار ÷ صفحات تباتش را قاطع
پردهٔ جسمش ارچه مالی گشت ÷ روح قدسیش شده بحق راجع
گفت اعظم لسال تاریخش
"نور ایمان مرقدش ساطع"[3]

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1. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nara'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā , Ms, fol. 150b.
2. Zakhmi, Rattan Singh, Anis-ul-'Ashqin, Ms, fol. 255b.
3. A'zam, Muhammad, Vaqi'at-i-Kashmir , Ms. p.389.

The numerical value of the last hemistich which serves as chronogram is 1142. Its solution is given below.

نور ایمان مرقدش ساطع

۱۱۴۲ = ۱۴۰ + ۶۴۴ + ۱۰۲ + ۲۵۶

It shows that it is less by one, as according to his own statement Sāṭi' died in 1143 A.H. A'ẓam himself knew it as he writes:[1]

این تاریخ راقم حروف عجالةً برصفحهٔ عبرت نگاشت[2]

"The writer of these words has written this chronogram on the page of mystery, in hurry."

He has tried to conceal his mistake by writing the above line. It was of course not good on his part to write an erroneous chronogram as it creates doubt in the mind of a scholar.

HIS WORKS:

The Tazkirah writers have informed us about his following works:

I. Dīvān:

According to Hāshmī's statement his 'Dīvān' contained about 5,000 verses.[3] But Zakhmī says that the Dīvān might be containing about 1,000 verses.[4]

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1. A'ẓam, Muhammad, Vāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 389.
2. Ibid, Ms, p. 389.
3. Hāshmī, Ahmed 'Alī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. 161 a.
4. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-'Āshqīn, Ms. 255 b.

No detail whatsoever has been given by any Tazkirah writer.

II. MUNSHA'AT-i-SĀṬI':

This is a specimen of letters and other pices in ornate prose. A manuscript copy of it is preserved in the India Office Library, London. It begins thus:

ستایش گوناگون و نیایش بوقلمون در هر چشم زدن ... الخ

All the headings of the various pieces are left blank. The date of its scribe is the 11th Rabī' II A.H. 1177 (the 19th October 1763)

III. Gulshan-i-Islām:

Sāṭi' dedicated it to Islām Khān the Superintendent of fire-arms during the reign of Bahādur Shāh A.H. 1118-1123 (A.D. 1707-1712 Ārzū commenting on it writes:

در فن نثر خیلی قدرت داشت و بسیار رنگین و پخته می نوشت [1]

IV. HUJJAT-i-SĀṬI':

This is a lexography which according to Ārzū is not so good. He writes:

نسخه حجت ساطع منتخب برهان قاطع در لغت نوشته اما چندان خوب نیست [2]

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 382.
2. Ibid, Ms. p. 382.

SĀṬI' AS A POET :

We have not been able to lay hand on sufficient number of verses; hence it is of no use to express any view about his poetr y. From the verses which we have gathered from various sources will be written later on. Concinnity of his style is evident from their study. His imaginative flights indicate that he was skilfull in the art of versification. Here we quote the view of the 'Tazkirah' writer A'zam writes:

ذکر اشعار آبدار و طرح قافیه های بدایت شعار چه در حضور و چه در غیبت بزم لطف طبع را راحت افزای بود[1]

Ārzū's view is that:

همطرح عبدالغنی بیگ قبول - تلاش معنی های تازه دارد[2]

Iftikhār begins his biography thus:

ساطع در فن سخنوری کوکبی است ساطع و اختری است لامع[3]

Shafīq praises him in the following words:

شاعر زبردست مضمون تراش بود و از اقسام شعر قصیده و غزل
خوب تر بکرسی می نشاند[4]

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1. A'zam, Muhammad, Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr, Ms. p. 388.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 382.
3. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Beinazīr , p. 74.
4. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 150 b.

SPECIMEN OF SĀTIʿ 'S POETRY:

از تنگیِ آن دهن چه گویم ؛ گنجایش گفتگو ندارد

اعتبار کی نیست اهل کلاه اقبال را ؛ این کبوتر هر زمان مشتاق بام دیگر است

خط مشکین که از آن عارض زیبا برخاست ؛ دود آه است که از آتش دلها برخاست

شفق گشت هوا تا بگلستان رفتی ؛ بسکه از شرم تو رنگ از رخ گلها برخاست

سبزه نبود بر سر تربت مجنون ز خاک ؛ مژه اش باز با دید تماشا برخاست

فریب رند و صوفی ساقی از روی تو می آید ؛ رود هر کس برون از خویشتن سوی تو می آید

میان ابروانت خال هم سنجیده می گوید ؛ که صید دل ز شاهین تر از روی تو می آید

مرا عشق مجازی از حقیقت کی کند غافل ؛ دهان غنچه می بوسم که نزد بوی تو می آید

آن دهان تنگ جای یک تبسم وا نیست ؛ بسته باد خویش را سنجیده جای خنده است

شکایت ز جورِ نگاری ندارم ؛ شدم خاک و در دل غباری ندارم

در عالم اعتبار زری باید ؛ نی عقل و نه دانش نه هنری باید

افسوس که روزگار نا اهلان است ؛ یک آدم و صد طویله خری باید

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1. Hāshmi, Ahmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. fol. 161a.

نگاه عاشقان تاراج گل چین است باغش را ∴ پریدن‌های رنگ افشاندن دامان چراغش را

برقع پوش شد زاهد ز تحسین طلب دارد ∴ چو منشی کرد اظهار کمال از رقعه کاریها

شیخ دکان تجرد چید بهر جمع مال ∴ خرمن گل ساخت چین دامن برچیده را

همیشه زنده با آب و هوای کشمیرم ∴ ازین دو عنصر باشد سرشت من چو حباب

هست استرضای حق مخصوص عرفان مشربان ∴ غیر خواصان که می آرد دل دریا بدست

بر لبت خط عنبرین زیبا است ∴ این بدخشان به بین چه خوش شام است

طرز چشم تو تغافل نگهی است ∴ خلق کج لازمهٔ بیمار است

می نماید ساده رخسار تو از خط زیر زلف ∴ در شب تاریک پنهان خود پیدا آتش است

از گوشهٔ ابروی تو زاهد چه گشاید ∴ مفتاح هلال رمضان قفل دکان است

هر عبارت که نباشد رنگین ∴ معنیش بوی گل پژمرده است

دست گل باز است از عکس رخ آئینه‌ها ∴ حسن شوخ او همین از چشم مردم دم نداشت

گرد سودای تو از بسکه پریشان حالم ∴ سایه‌ام بر سر کوی تو کم از کاکل نیست

کفیل خیر خلائق اگر کلام تو نیست ∴ زبان بکام تو باشد ولی بکام تو نیست

آن دهان تنگ جای یک تبسم وار نیست ∴ لیک او خویش را سنجیده جای خنده است

مردم چشم تمنا شد سویدای دلت ∴ حیف خال گوشهٔ ابروی استغنا شد

توی که لعل تو آلایش شراب ندید ∴ چنانکه آب بقا روی آفتاب ندید

بدن ز فیض ریاضت شکوه جان دارد ∴ مکان خراب چو شد حکم لامکان دارد

سر بالین من در خواب آن بیدادگر آمد ∴ هزار افسوس ما را عمر در غفلت بسر آمد

دلالت می کند بر خبث نفس اهل تجرد را ∴ که عریان هر که می گردد ز رهزن رهنمون دارد

دوان بر جادهٔ تیغ است هر دم قطرهٔ خونی ∴ با هنگ شهادت دل چو در کوی تو می آید
مرا عشق مجازی از حقیقت کی کند غافل ∴ دهان غنچه میبوسم که بوی تو می آید

دیدیم حال خال خط اعتبار خویش ∴ طاوس وار داغ شدیم از بهار خویش
مانند زخم دوخته بر وضع روزگار ∴ کردیم ضبط خندهٔ بی اختیار خویش [1]

از تنگی آن دهن چگوییم ∴ گنجایش یک سخن ندارد [2]

بدرگاهت که آرد ساطع از ذره کمتر را ∴ سحر خورشید لرزان بر سر کوی تو می آید [3]

دنیا و آخرت بریاضت کشان دهند ∴ دارد کمان ز چله کشی دو خانه را

به آهی دام خود کردم دل وحشی نگاهان را ∴ شکارم خیل آهوی به یک تیر هوائی شد

گر حریفان در قمار عشق سربازی کنند ∴ ما تهی دستیم می بازیم رنگ خویش را [4]

دل باختهٔ عشقم گفتم غم دنیا را ∴ تصدیع مکن مهمان من خانه کجا دارم

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 151a.
2. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-'Ashqīn, Ms, fol.255b.
   Mardān 'Alī Khān, Muntakhab-ul-Ash'ār, Ms. fol. 71b.
3. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. fol. 382.
4. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Bainazīr, p. 74.

ندانم نقد دل از من که دزدید این قدر دانم ÷ که در درگاه چشمش شانه آویزاست گیسوی[1]

مفتیم نه ز جام عشق مستی دادند ÷ کاین نیستیم بنقد هستی دادند
سرمایه هر آنچه بود دادم از دست ÷ ارزان به متاع تنگدستی دادند[2]

من بخود چو نامه می پیچم چو میرانی مرا ÷ داشتوم در بزم خود هرگاه که میخوانی مرا[3]

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1. Nūr-ul-Ḥasan, Nigāristān-i-Sakhun. pp. 37 & 38.
2. Kaghix, Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D., Kāshīr. Vol. II, p. 473.
3. Shāh Nawāz Khān, ʿAbdur Raḥmān, Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, Ms. p. 116.

SĀTI'S PUPILS:

Sāṭi''s celebarity as a poet is evident from the fact that the Tazkirah writers have given room in their 'Tazkirahs' to at least two of his pupils namely Muhammad Rafī' and Taufīq. We made up our mind to mention both of them at the end of Sāṭi''s biography simply because we had no mind to break the links of the facts connected with his (Sāṭi''s) life. Here we take the liberty of writing the biography of both the poets briefly.

1. MUHAMMAD RAFĪ' RĀFI'

There is a difference of opinion about his native land. Āzād Bilgirāmī[1] and Muhammad Siddīq Hasan Khān[2] are of the view that he belonged to Kashmīr, but Ahmad Ālī Hāshmī[3] and Muhammad Muzaffar Husain Sabā[4] say that he belonged to Yazd. Hāshmī says that he was appointed to a certain post in Kashmīr, and the place so fascinated his fancy that he used to take it to heart if any body ever said to him as joke that he was invited by the king to appear in the court.[5]

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1. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām Ālī, Khazanah-i-'Āmirah, p. 245.
2. Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Shams'-i-Anjuman, p. 173.
3. Hāshmī, Ahmad Ālī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms. fol. 127a.
4. Sabā, Muhammad Muzaffar Husain, Roz-i-Roshan, p. 235.
5. Hāshmī, Ahmad Ālī, Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib, Ms, fol. 127a.

So far as the name of his teacher is concerned , we have before us different statements of the 'Tazkirah' writers. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān and Āzād Bilgirāmī say that he was a pupil of Mullā Abul Ḥaq Sāṭiʿ[1] while Ḥussain Dost says that Muḥammad Sāṭiʿ[2] was his teacher.

Rāfiʿ was also in the service of Nawāb Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulā who gave him rupees 1,000 as a reward on the following verse.[3]

کفم چو کاسهٔ گرداب همچنان خالی ÷ بآن محیط کرم گرچه آشنا شده ام[4]

The following verses have been quoted by the Tazkirah writers as the specimen of his poetry.

زنجیر سر زلف تو دام ره باشد ÷ این سلسله ما را بجنون راه نما باشد

نی نو است ماه نو که چو ابروی تو باشد ÷ آخر ز کجی های خود انگشت نما شد

من از آئینه کمتر نیستم از ساده لوحی ها ÷ اگر رو داد صحبت با تو حیران می توانم شد

چه کوتاه است شبهای وصال دوستان یارب ÷ خدا از عمر ما بر عمر این شبها بیفزاید

اگر ز بزم تو دورم مبینم ز بزم تو دور ÷ که ذره پرتو خورشید در نظر دارد

ما بیدلان بباغ جهان همچو برگ گل ÷ پهلوی یک دگر همه در خون نشسته ایم

در زیر تیغ هر که بروئیت نظاره کرد ÷ زان پیشتر که کشته شود خونبها گرفت[5]

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1. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, Shamaʿ-i-Anjuman, p. 173.
2. Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām ʿAlī, Khazānah-i-ʿĀmirah, p. 245.
3. Sanbhalī, Ḥussain Dost, Tazkirah-i-Ḥussainī, p. 136.
4. Ibid, p. 136.

Āzād Bilgirāmī, Ghulām ʿAlī, Khazānah-i-ʿĀmirah, p. 245.

5. Hāshmī, Aḥmad ʿAlī, Makhzan-ul-...

2. MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD TAUFĪQ

Mullā Muḥammad Taufīq was born and brought up in Kashmir. The 'Tazkirah' writers praise him as a poet but none of them has written more than two lines about him in their respective work. Ārzū says that in reality his name was Lāla Jū and it is said that there is no poet in Kashmir in the present day who can stand a match for him.[1]

Dr. Ṣūfī writes in Kāshir that " Mullā Muḥammad Taufīq belonged to the family of Judohs and resided in the vinicity of the Jāmi' Mosque, Srīnagar. He was a pupil of Mullā Sāṭi' and became a well-known poet of his time. Taufīq is regarded by some as next only to Ghanī. At any rate, in the time of Sukh Jīvan Mal, governor during early Afghān rule, he occupied the foremost position among the poets of the day.[1]"

Ṣabā Says that he never went out of his native land.[3]

Zakhmī is of the view that he died at the age of 89.[4]

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma' un-Nafā'is, Ms. 119.

محمد توفیق تخلص از کشمیر است - نام اصلیش لاله جو است - بزبان ملک کشمیر گویند مثل اوی درین عصر مقابل سخنور نیست

2. Ṣūfī, Dr. M.D. Kāshir, Vol. II. p. 473.
3. Ṣabā, Muḥammad Muzaffar Ḥusain, Roz-i-Roshan, p. 136.
4. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-'Ashqīn, Ms. 114a.

The following verses have been quoted by the 'Tazkirah' writers.

در یاد دو زلف بت کشمیر نژادی ÷ شد تار سر و مار سر از گریه دو چشمم[1]

شب کین فرصتی در کوی دلبر داشتم ÷ چشم چو دزدان بروزن گوش بر در داشتم

گفتم دل بهوس بسته پریشان رای ÷ دیده جای و نظر جای و خاطر جای[2]

می سزد فتنهٔ دوران شدنت ای کافر ÷ که ترا پشتیبانی است چو کاکل بر سر

بینی و چشم و دو ابروی تو ای گل اندام ÷ شاخ بادام و دو بادام و دو برگ بادام[3]

سرو را جای تعجب نبود سایهٔ تو ÷ خویشتن را اگر از اهل نظر پنهان کرد

پادشاه دو جهانی و زمین بوس ترا ÷ آن شرف نیست که خود را کم از آن نتوان کرد

رسیده بود بدان کار سرور که شود ÷ جهان بدیده مردم ز دود کفر سیاه

که آمد بی القای آن ز فضل قریب ÷ بدان شتاب که وا مانده سایه‌ات در راه[4]

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1. Sanbhali, Husain Dost, Tazkirah-i-Husaini , p. 79.
2. Zakhmi, Ratten Singh, Anis-ul-'Ashqin, Ms. fol. 114a.
3. Suri, Dr. M.D., Kashir, Vol. II, p. 473.
4. Saba, Muhammad Muzaffar Husain, Roz-i-Roshan , p. 136.

MUHAMMAD PANĀH QĀBIL

Muḥammad Panāh Qābil was the pupil of Mirzā ʿAbdul Qādir Baidil who was a renowned poet contemporary to our learned poet Ḥājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim whose biography we have written in the previous chapter. Qābil expresses his thanks to his teacher in the following verse.

ما سخن گستر ز فیض میرزا بیدل شدیم ❊ ورنه قابل شعر گفتن این قدر از زود نیست [1]

The Tazkirah writers have thrown no light on him. None of them except Ḥākim Lāhorī, who was one of his contemporaries and had got an opportunity to see him, has written more than one line, but what he has written adds little to our information. Ḥākim personally came in contact with him and throwing light on the point he writes:

هنگامی که فقیر بجهان آباد وارد شدم قابل مرحوم را بطریقه دعوت طلبیدم
آمد و تا دیری نشست - مردی پیر سخنی بود - اشعار بسیاری از خود خواند
و دیوانی که در جواب حضرت شیراز گفته بود به فقیر برای انتخاب عنایت کرد
هر چند مطالعه نمودم و سر تا سر آن گردیدم خاطر خواه بر نیامد [2]

" At that time when I visited Jahānābād, I invited the deceased Qābil. He came and sat for a long time. He was an old man. He recited many of his verses and handed over to me that 'Dīvān' which

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms. fol. 250b.
2. Ḥakim Lāhorī, ʿAbdul Ḥakīm, Mardum-i-Dīdah , p. 126.

he had written in reply to the Dīvān of Hāfiz, for selection.[1] I studied it thoroughly but could not find him up to the mark."

After this Hākim writes that once a poet wrote a reply to Dīvān of Hāfiz and presented it to Shāh 'Abbās. The king said, "You have written a reply to Dīvān of Hāfiz, what will you say to God on the Judgement day." Writing this episode Hākim further says that perhapse Qābil had not heard this story otherwise he would not have done so, because a poet like Sā'ib says:

صائب چه قرآن کرد بتقلید عزیزان ؛ ورنه طرف خواجه شدن بی ادبی بود [2]

Hākim is of the opinion that His (Qābil's) Dīvān is not known to people which is because of the supernatural power of the Khawājah.[3]

From the above statement of Hākim it is evident that the learned poet of Kashmīr left his native land for Shāhjahānābād. The circumstances which lead him to do so are, at present, not known. He had also spent sometime in Lahore and got an opportunity to meet Shāh Āfrīn whose name was Shāh Faqīr Ullah.[4]

We are told by Husain Dost that he was in Shāhjahānābād in 1163 A.H.

1. Hākim Lahori, 'Abdul Hakim, Mardum-i-Didah , p. 126

2. Ibid, p. 126.
3. Ibid, p. 126.(&)Shafiq, Lachhmi Nara in, Gul-i-Ra na , Ms, fol.250
4. Ibid, p. 126
5. Sanbhali, Husain Dost, Tazkirah-i-Husaini , p. 272.

درین ولا به شاه جهان آباد می گذراند

Husain Dost compiled his 'Tazkirah' in 1163 A.H.

Shafīq says that Qābil died in 1170 A.H.[1]

HIS PUPIL:

Shafīq introduces us with his pupil Azhar-ud-Dīn Khān who had his 'Takhalluṣ' Azhar. Shafīq throws no light on him. He tells us only this much that he was the grand son of one Shāh Gul having Vahdat as his nom de plume. This Shāh Gul was an inhabitant of Sarhind.

Following verses of Azhar have been copied by this 'Tazkirah' writer as the specimen of his poetry.

بیشتر در وصل درد و غم نصیب ما شود ؛ دل ز ماگم میشود دلدار تا پیدا شود

از خدا اظہر لبدر ظرف خود نعمت طلب ؛ کثرت روغن به مشعل کار باران میکند[2]

HIS DĪVĀN:

Hakim says that his 'Dīvān' contained about fifty or sixty thousand verses.[3] If this statement of Hākim is correct then his effusion is evident.

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 250b.
در عشر سابع لبد مائة الف رخت سفر آخرت بر بست

2. Ibid, Ms. fol. 52 a.
3. Hākim Lāhorī, 'abdul Hakīm, Mardum-i-Dīdah, p. 126.
دیوان قریب پنجاه شصت ہزار بیت دارد

Shafīq says that he attempted all kinds of poetry and wrote Masnavīs very often.[1]

Shafīq could study an incomplete copy of his Dīvān which was up to Radīf Dāl (دال) He has selected and copied 45 verses from that 'Dīvān'.

QĀBIL AS A POET:

Before we comment on his poetry it seems necessary to quote here the views of the 'Tazkirah' writers. Ḥakim Lāhorī who does not like him simply because he wrote a reply to 'Dīvān' of Ḥāfiẓ expresses his views in the following words.

عدم اشتہار این دیوان محض کرامت حضرت خواجہ است والا شر جستہ جستہ او بد نیست [2]

" It is only the miracle of Hazrat Khwājah (Ḥāfiẓ) that his 'Dīvān' is not known, otherwise the selected verses are not so bad."

Shafīq says:

محمد پناہ کشمیری جوہر قابل است [3]

" Muḥammad Panāh of Kashmīr is a skilful person."

Baikhabar says:

اشعارش خالی از لطف نیست [4]

" His verses are not devoid of elegance."

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 250b.
اقسام سخن دارد و اکثر مثنویات در سلک نظم کشید
2. Ḥakim Lāhorī, 'Abdul Ḥakim, Mardum-i-Dīdah , p. 126.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 250b.
4. Baikhabar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol. 104 b.

A study of his Dīvān indicates that what has been said by the Tazkirah writers about his poetry is based on truth. He was certainly a poet who had taken pains in writing poetry and had tried to excell his fellow poets in this art. Imaginative flights, annology and new similies are the main characteristics of his poetry. We may be allowed to quote here a frew of his verses so that the reader may admit that there is an element of truth in what we have said and should agree with the main opinion expressed by us.

هر که مفلس شد بخشنودی گذارد کار را ÷ ماتمی چون فوت مطلب نیست دنیا دار را

زهر چشمت تا سرایت کرد در اعضا مرا ÷ سبزه چون بادام تر گردید سر تا پا مرا

دل گشاید لیست در نقش و نگار خانها ÷ پیش ازین معمور شهری بود این ویرانه ها

چو شمع شکوه این بزم تا کجا گویم ÷ همین بس است که صد بار کشته اند مرا

چیست از زلف بتان ای دل فغان نارسا ÷ تیر خود انداختی کین بتار کی چرا

دل بهر بیت ندهم ببلبل هر گل نشوم ÷ عاشق راستیم فاخته یار راست مرا

دشمنی دارد دو عالم تا ترا داریم ما ÷ صد هزاران مدعی یک مدعا داریم ما

بر مزارم بگریه آمد یار ÷ اندکی آب زد غبار مرا ÷

نه تنها وحشتم آواره دارد ریگ هامون را ÷ جنون دوری من چرخها داده است گردون را

تسکین نشود ز گریه دل بیقرار را ÷ بی طاقتی در آب نباشد غبار را

رازی که از تو جلوه کند باز در تو نیست ÷ نتوان ز گل نهفت گلاب کشیده را

ندارم جز قدم بوسی تو در خاطر تمنای ÷ مگر از سنگ پا گردیده مینای دلم پیدا

جامه گر نیست بده باده پر درد مرا ÷ باید او قات بهر رنگ بسر برد مرا

1

1. Shafiq, Lachhmi Nārā in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, foll. 250b-251a.

برقع گشوده آن صنم آید بخواب ما ÷ در نیم شب طلوع کند آفتاب ما

مست عشقیم طرب مین ملال است این جا ÷ گردش چشم بتان گردش حال است این جا

ز ما سلام رسد عندلیب شیدا را ÷ که وقت جلوهٔ گل یاد میکنند ما را

قتل من داری بدل بر مدعای خود بیا ÷ گر برای من نمی آئی برای خود بیا

لبریز سخن ماست حاسد آهو گیر ÷ نظر کنید لبوی سگ شکاری ما

هر که چون خورشید بنماید کمال خویش را ÷ در جهان هر روزی بیند زوال خویش را

دید تا هم چشم ابروی تو شان خویش را ÷ بر فلک آویخت ماهِ نو کمان خویش را

از مرد نیاید که کشد بار علائق ÷ برداشتن بار همین کار زنان است

روشن بود که صاحب یک مصرع است شمع ÷ شاعر کسی که شد چه قدر ها دماغ سوخت

نیاز میدهم ای شهریان قبول کنید ÷ جنون من بشما تحفهٔ بیابانی است

نمودن ستم تملق کار پاکان نیست ÷ اگر بر آب روی نقش پا نمایان نیست

بر سر قتلم نگاهت با تو هم تدبیر نیست ÷ گردم تیغ تو برگردد ز من تقصیر نیست

اول حسن تو از خانه برون گام مزن ÷ در ره یوسف کنعان شنیدی چاه است

سرگرم سفر دل نفزود شد با قامت ÷ در خانه اگر شمع بود بر سر راه است

روز محشر کشتهٔ شمشیر نازش بی صدا است ÷ همچو نافرمان زبان دادخواهش بر قفا است

سرو سهی نه همسر آن قد و قامت است ÷ در گردن تو فاخته این طوق لعنت است

کار با زخم محبت باشد بنام زیر پوست ÷ همچو خرما چاک دارد استخوانم زیر پوست

با هیچ توان ساخت که چیزی بنظر نیست ÷ ما دست نداریم ترا نیز کمر نیست[1]

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1. Shafiq, Lachhmi Narā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 250b - 251a.

صبحدم تا ز خواب او برخاست ؛ بر تن آفتاب مو برخاست

در سواد تنگنای فقر شانی دیگر است ؛ سایهٔ دیوار ما هندوستان دیگر است

احوال دل ز شوق جمالت شنیدنی ست ؛ آئینه رفت آنقدر از خود که دیدنی ست

فدای ساقی عالی دماغ خود گردم ؛ نخورد خون دلم گفت باده در جوش است

خاک گردیدیم بکویت انتظار از حد گذشت ؛ بر نمی آئی و میگوئی غبار از حد گذشت

چون باز چشم دوخته ام در نگارگاه ؛ مقصود روبرو و مجال نگاه نیست

سرنوشت اهل عالم نقشهای سطر است ؛ هر کسی بر جای خویش از جای خود بالاتر است

آن شوخ بمن نامه ننوشته فرستاده ؛ یعنی که مرا با تو دماغ سخنی نیست

جز بی خودی از نشأهٔ می چیست تمنا ؛ از خویش تهی شو که ایاغی به ازین نیست

غرور سرکشی باقدر صاحب نشأ کم باشد ؛ کشد هر چند قد لیکن نهال تاک خم باشد

گشاد کار خود مشکل گشا آسان نمی داند ؛ بناخن عقدهٔ انگشت هرگز وا نمی گردد

بر مثال قطرهٔ آبی که گوهر می شود ؛ دل اگر عزلت گزیند چیز دیگر میشود

از باده توان شست غبار غم خاطر
دور قدح گردش ایام ندارد[1]

تا از خم ابروی تو شمشیر کشیدم ؛ شمشیر دگر بر سر شمشیر کشیدم

اکنون که دل نماند دلاسا چه فائده ؛ زین پیش داشت فائده حالا چه فائده

قابل درین زمانه ز آدم نشان مخواه ؛ چندین هزار سال ز آدم گذشته است

دوئی را رنگ وحدت میدهد یکتا تم قابل ؛ دو مصراع چون بدیوان نشیند فردی خیزد[2]

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms. fol. 251a - 251b.
2. Baikhabar, 'Azmat Ullah, Mīr, Safīnah-i-Baikhabar, Ms. fol.104b.

بزم دود بماند ز بعد کشتن شمع ؛ چو ما بداغ تو مردیم آه ما باقیست

روزی که ما و یار گذشتیم از چمن ؛ نالید باغبان که بهار و خزان گذشت

آن زن که در دل بماند دلاسا چه مانده ؛ زین پیش داشت مانده حالا چه مانده

دوئی را رنگ وحدت میدهد یکتائم تا بل ؛ دو مصراع گر بدیوانم نشیند فرد برخیزد[1]

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1. Hākim Lāhori, Ābdul Hakīm, Mardum-i-Dīdah. p. 126.

SHAIKH ĀYATULLAH ṢANĀ

Ṣanā whose name was Āyat Ullah was a Kashmīrī by birth but the unfavourable circumstances led him to say good-bye to his mother land He used to present his verses before Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn and got the same corrected by him. He settled in Lucknow where he died in the middle of the 12th century of Hijra.

Shafīq says that he had a good knowledge of Arabic. Following are the views of the 'Tazkirah' writers about him and his poetry.

Sayyid ʿĀlī Hasan Khan says:

کلامش دلنشین و دلپذیر[1]

Shafīq writes:

از شعرای کشمیر است و آیت قابلیت آن خطه جنت نظیر، جوان قابل
سنجیده است - در علوم عربی مهارتی دارد و شعر خوب می گوید[2]

Ḥussain Qulī Khān's views are that:

از موزونان کشمیر است - صاحب طبع بلند خیال بود در عربی و فارسی سلیقه مناسب داشت[3]

1. ʿAlī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 99.
2. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārāʾin, Gul-i-Raʿnā, fol. 97a.
3. Ḥussain Qulī Khān , Nishtar-i-ʿIshq , Ms. fol. 236b.

The following verses of Ṣanā are now-a-days available.

زان شرمگین نگاه دو صد رخنه در دل است ⁂ ناوک هنوز نیم کش و صید بسمل است

ای خجلتم که یارم سر بالینم گذشت ⁂ سخت جانی که هنوزت نفسی می آید

بعد امید واری از تو گشتم ناامید آخر ⁂ سیه بر وعده های چشمی که گردم سفید آخر

قضای آسمان خواهد که دور از دلربا افتم ⁂ گمان سخت است و بازو سخت بینم تا کجا افتم

کجا در زندگی پرسیدی از شبهای تار من
که بعد از مرگ شمعی برفروزی بر مزار من [1]

زان جنس مدام شور و غوغا شدنی ست ⁂ زان زلف دراز فتنه برپا شدنی ست

از قامت او قیامتی در عالم ⁂ امروز اگر نگشت فردا شدنی ست [2]

گه بی تو کواکب شب غم میشمرم ⁂ که وعده کنم یاد و قدم میشمرم

القصه که شب آنچه شمردم بگذشت ⁂ اکنون چه چراغ صبح دم میشمرم [3]

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1. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-ʿĀshaīn, Ms. fol. 105b.
2. ʿAlī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan, p.99.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Narāʾin, Gul-i-Raʿnā, Ms, fol. 97a.
Husain Qulī Khān, Nishtar-i-ʿIshq, Ms. fol. 236b.

MULLĀ FAKHR UD DĪN DĀNĀ

Dānā's orignal name was Fakhr-ud-Dīn. His native land was Kashmīr— the paradise on the earth. He, inorder to seek some job left his mother land for Shāhjahānābād where he entered the circle of the royal clerical staff. Iftikhār says that he was a clerk in the court of Jahān Shāh A.H. 1123-1124 (1712-1713 A.D.)[1] No light has been thrown by the 'Tazkirah' writer on the point. Sayyid 'Alī Hasan Khān says that he came to Shāh Jahān Ābād during the reign of Farrukh Siyyar A.H. 1124-1130 (A.D. 1713-1719) and got a job in the royal clerical staff.[2] He was, according to the said 'Tazkirah' writer, made an associate to Fārigh Qummī to compile a Shāh Nāmah of Farrukh Siyyar.[3] We know nothing about this Shāhnāmah.

Iftikhār says that Dānā was rewarded by the king (Jahān Shāh) for his Qasīdahs.[4]

Dānā , in the later part of his life went to Kashmīr where he died in 1150 A.H.[5](1739 A.D.)

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1. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tzkirah-i-Bainazir , p. 63.
در سرکار جہانشاہ خلف خلد منزل بہادرشاہ منشی بود
2. 'Ali Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan , p. 159.
در عہد فرخ سیر بادشاہ از کشمیر بہ شاہجہان آباد رسید و بزمرۂ منشیان شاہی ملازم گردید
3. Ibid, p. 160
و حکم شرکت با فارغ قمی در ترتیب شاہنامہ فرخ سیری یافت
4. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Bainazir, p. 63
از شاہ ہند مکرر صلات قصائد یافت
5. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-'Ashaqīn, Ms, fol. 130a.
در [illegible] درگذشت

The following verses of Dānā will serve as the specimen of his poetry.

باین بهانه بدامان او رسانم دست ÷ که مست بودم و پنداشتم گریبانست[1]

در عشق اهلبیت به تقلید گفت وگوی ÷ این راه را چو سایه بپای کسان پوی[2]

عاشق شدن بچشم سخنگوست باب ما ÷ دل می برد مصاحب حاضر جواب ما
دل بر خیال روی عرقناک بسته ایم ÷ خیزد شمیم روغن گل از کباب ما[3]

دو بالا میشود کیفیت صحبت ز موزونان ÷ من و مصرع رسانیدن تو دو تا ست گیسوها
بدین کرشمهٔ رنگین که میرسد تیرش ÷ کباب میشود از انتظار نخچیرش
آن شوخ مدام خشمگین می باشد ÷ وان چهره همیشه آتشین می باشد
گر بوسه طلب کنم برد دست بکارد
شفتالوی کاردی چنین می باشد[4]

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1. Zakhmī, Rattan Singh, Anīs-ul-ʿAshqīn, Ms. fol. 180 a.
2. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms, fol. 215.
3. Iftikhār, ʿAbdul Vahāb, Tazkirah-i-Bainazīr, p. 63.
4. ʿAlī Ḥasan Khān, Sayyid, Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 160.

JAI KISHAN ʿISHRAT

Jai Kishan ʿIshrat was born in the noble family of Brahmans of Kashmīr. He left his country and went to India where he remained in the service of Ishāq Khān and Nawwab Najm-ud-Daulā Amīr Khān who was a poet and had his 'Takhallus' Anjam. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh A.H. 1131-1162 (A.D. 1719-1748) he was appointed as 'Qanūngo' of the whole of Kashmīr.

He was a friend of Ārzū who informs us that he wrote a Masnavī Rām Sītā, which is better than that of Masīhā of Pānī Pat.[1] Ārzū praises him as a friend and says that he was a sincere one.

Other 'Tazkirah' writers have copied his statement in their respetive 'Tazkirahs'; hence we omit their statements.

ʿIbratī has quoted one of his Ghazals but confesses that he has not seen his 'Dīvān'.

دیوانش بچشم در نیامده - مگر غزل چند البته بر بیاض محتشمی مشاهده کردم[2]

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Khān, Majmaʿ-un-Nafā'is, Ms. fol. 649

مثنوی رام سیتا بسیار بتلاش گفته و از رام سیتا مسیحای پانی پتی خوبتر گفته

2. ʿIbratī, Vazīr ʿAlī, Tazkirah Mʿrāj-ul-Khivāl, 76a.

Here are the various couplets of 'Ishrat copied by the 'Tazkirah' writers:

از معاش خویشتن محسود عالم گشته ایم ٭ کس نیارد دید چون خورشید عشرت شان ما

عشرت ز تو صیاد طمع کرده رهائی ٭ بر سادگیش خنده زده چاک قفسها

کمتر از یک قطرهٔ خونم بچشم روزگار ٭ میتوانم دل شدن عشق ار دهد پهلو مرا

رهین منت خودم که در همه عمر ٭ بکوی باده فروشان مرا گذار کرده است

چشمک زن صد بوسه لبش شب که بما بود
ناکامی ما را ز حیا رو بقفا بود [1]

دشت از لاله بسکه رنگین است ٭ پای دیوانه دست گلچین است

جامهٔ پیرهن بی سرو پا قطع کنید ٭ دست شوقم هوس جیب درون دارد [2]

فیض عشق است نباشد دل مایوس اینجا ٭ لب دریا بلب تشنه دهد بوس اینجا [3]

ای نمک جوش آواز دهنت کم سخنی ٭ خون شد از شرم لبت آب عقیق یمنی

می کند جلوه بصد رنگ غبار ره دوست ٭ ارغوانی شفقی یاسمنی نسترنی

مشکر چون رنگ گل از بوی قبا آزادم ٭ نتوان صید مرا کرد بدام کفنی

زادهٔ داغ محبت جگر سوخته ام ٭ سینه بر آتش من جانب دامان زدنی

عشرت امروز توی خسرو اقلیم سخن ٭ سکه زد چرخ بنامت زر شیرین سخنی [4]

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. p. 649.
2. 'Alī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 286.
3. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 325 b.
4. 'Ibratī, Vazīr 'Alī, Mi'rāj-ul-Khiyāl, Ms. fol. 76a.

MUḤAMMAD ASHRAF YAKTĀ

Ārzū is the only 'Tazkirah' writer who has written the following one line about him:

از سکنۂ کشمیر بود شعر را خوب میگفت تا عہد فردوس آرام گاہ محمد شاہ زندہ بود[1]

"He was the inhabitant of Kashmīr. He used to write good verses. He was living up to the regime of Muḥammad Shāh having abode in the paradise."

From this statement of Arzu we can conclude that he was living till 1162 A.H.

Shafīq has copied the above quoted line and the verses from the Majma'-un-Nafā'is of Ārzū. The author of 'Ulmā'i Hind introduces us with one Mullā Abdush Shakūr Patlū of Kashmīr who was a teacher of one Muḥammad Ashraf. The author has not mentioned his 'Takhallus'. If he was the same Ashraf whose biography is being written by us, then we can conclude that he was a son of a learned man who was a teacher of his teacher also. This Mullā Abdush Shakūr died in 1113 A.H. and Mullā Muḥammad Ashraf said the chronogram ز ما بہت بود علوماً which gives the year 1113 A.H.

The following verses are available in the Tazkirahs.

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma'-un-Nafā'is, Ms. pp. 1054-55
2. Rahmān Ālī Khān, 'Ulmā'i-Hind, p. 121.

گلگ کاتب تن بمو چون کلک صورتگر نزاد ؛ صاحب معنی بپوشد خرقهٔ پشمینه را

از غبار جرده بود دل وداد والیسش ؛ شکر خدا که خاطر ما را الٰهی بداشت

ما را از بخت سیه بهره ز اهل رقم است ؛ حجت ناطق این حرف صریر قلم است

فصل خزان ز هند بکشمیر آمدم ؛ دل شد شگفته همچون گل زعفران مرا

جانب مینا نه‌ای پیوسته باشد رو مرا ؛ پشت خم شد در سیه کاری چو آن ابرو مرا

تلاش معنی باریک دارد هر که استاد است ؛ که این جا هر چه لاغر بیشتر مطلوب صیاد است

کبوتر اضطرابی در ره آن دلربا دارد

مگر از رنگ پای خویش آتش زیر پا دارد[1]

کی ترک سجدهٔ تو بت دلربا کنم ؛ کاری که کافری نکند من چرا کنم

تجلی جلوه از وصف رخت کردم رقمها را ؛ تراشیدم به تیغ کوه طور امشب قلمها را

گر دید سبز چون نی نرگس درین چمن ؛ از زهر چشم او قلم استخوان ما

همچو همیان زری بر رهگذر افتاده ام ؛ هر که بر میدارد از عالم بدولت میرسد

برنگ غنچهٔ نرگس درین باغ ؛ دلی داریم از جام تهی پر

جانب بی خانمان پیوسته باشد رو مرا ؛ پشت خم شد در سیه کاری چو آن ابرو مرا

بود شب شوری ندانم نالهٔ دل بوده است ؛ یا صدای بال مرغ نیم بسمل بوده است

سهل است گفتن بازدن آب حیات را ؛ چیزی که دست از آن نتوان شست آبرو ست

شهر آشوب همین نرگس فتان تو نیست ؛ فتنه‌ای نیست که در زیر مژگان تو نیست

ز بس بدیدهٔ مردم هنر نماید عیب ؛ بیاض در لعل هر که هست است

سخت دشوار است دل از صحبت بر داشتن ؛ ساقی از رنگینی بزم تو پایم در حنا است

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1. Ārzū, Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, Majma' -un-Nafā'is, Ms. p.1055.

خط دمید و از رخ چون آفتابش نور رفت ⁂ خرمن ماهی بتاراج هجوم مور رفت

بیدولتی زکبر برآورد خواجه را ⁂ چو آدم تراش بود

هرگز بکس نگاه مکن، آشنا مشو ⁂ ای چشم من بمردم بیگانه وا مشو

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1. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārā'in, Gul-i-Ra'nā, Ms, fol. 304a.

MUḤAMMAD ʿĀQIL GHAIRTĪ (IZZAT)

Bindra Ban Dās Khushgo mentions one Muḥammad ʿĀqil having ʿIzzat as his nom de plume; about whom he says that apperently he seems to be amongst the people of India.[1] On the other hand ʿAlī Ḥasan Khān mentions his 'Takhalluṣ' Gairtī and says that he was a Kashmīrī and was living till the reign of Muḥammad Shāh A.H. 1131-1162[2] (A.D. 1719-1748). He praises his poetry in the following words.[3]

Specimen of his poetry is given below.

بهار اگرچه گل و لاله در نظر دارد ÷ شکسته رنگی ما عالم دگر دارد

ازبسکه آب دیده ز رخ پاک کرده‌ایم ÷ شد آبشار از دو طرف آستین ما

خال و خط و زلف او کار دلم ساختند ÷ کاکل شکین او بار چرا در قفاست

زخم زرد و سرشکم لاله گون شد ÷ بهار است این ندانم یا خزان است

نالهٔ جانسوز را در پرده دارد ساز ما ÷ هرگز از چاک قفس بیرون نشد آواز ما

صد پاره دلی ز دو دست دارم ÷ با خنجر درون پوست دارم

صیاد از رهِ یاری دام خویش برچین ÷ ما از قفس نهادیم بنیاد آشیان را

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1. Khushgo Bindrā Ban Dās, Safīnah-i-Khushgo , Ms. fol. 125 a.

ظاهراً از مردم هندوستان است

2. ʿAlī Ḥasan Khān , Sayyid, Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 301.

محمد عاقل کشمیری است - بهار کلام رنگینش غیرت افزای گلهای اعجوبه بهار دلپذیری
در عهد محمد شاه بادشاه دهلی هنگامه آرای معرکهٔ سخن بود

3. Ibid, p. 301.

حافظ خود هر زر داری پریشان تا بکی :: گر بدست افتد پریشانی بزر باید خرید

با آنکه یک نفس نرود از خیالِ ما :: یکبار هم لبش نپرسد ز حالِ ما

ما از شکست شکوهٔ گردون نمی کنیم :: گر کار او درست شود از شکستِ ما

ظلمت آباد است بزمم بی فروغ جام می :: گر همه مهتاب روغن در چراغم می کند

تلخ کامم بی شکرخند لب ساقی اگر :: شیشهٔ می شیوهٔ جان در ایاغم می کند

عزت نه چو شیخ خانقه گمراهیم
دیر است که از سر خفی آگاهیم[1]

ستم رسیده دلی دیدم و زغم مردم :: که تندخوی ستمگر درین دیار یکیست

خیانت در رکابِ سرو دلجوی تو می آید :: که کارِ آفتابِ چشم از روی تو می آید

غیرت برم از سوختن دوزخ جاوید :: کو نیز گر داغ تمنائی تو دارد

بی مژدهٔ وصال نخیزد شهید عشق
صد بار اگر فرشتهٔ رحمت ندا کند[2]

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1. Khushgo, Bindrā Ban Dās, Tazkirah-i-Khushgo., Ms, fol. Fol. 125a

2. 'Alī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, Subh-i-Gulshan., p. 301.

تاریخ اختتام مقاله

بحمدالله که شد طی منزلِ من ÷ به پهلو از خوشی رقصد دل من
سرود و نغمهٔ شادی سرایم ÷ غبار کلفت از خاطر زدایم
بتوفیق خداوند یگانه ÷ که فضل و لطفِ او جوید بهانه
شد آخر کار حل پرمشکل من ÷ رسید آخر بمنزل محمل من
نبود این منزلم از هفتخوان کم ÷ نه دل برداشتم لیکن چو رستم
وگر در راه صد خوف و خطر بود ÷ مرا این قولِ مردی در نظر بود
«بهر کاری که همت بسته گردد ÷ اگر خاری بود گلدسته گردد»
روان شد جوی شیر از کوهساری ÷ مبدل شد بگلشن خارزاری
کشیدم بارهای محنت و رنج ÷ بدینگونه بدست آوردم این گنج
به پیهم خوردن دودِ چراغی ÷ بکف آورده ام دُر فراغی
به شبهای درازِ فصلِ سرما ÷ نیاسودم نه در دوپهرِ گرما
همه مست شرابِ ناب خوابی ÷ من و معجون این یا آن کتابی
شدم عهده برآ از این مقاله ÷ خداوندا بتو کردم حواله
بحالِ خستهٔ من رحم فرما ÷ تو میدانی حساب بیش و کم را

پی سنجیدنش نقاد خواهم ٭ ز طبع قدر دانش داد خواهم
کسی تا جوهری یا شاه نباشد ٭ ز قدر این گهر آگاه نباشد
بر اہل ہنر گل می شود خار ٭ که نبود بر کریمان کار دشوار
بسازد خاک را زر چشم رادی ٭ دهد بر چوب در دست جوادی
کریم الطبع عیبی را نه بیند ٭ بپوشد چشم گر تقصیر بیند

پی تاریخ او ہاتف چه در سفت
«سخن گویان کشمیری» بمن گفت

۱۳۴۴ ہجری

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